

Selected Writings of Edward H. Schafer

[Edward H. Schafer](#) (1913-1991), an American professor of Chinese studies, published the 41 articles below in a variety of journals between the years 1951 and 1991.

[Ritual Exposure in Ancient China](#), from *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 1/2 (Jun., 1951), pp. 130-184.

[The Pearl Fisheries of Ho-p'u](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 72, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1952), pp. 155-168.

[Li Kang: A Rhapsody on the Banyan Tree](#), from *Oriens*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Dec. 31, 1953), pp. 344-353.

[Non-Translation and Functional Translation—Two Sinological Maladies](#), from *Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (May, 1954), pp. 251-260.

[Notes on Mica in Medieval China](#), from *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, Vol. 43, Livr. 3/4 (1955), pp. 265-286.

[Orpiment and Realgar in Chinese Technology and Tradition](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 75, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1955), pp. 73-89.

[The Early History of Lead Pigments and Cosmetics in China](#), from *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, Vol. 44, Livr. 4/5 (1956), pp. 413-438.

[The Development of Bathing Customs in Ancient and Medieval China and the History of the Floriate Clear Palace](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1956), pp. 57-82.

[Rosewood, Dragon's Blood, and Lac](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 77, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1957), pp. 129-136.

[War Elephants in Ancient and Medieval China](#), from *Oriens*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Dec. 31, 1957), pp. 289-291.

[Falconry in T'ang Times](#), from *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, Vol. 46, Livr. 3/5 (1958), pp. 293-338.

[Eating Turtles in Ancient China](#), *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1962), pp. 73-74.

[Notes on T'ang Culture](#), from *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 21 (1962), pp. 194-221.

[The Conservation of Nature under the T'ang Dynasty](#), from *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Dec., 1962), pp. 279-308.

[The Last Years of Ch'ang-an](#), from *Oriens Extremus*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1963), pp. 133-179.

[Preliminary Remarks on the Structure and Imagery of the "Classical Chinese" Language of the Medieval Period](#), from *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, Vol. 50, Livr. 1/3 (1963), pp. 257-264.

[The Auspices of T'ang](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 83, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1963), pp. 197-225.

[Notes on T'ang Culture II](#), from *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 24 (1965), pp. 130-154.

[The Idea of Created Nature in T'ang Literature](#), from *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Apr., 1965), pp. 153-160.

[The Origin of an Era](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 85, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1965), pp. 543-550.

[Thoughts about a Students' Dictionary of Classical Chinese](#), from *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 25 (1966), pp. 197-206.

[Hunting Parks and Animal Enclosures in Ancient China](#), from *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Oct., 1968), pp. 318-343.

[Notes on T'ang Culture III](#), from *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 30 (1972-1973), pp. 100-116.

[The Sky River](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 94, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1974), pp. 401-407.

[Supposed "Inversions" in T'ang Poetry](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 96, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1976), pp. 119-121.

[A Trip to the Moon](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 96, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1976), pp. 27-37.

[The Jade Woman of Greatest Mystery](#), from *History of Religions*, Vol. 17, No. 3/4, Current Perspectives in the Study of Chinese Religions (Feb. - May, 1978), pp. 387-398.

[The Transcendent Vitamin: Efflorescence of Lang-kan](#), from *Chinese Science*, Vol. 3 (March 1978), pp. 27-38.

[Three Divine Women of South China](#), from *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* (CLEAR), Vol. 1 (Jan., 1979), pp. 31-42.

[Wu Yün's 吳錫 Stanzas on "Saunters in Sylphdom" 遊仙詩](#), from *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 35 (1981-1983), pp. 309-345.

[Wu Yün's "Cantos on Pacing The Void"](#), from *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Dec., 1981), pp. 377-415.

[Blue Green Clouds](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 102, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1982), pp. 91-92.

[The Grand Aurora](#), from *Chinese Science*, Vol. 6 (November 1983), pp. 21-32.

[Hallucinations and Epiphanies in T'ang Poetry](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 104, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1984), pp. 757-760.

[Transcendent Elder Mao](#), from *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, No. 2 (1986), pp. 111-122.

[Empyreal Powers and Chthonian Edens: Two Notes on T'ang Taoist Literature](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 106, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1986), pp. 667-677.

[Ways of Looking at the Moon Palace](#), from *Asia Major*, Third Series, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1988), pp. 1-13.

[Fusang and beyond: The Haunted Seas to Japan](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 109, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep., 1989), pp. 379-399.

[T'ang Fireflies](#), from *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 39 (1990-1991), pp. 169-198.

[The "Yeh chung chi"](#), from *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, Vol. 76, Livr. 4/5 (1990), pp. 147-207.

[Brief Note: The Chinese Dhole](#), *Asia Major*, Third Series, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1991), pp. 1-6.

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RITUAL EXPOSURE IN ANCIENT CHINA

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I

RITUAL EXPOSURE IN SHANG AND CHOU RAIN-MAKING

In 1936 the Chinese scholar CH'ÊN Mêng-chia 陳夢家 published an article entitled "Myths and Witchcraft during the Shang Period."¹ A section of this article (pp. 563-566) is devoted to an investigation of a rain-making ceremony called *ch'ih* 赤, known from the Shang oracle bones, and is outlined in what follows.

The rite *ch'ih* is equated with procedures mentioned in Chou texts as *p'u wu* 暴巫 "exposing the shaman," and *fên wu* 焚巫 "burning the shaman." Professor CH'ÊN cites numerous texts from the bones in which *ch'ih* appears as a verb, frequently with a personal name as its direct object, this name being taken to be the name of a shaman or shamaness.

The graph *ch'ih* 赤 is originally 交 and 火 united to form □^a, or alternately the upper element is different and the graph appears as □^b.^{*} Professor CH'ÊN regards both of these forms as representations of a human figure standing in flames, with sweat running down. As for the meaning of the word, it is roughly synonymous with *lu* 露 "to expose" or *lo* 裸 "to strip naked."

Now the *Li chi* 禮記² tells the story of Duke Mu of Lu and Hsüan-tzŭ 縣子. The former, concerned about a drought in the land, asked Hsüan-tzŭ whether he should expose a *wang* 尙 to bring rain.³ The expression used is *p'u wang* 暴尙. The term

¹ "Shang-tai-ti shên-hua yü wu-shu" 商代的神話與巫術, *YCHP* 20 (1936). 485-576.

^{*} The boxes with superscribed letters refer to the table at the end of the article, where archaic characters, *Shuo wên* seal characters, and pseudo-modern characters (by analogy from Shang forms) may be located.

² "T'an kung" 檀弓 b.18a (edition of *Ssü-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊).

³ WANG Ch'ung 王充 discusses this passage in the chapter of his *Lun Hêng* 論衡

wang will be discussed below; here it may be regarded as related to *wu* 巫 “shaman.” In the chapter Ch’iu yü 求雨 of the *Ch’un-ch’iu fan-lu* 春秋繁露 a great number of procedures for relieving a drought are listed. Prominent among them, for bringing rain in the spring or autumn seasons, is the ceremony *p’u wu*.⁴ The story of the Ch’i philosopher Yen-tzū 晏子 also tells of this rite.⁵ The tale goes that after a long drought in the state of Ch’i, Duke Ching 景公 asked Yen-tzū whether he should not sacrifice to the spirits of the mountain and river. Yen-tzū replied that since these deities were obviously unable to protect their own realms from the drought, the duke’s prayers would be of little avail. Instead he recommended that the duke leave his palace and expose (*p’u-lu* 暴露) himself in the fields. The duke did so, remaining in the wilderness for three days, whereupon it rained.

In the *Tso chuan* 左傳 a somewhat more drastic procedure for effecting the same result appears. Here, during a severe drought in his state, the Duke of Lu suggests burning a shaman.⁶ In this case the duke’s advisor recommended against reviving this old ceremony.

Professor CH’ËN interprets all the above cases of exposure as meaning baring the person to the blazing sun, to bring rain by provoking the sympathy of the spirit world. A ring of fire or a pyre, in the midst of which stands the supplicant, is an additional feature of the ritual, or an optional one. So it was also

entitled “Ming yü p’ien” 明雩篇 (15.163 of *Ts’ung-shu chi-ch’êng* 叢書集成 edition). His version of the story differs in a few of its details from the present *Li chi* version. For instance, he has *wu* instead of *wang*, and has the Duke ask Hsüan-tzū about the feasibility of “shifting the markets” as an alternative to the exposure ritual. This part of the tale does not appear in the *Li chi* in its present form.

⁴ TUNG Chung-shu 董仲舒 *Ch’un-ch’iu fan-lu* 16.3a, 5b (edit. of *Wu-ying-tien chü-chên-pan ch’üan-shu* 武英殿聚珍版全書). A book by an unknown author has been reconstructed from these and other citations, with the title *Ch’ing-yü chih-yü shu* 請雨止雨書, published in the *Yü-han-shan-fang chi-i-shu* 玉函山房輯佚書 by MA Kuo-han 馬國翰 (1794-1857). The work, mentioned in the *Han shu*, originally had 26 *chüan*.

⁵ Yen-tzū *ch’un-ch’iu* 晏子春秋 1.8b (edit. of *Ts’ung-shu chi-ch’êng*, hereafter abbreviated as *TSCC*), or citation in *T’ai-p’ing yü-lan* 太平御覽 11.6b.

⁶ Hsi Kung 僖公 twenty-first year (639 B.C.). The text has *fên wu wang* 焚巫尪, usually taken to mean “burn the shaman(s) and the cripple(s),” but *wu-wang* may be an old binom.

with the Shang ritual called *ch'ih*. The *wang* frequently mentioned in the same connection are described in the dictionaries and commentaries as deformed men. These were ritual incarnations of the drought demon *han-po* 旱魃. Exposing such a person symbolized the exposure of the demon himself. A certain functionary with exorcistic duties, described in the *Chou li* 周禮, had the title *ch'ih-po-shih* 赤友氏.⁷ In a *Shuo wen* 說文 citation this takes the form 赤魃氏. This was the man in charge of the ceremony of exposing the demon, or the masked dancer who represented him. In Professor CH'ÊN's opinion, the *fang-hsiang-shih* 方相氏 of the *Chou li* was a shamanistic official of the same type. Moreover the *wu*, the female shamans, masqueraded as drought demons, or, more properly, as undifferentiated drought-rain spirits. To expose them was to expose the rain-controlling spirit. That the *han-po* was conceived as a feminine spirit is shown by the graphic forms of its alternate names: *nü-po* 女魃 or 女魃, and also *han-mu* 旱母 "drought mother."

Professor CH'ÊN has shown that women, in fact, were frequently the central figures in the Shang rain ceremonies. He gives the names of three of them found engraved on the oracle bones as "seeking rain" or "suffering exposure." They are the female shamans Yang □^c, Fang □^d, and Fan □^e. Ladies Yang and Fan are probably to be identified with the Wu Yang 巫陽 and Wu Fan 巫凡 of later legend.⁸

The graph □^f found on the bones, showing a woman with shell decorations on her head standing in fire, should probably be identified with the later form 禳, an exorcistic ceremony of the *Chou li*, and represents the word *yung*. This word is defined in

⁷ In some texts enlarged to 扞拔, making a binomial verb out of a verb-object construction. *Ch'ih* 赤 is archaic *t'jāk (KARLGREN), with which compare 炙 *t'jāk "roast." Related seem to be a number of words meaning "to expel; remove; reject; etc."—concepts suggesting the exorcistic power of fire: 扞 *t'jāk "expel"; 赦 *śjāg "liberate"; 釋 *śjāk "loose"; 寫 *sjāg "remove"; 瀉 *sjāg "drain off"; 謝 *dzjāg "renounce"; 柞 *tsāk "clear away trees" (possibly). An etymon of the type *DZIAG "expel; burn away" is indicated.

⁸ A number of personages with the "surname" (actually a title) *wu* 巫 survive in legend. They are variously described as ancient diviners, ancient physicians, and even ministers to the Shang kings. It would appear that they may have been shamanistic women of high importance to the state in religious observances.

Hsü Hsüan's 徐鉉 edition of the *Shuo wên* as an exorcistic ceremony against various natural calamities, including drought. Now *yung* basically means "to enclose or encircle an area for sacrificial purposes," and evidence shows that *ying* 嬰 means "to wind around, encircle," hence the Shang graph □^f is interchangeable with 榮.

The bones also have a graph □^g, showing a human figure wearing a breast ornament, perhaps of jade, and standing over a fire. Professor CH'ÊN suggests that this may show a shaman with the rain-compelling jade on his breast. In this connection Professor CH'ÊN discusses the related form □^h which, like *ch'ih*, signifies a rain-making rite. He believes that the character may have had an alternative reading *nan*, on the basis of the series 燠 *jan*/^{*}ńźjan/Arch. *ńjan "burn," 赧 *nan*/^{*}ńan/Arch. *nan "redden," and 暵 *nan*/^{*}ńan/Arch. *nan "red"; "warm and damp."⁹

II

POST-HAN EXAMPLES OF RITUAL EXPOSURE

Professor CH'ÊN's study of the ceremony of exposing the shaman applies particularly to the Shang era, with Chou literary material adduced as evidence for his hypotheses, and as indica-

⁹ The word *nan* 難 belongs in this series, in the meaning of "to exorcise." In this sense it has the alternative reading *no*/^{*}nâ (Archaic *nâr), sometimes represented by the enlargement 儼. The primitive in this whole series (奠) has the old forms □^v or □^w (see *Grammata Serica*), a humanoid with what appears to be a kind of headdress. Paul K. BENEDICT (see his "Semantic Differentiation in Indo-Chinese, Old Chinese 蠟 *láp* and 儼 *ná*," *HJAS* 4(1939).228, 229, note 1 suggests the semantic development "sickness" to "demon of sickness" to "ceremony for exorcising the demon" for 儼. He compares the almost universal Tibeto-Burman root *na "sickness," which also exists in a Thai language (Ahom), and has relatives with final -n (e. g., Old Burmese *yan* "venomous; fever"; Shan *ngan* "poison; malarial fever"), and with final dental (e. g., Old Tibetan *nad* "disease"; Old Burmese *nat "demon"). He also notes the alliance of the concepts "hot" and "sickness" in such words as Tibetan *tsha-ba* "heat," and *tsha* "illness," and Chinese 癘 *·uən "epidemic" and 溫 *·uən "warm." The semantic link is, in his opinion, "fever." As an alternative, I would suggest that epidemics follow in the wake of droughts, the work of the sun (or sun-deity as drought-demon), and the meaning "hot" may become attached in this way. CH'ÊN Mêng-chia, in *op. cit.*, 561, states his belief that the *no* ceremony was originally a rain-making rite.

tive of the survival of the custom into later centuries, even if only rarely and suffering the displeasure of the philosophers. After the Chou dynasty the female shaman, with a few striking exceptions, was forced into *sub rosa* channels for the practising of her magic arts, analogously to the witch of medieval Europe. When the empire was threatened with a calamity of supernatural origin, therefore, the shamaness was replaced in the performance of the spirit-coercing rites by other functionaries. The material cited below shows that the ceremony of exposure did in fact survive beyond the feudal period, although the central figure was rarely a woman. At the same time, ritual burning survived as an independent method of inducing the rain to fall.

A text of the fifth century preserves the story of an official of the second century who revived the ancient ritual to end a serious drought.

The *Ch'ang-sha ch'i-chiu chuan* says, "CHU Liang 祝良, *tzü* Chao-ch'ing 召卿, was mayor of Loyang 洛陽令. That year there was a severe drought, and the Son of Heaven prayed for rain without success. Liang thereupon exposed his person (*p'u shên* 曝身) in the staired court, demonstrating his sincerity and drawing the blame [on himself] from morning until noon. The purple clouds rose in piles, and the sweet rain fell forthwith."¹⁰

Here the old ritual is altered in meaning and performance through the domination of the Confucian view of life. The performer is not a shamaness, but a secular official, representative of the Son of Heaven, and his sacrifice is interpreted as the assumption of guilt for the drought, in accordance with the doctrine that administrative errors provoke natural calamities.

Also from the Later Han dynasty is the story of the mass exposure of the court officialdom in the year A. D. 87.

All the court officials exposed [themselves] and prayed for rain.¹¹

¹⁰ LIU Yü 劉彧, *Ch'ang-sha ch'i-chiu chuan* 長沙耆舊傳 quoted in LI Tao-yüan 酈道元, *Shui-ching chu* 水經注 15.11b (edit. of *Wu-ying-tien chü-chên-pan ch'üan-shu*). The same tale, slightly abbreviated, is cited in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 11.5b. It also appears in *Shuo fu* 說郛 1a, but here the official has the name LIU Shou 劉壽; the story is otherwise identical with the other versions, except that in this edition the Son of Heaven is identified as Shun Ti 順帝.

¹¹ Hsieh Ch'êng 謝承, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 1.12b (in *Ch'i-chia Hou Han shu* 七家後漢書). This work is reconstructed from citations in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* and other sources. In *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* the reference is 11.3b.

In the early part of the third century, YING Ch'ü 應璩 of the dynasty of Wei 魏 wrote a letter to a friend mocking him for the devices he employed in order to obtain rain. This sceptic alludes to the custom of the people of "exposing their bodies" (躬自暴露) for this purpose.¹²

In the fourth century the Buddhist monk Fo-t'u-têng 佛圖澄 was a notable at the court of the rulers of Later Chao 後趙, where he won great regard as a wonderworker—indeed, his activities resembled those of a Taoist adept more than those of a pious follower of the Buddha. During the reign of SHIH Hu 石虎 the kingdom suffered from a prolonged drought. The priest was called upon to exercise his talents, and he forthwith proceeded to a shrine and

. . . bowing his head, he exposed (*p'u-lu* 暴露) [himself]. Immediately two white dragons descended upon the shrine, and the rain fell over an extent of several thousand *li*.¹³

In the fifth century there was the remarkable instance of the exposure of a woman in the state of Northern Yen 北燕. This was the year A. D. 423, after a rainless spring. The wife of a certain official, WANG Hsün 王荀, gave birth to a monster, which disappeared (we are told) from under the very eyes of the birth attendants.

Thereupon they exposed Hsün's wife on the earth-altar (社), and a widespread saturating rain fell.¹⁴

Here the tale follows more closely the ancient notions of the sources of a drought. The prodigy (*yao* 妖) borne by the unfortunate Mrs. WANG was identified with the drought demon,

¹² YING Ch'ü, *Yü Kuang-ch'uan chang Ts'ên Wên-yü shu* 與廣川長岑文瑜書 (*Ying Hsün-lien chi* 應休璩集 5a in *Han Wei Liu-ch'ao pai-san-chia chi* 漢魏六朝百三家集).

¹³ Biography of Fo-t'u-têng in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 11.5b. Fo-t'u-têng was a native of India and came to China in A. D. 310. His biography may also be found in *Chin shu* 晉書 95.10b. Here he is also described as ending the drought by a rain-making rite, but his exposure is not alluded to. The same form of the story appears in his biography in *Kao seng chuan* 高僧傳 9.385b (*Taishō Tripitaka* 50).

¹⁴ KAO Lü 高閭, *Yen chih* 燕志, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 11.4b. This work is not available in the original, but the biography of its author may be found in *Wei shu* 魏書 54 and in *Pei shih* 北史 34.

han-po, and the lady was exposed in lieu of the monster, just as the shaman who once impersonated it was exposed in the great rain ceremony.

Even the emperor himself might act as the chief celebrant. The monograph on rites in the Sui History tells us that

In cases when it does not rain within twenty days of the initial request, one shall shift the market and prohibit butchering forthwith. The emperor shall wear white clothing, leave the chief palace, reduce his consumption of food, and do away with music. He may sit exposed (或露坐) as he administers affairs of state.¹⁵

Similarly the T'ang emperor, Hsüan Tsung 玄宗, during a drought in the north of China in A.D. 723,

. . . personally prayed for rain in the palace; he erected an altar, and stood exposed on a mat for three days.¹⁶

In the middle of the seventh century, the prefect of P'ing-chou, T'ien Jên-hui 平州刺史田仁會, exposed himself and was successful in ending a drought with a heavy rainfall.¹⁷

CHOU Ch'ih 周暉, writing of the drought of A. D. 814 in his *Han tz'ü* 旱辭, names three procedures for bringing rain:

. . . to expose shamans in the sun (暴巫于日), shift the markets to new places, make dragon images of mud . . .¹⁸

Outside of the orthodox rites for averting disaster to the realm, then, the shamans persisted, functioning in the same roles that had been officially theirs many centuries before.

Among the people, particularly in the country districts, we should certainly expect the ancient habits for meeting crises to continue in their primitive forms. That such was the case with rain-making in China is shown by a text of the twelfth century. SHAO Po 邵博, in his *Wên-chien hou-lu* 聞見後錄, writes that

¹⁵ *Sui shu* 隋書, "Li-i chih" 禮儀志 7.2b.

¹⁶ *T'ang shu* 唐書, "Wu-hsing chih" 五行志, 35.6b. The same event is recorded, in slightly different language, in *T's'ê-fu yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜 144.12b. In both cases "stood exposed" is *p'u li* 暴 (or 曝) 立. Cf. Hsüan Tsung's own account in his "Hsi yü fu" 喜雨賦, in *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文 20.1b. His language is 暴立炎赫三日爲期.

¹⁷ *T'ang shu* 197.4a.

¹⁸ *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 739.25a.

Between the Fèn 汾 and the Chin 晉, when praying for rain, they are stripped naked (*lo-t'an* 裸袒), and wave their arms, making back-and-forth gestures with their hands . . .¹⁹

Another imperial rain-making ceremony is recorded for the year A. D. 1370. In the sixth month of that year, after a long drought,

T'AI TSU (of Ming), wearing white clothes and grass sandals, went out on foot to the altars of the mountains and rivers. He laid down a straw mat and sat exposed (露坐). By day he was exposed to the sun (晝曝於日) and did not move for an instant; by night he lay on the ground, and did not loosen the girdle of his garment. . . . Finally, after three days, there was a heavy rainfall.²⁰

The Ming scholar, T'U Lung 屠隆, in his *Tao-yü chi* 禱雨記, writes that during a drought in A. D. 1578, being concerned about the plight of the people, he

. . . exposed himself under the hot sun in an inner courtyard from dawn to dusk . . .²¹

That literal "exposure" still survives in China as a method for inducing rain is revealed in a story related to me by Professor T'ANG Yung-t'ung 湯用彤. He recalls from his childhood in Kansu that he was told that a local "sorceress" set about to bring an end to a drought by actually stripping herself naked.

One of the central problems of the present study, and one of the least susceptible of solution, is the problem of what actually was involved in the exposure—did *p'u* mean simply "to stand in the sun," or did it denote "to stand *stripped* in the sun"? One reason for the difficulty is that the use of the word *p'u* was prescribed for the designation of the exposure ceremony, and although other words have been used in common parlance in historical times to signify "naked" unambiguously, they could not be employed to describe the condition of the participant in the rain ceremony, since religious terminology is conservative, and the word *p'u* had been fixed in ritualistic usage by its occurrence in the texts of the Chou period. Professor CH'ËN believes, on good

¹⁹ *Wên-chien hou-lu* 29.189 (edit. of TSCC).

²⁰ CH'ËN Chih-pên 陳治本, *Ming pao hsün* 明寶訓 (cited in *T'u-shu chi-ch'êng* 圖書集成, "Shu-chêng tien" 庶徵典 91.10b).

²¹ *Tao-yü chi*, cited in *T'u-shu chi-ch'êng*, "Shu-chêng tien" 94.6b).

ground, that the ancestral ceremony of the Shang era involved actual nudity. Our chief objection to attaching the idea of nudity to the idea of exposure in later periods is the well-known antipathy of the Chinese to exposure of the body. Yet in the folk-custom of Shansi described above, the participants were certainly naked, and the writer could say so, since he had no feeling that he was describing a rite carried out by authorized officials and sanctioned by the canonical literature. There is also the recollection of Professor T'ANG. While it is not possible to prove that the emperors and their agents removed all their clothing, since the ceremony was rare and is not described in detail in official documents, the aversion of the Chinese to nudity is not sufficient reason to rule out the possibility, or even the probability, since it is notorious that customary morality is abrogated in tradition-bound religious rites. At any rate, even if the officials of post-Chou times wore some simple garment (as the white dress of Ming T'ai Tsu) throughout the ceremony, this might very plausibly be regarded as an accretion to the original procedure, as a gesture to modesty, not felt to be necessary in the survivals of the rite in the countryside. The important thing is that the emperor was, in some manner, *exposed*.

III

HAN AND POST-HAN EXAMPLES OF RITUAL BURNING

Just as the ancient exposure ceremony passed from the hands of the female shamans, to be taken over by the male officialdom of Han times and later, so also the old custom of burning the shamaness, last mentioned in the *Tso chuan*, was transferred to the male functionary, and, as will be seen, to the male religious.

TAI Fêng 戴封, an official of the Later Han dynasty, after the failure of the usual prayers to end a serious drought, undertook more extreme measures.

. . . he then piled up faggots, and sat upon them, in order to burn himself. The fire rose, and there was a violent downpour of rain.²²

²² *Hou Han shu* 111.7b. The event is also recorded in the *Hou Han shu* of HsIEH

It is interesting to note that shortly after this near-sacrifice (in A. D. 90), TAI Fêng was appointed to the office of the T'ai Ch'ang 太常, which was in charge of all matters of magic and divination, employing shamans (*wu* 巫) on its staff.

The case of another Later Han official shows that the burning ritual was a later stage of the exposure ritual, undertaken when simple exposure failed to produce results. The performer on this occasion was named LIANG Fu 諒輔. Anxious to relieve a great drought,

. . . he then exposed himself in the courtyard . . . [sometime later:] then he piled up faggots of firewood and massed water-chestnut reeds together, making a circle of them around himself, set fire to the edge, and was about to burn himself in them . . .

This worthy fellow was saved by a good rainfall, and much admired for his "sincerity."²³

Our next example is from the Later Liang dynasty (tenth century). A Buddhist monk of a temple in Fukien, I-shou 義收 by name, after a long dry spring,

. . . piled up faggots on the highway, and was on the point of burning himself. When he lifted the torch [to apply to the firewood], the rain fell.²⁴

Another monk of about the same period, a native of Ning-hua 寧化, in order to bring a serious drought to an end, built an altar by the side of a "dragon-pool," and declared that if rain did not fall in seven days he would destroy himself (lit. "his illusory body" *huan ch'ü* 幻軀, i. e., his earthly body) by burning.

. . . On the seventh day, as the torch was about to be applied, the sweet rain poured down.²⁵

Ch'êng, preserved in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 11.3b, and cited in the collection *Ch'i-chia Hou Han shu* 6.1a.

²³ *Hou Han shu* 111.11a.

²⁴ *Yü-ti chi-shêng* 輿地紀勝 128.18a.

²⁵ *Yü-ti chi-shêng* 132.9a. Compare with these two accounts the incident of another monk, named Ch'êng-hui 誠惠, who was honored by the Emperor of Later T'ang for his powers over the weather. During a drought in A. D. 923 his efforts proved unsuccessful. The sequel was that ". . . someone told Ch'êng-hui that the monarch proposed to burn him because of the failure of his praying for rain. Ch'êng-hui fled and died of shame." Here the suggested burning appears as a punishment for failure, but the choice of that method was doubtless conditioned by the tradition that

But an emperor too could perform this ceremony. T'ai Tsung of Sung, in the year A.D. 991, when prayers for rain failed to break a drought and a plague of locusts, delivered a message to his ministers, saying, "I propose to burn myself in response to the reprimand of Heaven."

The next day it rained and the locusts perished.²⁶

A youthful magician of the twelfth century, bearing the suggestive name of SUN Tao-chê 孫道者, claimed the ability to produce rain by his art. Once on a visit to the local capital,

. . . he saw persons praying for rain without avail. He said, 'Praying for rain is an easy matter. If I pray there will be a response. If not, I propose to burn myself . . .'²⁷

Luckily the prayer of the young man sufficed to bring rain, and the more extreme measure was not necessary.

A petty official of P'u-chiang 浦江, AN Yü 安郁 by name, during a drought in the middle fifteenth century,

. . . made a tower of firewood at the Tzū-chi Monastery 紫極觀, and swore that if it did not rain he would burn himself. On the appointed day there was a heavy rainfall.²⁸ [It will be observed that in this incident, the environment was Taoist rather than Buddhist or Confucian.]

A folktale also tells that CHAO K'uang-yin, who later became the first emperor of the Sung dynasty, needing money for gambling, promised the village headman that he would relieve a severe drought, if he were paid cash for the feat. He had a ring of fire made, and sat on a table in its midst.

He himself never expected anything to happen, but, having a golden tongue and jade words, the Wind Count and the Rain Master, without hesitating, sent a storm of rain at once.²⁹

shamans were burned in Chou times as a punishment—they were sacrificed in the fire for their supposed cooperation (or identity) with the drought spirit. Ssü-ma Kuang 司馬光, *Tzū-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑 272.14a (edit. of Ssü-pu ts'ung-k'an).

²⁶ *Sung shih* 宋史 5.5b.

²⁷ *Kuang-tung t'ung-chih* 廣東通志 329.5630a, cited from *Kuang-chih* 廣志.

²⁸ *Shan-hsi t'ung-chih* 陝山通志, cited in *T'u-shu chi-ch'êng*, "Shu-chêng tien" 96.15ab.

²⁹ Wolfram EBERHARD, *Chinese Fairy Tales and Folk Tales* (London, 1937), pp. 288-9. This is a story from the *Chu Yüan-chang ti ku-shih*.

In these later examples it is apparent that there is an explicit tendency to regard the burning not so much as a magical rite, but as self-sacrifice for the appeasement of the spiritual world. But it is in this direction that human sacrifice has developed all over the world, from a drama compelling Nature into a personal act of atonement. Often this took the form of a king sacrificing himself for his people—indeed this was the real role of the king. The tradition in China is at least as old as the legend of T'ang 湯, who made his body a scapegoat on behalf of his subjects in order to end the drought.³⁰ So also was it the case with Duke Ching of Sung 宋景公, who was advised by a diviner to sacrifice a human being to terminate a long drought. The Duke replied that it was fitting that he himself be sacrificed, and the rain fell before he had finished speaking.³¹ The ruler, originally a focus of magical power, was becoming a substitute for his people, with the moral obligation of self-sacrifice for them.

It has been noted that in the case of LIANG Fu, the burning rite followed the exposure rite when the latter proved inadequate. There is further evidence of this. The older editions of the *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* tell of the procedure for bringing rain as follows:

If this does not make it rain, order the shamans to recite their spells, and expose them. If exposing them does not make it rain, pile up firewood on the sacred mountain, beat drums and burn them.³²

There is a problem of grammatical ambiguity in this passage. The expression *fên chih* 焚之, here translated "burn them," might mean "burn it," namely the firewood (or even the sacred mountain), but as far as can be told from syntactical analysis it might even mean "burn them (i. e., the drums)." The sentence would be as ambiguous in English if we substituted the plural form "faggots" for "firewood." Context and comparison with other

³⁰ *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* 呂氏春秋, Shun-min p'ien 順民篇 9.2a (edit. of *Tzū-shu pai-chia* 子書百家).

³¹ LIU Hsiang 劉向, *Ku lieh-nü chuan* 古列女傳 6.160 (TSCC).

³² *Ch'ing-yü chih-yü shu*. The edition of *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* in *Wu-ying-tien chü-ch'en-pan ch'üan-shu* gives the part of this ceremony concerned with the burning in a quotation from the *Shên-nung shu* 神農書, adding the opinion of the editor that it did not form part of the original text, and he has therefore removed it.

material on rain-making strongly suggest that "them" refers to the shamans.³³ This ambiguity may have been accidental, or the text may have been tampered with to eliminate any suggestion of human sacrifice in ancient China, a possible motive for the exclusion of the passage altogether from at least one of the editions of the *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu*.

The burning ritual was, in all probability, imitative of the action of the sun. (Note that the words used for the exposure ceremony, *p'u* 暴 and *ch'ih* 赤 (□ⁱ), include as semantic indicators pictures of the sun and a fire respectively. Moreover *p'u* "to expose" has also the meaning "to burn," as shown by the reading *p'u* of *pao* 爆 when the latter graph represents "burn.") Exposure and burning were equally inherent in the word *ch'ih*, as shown not only in the Shang usage of the term, but also in the conventional expression used to describe the earth during a drought: *ch'ih t'u* 赤土 "bare/burnt/red earth." (The meaning

³³ In this connection compare the story in *Yu-yang tsa-tsu* 酉陽雜俎 14.6b: "East of T'ai-yüan chün 太原郡 there is a Mount Yai 崖山. When there is a drought, the natives are accustomed to burn this mountain in seeking rain. Popular tradition says that the spirit of Mount Yai took the daughter of the River Earl 河伯 to wife. Therefore when the River Earl sees the fire he must bring down rain to save her." Fires on mountains, then, are an old method of rain-making. Myths often derive from the plots of lost sacred dramas. It is my belief that the story of the daughter of the river-god may reflect an ancient ceremony in which the divine maiden was impersonated by a shamaness and burned on the sacred mountain. The association between rain-goddesses and mountains is natural, and not otherwise unknown in the Chinese tradition. Particularly noteworthy is the case of the Goddess of Wu Shan 巫山 "Shaman Mountain," celebrated in the rhapsody attributed to Sung Yü 宋玉. In one tradition she was the daughter of the Fiery God (Yen Ti 炎帝, that is, Shên Nung, genius of the element fire according to the theory of the Five Elements). She controlled the rain: "At dawn I am the morning clouds, at nightfall I am the driving rain!" Mount Wu seems to have been the seat of a fertility cult, and a source of love charms, in the state of Ch'u, and was probably named for the shamanesses who practised there, and were identified with the goddess. For further material on burning piles of wood as a sacrifice see Bruno SCHINDLER, "On Travel, Wayside and Wind Offerings in Ancient China," *AM* 1 (1924).624-656. These were various kinds of fertility rites, for making rain, childbearing etc. See also SCHINDLER, "The Development of the Chinese conceptions of Supreme Beings," *Hirth Anniversary Volume* (London, 1922), pp. 311.n3, where he writes "The sacrifice of burning faggots is, no doubt, to be interpreted as of the well-known smoke sacrifices whereby the smoke rises to become a cloud and, as such, to bring rain." Compare the story of CHU Liang above.

“red” is derivative from “the color of fire.”) The person exposed and/or burned symbolized not only the spirit of drought, but also the earth. While the archaic world-view was still current, the earth was properly female, embodying the element *yin*, subject to fructification or destruction by the sun, the *yang* principle, and the shamaness was exposed like the barren soil to induce the saving rainfall.

IV

EXPOSURE OF DRAGONS AND HUMAN FIGURES

An alternate form of the exposure ceremony employed, instead of a human being, an image of the rain-spirit itself—that is, a dragon figure, usually constructed of earth. This method was widely used in China. An instance follows.

The diviner LANG I 郎顗, who lived during the time of Shun Ti 順帝 during the Later Han dynasty, in the course of a long recommendation to the court on methods of dealing with national calamities, lists a number of procedures efficacious in causing rainfall. These included the usual prayers, sacrifices to the mountains and rivers, and

. . . the exposure of dragons (*p'u lung* 暴龍), and the shifting of markets.³⁴

Sometimes, in addition to the dragons, human figures were exposed, as a substitute for living men. Thus, after a long drought in the year A.D. 759 (T'ang dynasty),

. . . the eastern and western markets were moved. Then sacrifices were made to the Earl of the Wind and to the Rain Master. The Yü-dance (雩) was celebrated, and sacrifices were made at the altars. Human images of mud and earthen dragons were made, and the *wang* (望) sacrifice having been offered to the famous mountains and great rivers, they prayed for rain.³⁵

Even as late as the T'ang period shamans were sometimes em-

³⁴ *Hou Han shu* 60b.7b. One authority believes that the custom originated in the myth of the combat between Ying-lung 應龍 and Ch'ih-yu 蚩尤. The dragon images are supposed to represent Ying-lung. See Kuo Pu's 郭璞 commentary on *Shan-hai ching*. *Shan-hai ching chu* 山海經注 14.3b.

³⁵ *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei* 144.15a. Cf. *Hou Han shu* 15.2a; here, too, rows of earthen figures were used in the Yü ceremony.

ployed in these rites, even officially. Thus a certain LI Kan 黎幹, mayor of the capital city, took the responsibility for ending a drought in the year A. D. 773.

He constructed an earthen dragon, and personally performed a contradance (*tui-wu* 對舞) with the shamanesses and shamans (*wu-hsi* 巫覡).³⁶

V

EXPOSURE IN FUNERAL RITES (THE *Li Chi*)

Throughout the *Li chi* references are made to a custom which was practised at various stages in the funeral ceremonies of the Chou nobility. This material gives a retrospective and idealized account of "Confucian" rites, and may not describe the actual ceremonies practised at any one time and place during the dynasty, but the references to the custom are so numerous as to leave no doubt of its actual prevalence. At certain prescribed points in the rites, according to the *Li chi*, the mourner bared a part of his body. If we rely on LEGGE's translations, this was the arms or breast. The word which refers to this activity is an intransitive verb, namely *t'an* 袒. Some selections from LEGGE's version of this classic will make the context of the word's usage clear:³⁷

. . . when the chief mourner had finished the slighter dressing of the corpse, he bared his breast and tied up his hair with sackcloth.³⁸

When the mother of Shu-sun Wu-shu died . . . he bared his arms, throwing down also his cap, and binding his hair with sackcloth.³⁹

On the death of his wife's brother . . . with breast unbared and wearing the cincture instead of the cap, he wails and leaps.⁴⁰

(Those who had gone up to the hall then) descend, and go back to their proper places on the east; where all bare the left arms and shoulder.⁴¹

³⁶ *T'ang shu* 145.5a.

³⁷ James LEGGE, *The Li Ki* [= *Sacred Books of the East*, 27, 28]. These two volumes will be referred to as 1 and 2 below.

³⁸ LEGGE, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 142.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1, p. 146.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1, p. 164.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1, p. 313.

A son, who had hurried to the mourning rites of his father (from a distance), bound up his hair in the raised hall, bared his chest, descended to the court, and there performed his leaping. (The leaping over, he reascended), covered his chest, and put on his sash in an apartment on the east.⁴²

All engaged in dressing the corpse had their arms bared; those who moved it into the coffin, had their breasts covered.⁴³

In the above quotations, the phrases "he bared his breast," "he bared his arms," "with breast unbared," "bare the left arms and shoulder," "bared his chest," and "had their arms bared" all translate the Chinese word *t'an*. It would appear that LEGGE was embarrassed for a precise translation of the word, but he is simply relying on old commentaries, which treat the term differently from time to time. The general idea conveyed is "to bare the upper half of the body," although this meaning derives only from commentaries, not from context. The verb does not have such grammatical objects as "shoulder," "arm" or "breast" in the Chinese text. If it means "to remove clothing," it *could* connote "to remove *all* the clothing; to strip naked." Further investigation may establish this point. But it is clear at least that the ancient obsequies required the mourner to bare more or less of his body at prescribed intervals. The baring accompanied, usually, an act of leaping, and it need hardly be questioned that both acts had the primitive function, although this may have been forgotten in late Chou times, of exorcising the ghost of the deceased (or possibly of other and unfriendly spirits). In short, this custom belongs with all other kinds of ritual nakedness, whose purpose is the effective release of magical energy. This is made clear by another passage in the *Li chi*:

Some one may ask, "How is it that one with the cap on does not bare his arms, and show the naked body?"⁴⁴ and the answer is: "The cap is the most honorable article of dress, and cannot be worn where the body is bared, and the flesh exposed.⁴⁵ Therefore the cincture for the head is worn instead

⁴² *Ibid.*, 2, p. 58.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 2, p. 187.

⁴⁴ The words from "bare" to "body" inclusive here translate the phrase *jou t'an* 肉袒, which might be more simply rendered "have the flesh bared."

⁴⁵ Translating 不居肉袒之體, perhaps better: ". . . does not belong on a body whose flesh is bared." This expression *jou-t'an* is used of the Shang prince Wei-tzū 微子 when he appeared before the camp of the victorious Chou warlord Wu Wang

of the cap, (when the arms are bared).” And so when a bald man does not wear the cincture, and a hunchback does not bare his arms, and a lame man does not leap, it is not that they do not feel sad, but they have an infirmity which prevents them from fully discharging the usages.⁴⁶

It is credible that on practical grounds a lame man might dispense with leaping, but the avoidance by the bald man and the hunchback of the usual rites is only explainable as fear that the mana of a deformed person might have an undesirable effect. A further deduction is that the cap had the effect of symbolically locking the personal energy in the body. It was a magical cover, with “magical” later converted into “honorable,” as other articles of clothing in most societies from “magical” became “modest.”

Not much is said in the *Li chi* about the mourning customs of women. But a curious passage deserves citation:

The women could not bare the arms, and therefore they (merely) pushed out the breast, and smote upon their hearts, moving their feet with a sliding, hopping motion . . .⁴⁷

The phrase “pushed out the breast” is rather ambiguous. It represents the Chinese *fa hsiung* 發胸, surely meaning something like “put forth the breast (from the clothing),” and not simply “to throw out the chest,” as we say when we mean “to act like a pouter pigeon.” The passage makes sense if we interpret it as meaning that unlike a man, who bares his whole body (or his whole body above the waist), a woman was expected only to part her upper garment, bare her bosom, and beat it in the fashion approved for female mourners elsewhere in the world. This is explainable as reflecting the greater modesty of women as compared with men, doubtless traceable to the greater intensity of their magic power.

武王, bearing the sacred vessels of his dynasty (*Shih chi* 史記, Sung Wei-tzū 宋微子). One commentary explains the phrase as 袒而露肉也 “stripped to expose the flesh.” CHAVANNES renders the passage “son bust était mis à nu . . .,” as reluctant as LEGGE to translate simply “with bared flesh.”

⁴⁶ LEGGE, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 378. The “cincture” of hemp was worn at the time of baring the body except when mourning for one’s mother. See *ibid.*, 2, p. 59.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2, p. 376.

Traces of other kinds of ritual unclothing may be found in the *Lì chī*. Thus,

When he feeds the *San-lao* 三老 and the *Wu-kêng* 五更 in the Great College 大學, the Son of Heaven is stripped (*t'an* 袒) as he carves the meat (*shêng* 牲 'sacrificial animal').⁴⁸

The king assuredly is not stripped to the waist like a butcher for practical reasons, but because this is a ceremonial occasion to which adhere symbolic actions whose meaning, originally sacred, had probably long since been forgotten.

The word *t'an*⁴⁹ (*d'an) 袒 itself has been tentatively defined as "to be bared" or perhaps "to be bared to the waist," or accepting the opinions of certain commentators and lexicographers, "to have an arm bared." Specifically, it is the commentary of CHÊNG Hsüan 鄭玄 (second century A.D.) on a passage in the *I li* 儀禮 (ch. 5) which defines *t'an* as "to remove the garment from the left (arm or side)." In short, *t'an*, in the passage in question, is given a narrow meaning, because the custom involved under the specific circumstances described in the *I li* was known to the commentator. It would normally have been referred to by the phrases *t'an tso* 袒左 or *tso t'an* 左袒. Elsewhere other meanings are given. Thus in the *Tso chuan*⁵⁰ we have the passage 袒而示之背, translated by LEGGE:

. . . with this he bared his person, and showed him his back.

In this instance, then, the act of *t'an* involves removing sufficient clothing to reveal the back. The only generalized definition we can obtain from this material is something like "to remove the clothing from the upper half (or more) of the body."

Consulting the dictionaries, we have the usual situation of synonyms being used to define each other. *K'ang-hsi tzŭ-tien* 康熙字典 gives by way of definition the compound *t'an-hsi* 袒褻, usually taken as synonymous with each of its components.

⁴⁸ *Lì chī* 11.19b (edit. of *Ssü-pu ts'ung-k'an*).

⁴⁹ Pei-p'ing dialect should have *tan*; *t'an* is irregular. *T'an* is regularly an intransitive verb, as I have tried to translate it, in the *Lì chī*, but elsewhere is found with an object.

⁵⁰ Duke Ting 定公 fifth year.

Hsi itself is defined in the *Yü pien* 玉編 (sixth century, with later additions) as meaning *t'an*, and further by "removing the clothes to make the body visible." Contrariwise, in the *Shuo wên*, 說文 * (or 裸) "naked" is defined by *t'an*. The commentator TUAN Yü-ts'ai notes with some bewilderment that *t'an*, *hsi* and *lo* are all used to explain each other, but ventures the opinion, doubtless based on early commentaries on textual appearances, that *t'an* means "to remove the upper clothes," whereas *lo* means "quite naked," or in his own words "the extreme of *t'an*" (但之尤甚者也). To make matters worse, the commentary on the *Li chi* ⁵¹ defines *t'an* by *lu* 露 "to expose."

On the basis of this evidence we can only say with certainty that *t'an* means "to bare or strip (part or all of the body)." Some investigation of the philological implications of this word will be made below. At this point it can be stated that complete or partial exposure of the body was a feature of the funeral rites of the upper classes of Chou-dynasty China, and that the custom is another facet of the general principle of exposure to give power over the supernatural world.

In the appendix to the present study it will be noted that in the classical Mediterranean world, naked feet sometimes substituted for naked body with similar ritual meaning. There are some indications of the same substitution in ancient China. The *Li chi*, in regard to the funerals of rulers and great officers, says,

. . . whenever the presiding mourner went forth (to meet visitors), he had his feet bare, his skirt tucked under his girdle . . . ⁵²

* For this character cf. *K'ang-hsi tzü-tien* (Commercial Press ed., 1938) p. 1256 entry no. 7.

⁵¹ 1.8b. The passage is interesting. LEGGE translates: "Let not the cap be laid aside; nor the chest be bared, (even) when one is toiling hard; nor let the lower garment be held up (even) in hot weather." This should be compared with my comments on *hsiang* 襄 below. Although this passage is supposed to refer to late *Chou* times, and the other (on *hsiang*) to Han, it is not too far-fetched to suppose that the attitude expressed in the former persisted into Han, and that the removing of the garments when plowing needed a powerful incentive, unless perhaps we assume that two different classes of persons with different mores are referred to.

⁵² LEGGE, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 176. The character for the word here translated "bare" is 徒 *t'u*/*d'uo. This is phonetically and graphically related to *t'u* 土 "soil" and *shê* 社 "altar of the soil," and we may find here some reminiscence of fertility rites. Note

VI

EXPOSURE IN OTHER MAGICAL PROCEDURES

Nudity as a ritual act has its place in China in other than rain-making ceremonies. Here as elsewhere it is not that exposure of the body is connected with the weather as such, but it is an act of magic which can operate on any part of the supernatural world, especially one which has to do with the fertility of humans and crops. Some random instances follow.

A legend of Chou times related that two dragons appeared at the end of the Hsia dynasty. A frothy substance (spittle? sperm?) which they left was kept in a coffer, and transmitted through the generations down into the Chou dynasty. This box was opened in the reign of King Li 厲王. The contained substance, the refined essence of the dragon spirits, emerged, and the king felt himself obliged to send for female exorcists to bring the spirits under control. In the words of the *Shih chi*,

King Li had women, stripped naked, cry out at them.⁵³

These women were doubtless shamanesses, and their nudity was intended to bring magic power to work on the dragons.

Again, in a fifth-century text, we may read of a Lo-ch'uan 裸川 "Naked River," southeast of Kuei-lin 桂林. Here it was the custom to offer one's cap and gown to the river, hence the name. What magical effect this action was supposed to have we cannot now tell, but it cannot have been mere extravagance.⁵⁴

The *I-chien chih*, a fertile source of folklore for the early Sung period, provides several instances of nudity as a condition of magical operations. In one case, a farmer's daughter disappears and is later discovered under strange circumstances in a mountain cave. She is believed to have been enchanted, and her family

the meaning for *t'u* of "only, but, merely"; cf. *tan* 但 (originally the same as 袒) which has the same meanings. Cf. German *bloss* in its various meanings.

⁵³ *Shih chi* 4.11b. Cf. *Kuo yü* 國語 16.7a. The text is 厲王使婦人裸而譟之.

⁵⁴ JĒN Fang 任昉, *Shu-i chi* 述異記 1.9a (edit. of *Han Wei ts'ung-shu* 漢魏叢書), citing HUAN T'an 桓譚, *Hsin lun* 新論, a Han work.

therefore summons a shaman. The latter proceeds into the cave, holding a sword in his mouth, and dancing the step of Yü. He discards his clothes piece by piece, until he is stark naked. Finally he discovers the girl possessed by a serpent and delivers her.⁵⁵ The essential elements for supernatural coercion are all here: the shamanistic step, the magic sword, the nudity of the practitioner.

Another tale in the same book tells of two fellow students who visit a selector of lucky days (*jih-chê* 日者). This diviner they found "sitting in a squatting position with his clothes stripped off."⁵⁶

Again, it is related that in Anhui a man built a family shrine to the Wu-t'ung 五通 spirits, and that when making an offering in the shrine, the whole family, including the women, were nude.⁵⁷

Another Sung source tells that in Ch'in-chou 欽州 in Kuang-tung, where the magical potion *ku-tu* 蠱毒 was distilled, one practise necessary for its manufacture was for the women of the household to make a nocturnal sacrifice with loosened hair and naked body.⁵⁸

Formerly at Hang-i 杭邑, where shamanism was popular among the people, a great three-day ceremony was carried out by the shamans, who disguised themselves as supernatural beings. The chief purpose of the ritual was to give fertility to barren women. Of these women the text says:

They are deceived with the theory that they should strip off their inner garments and give them to the shamans, which act is called "Beheading the Baleful Influences." Since the baleful influences are removed, their bodies can become pregnant.⁵⁹

A more recent example of the magical effects of nudity relates to the siege of K'ai-fêng in A. D. 1642. On January 30 of that

⁵⁵ HUNG Mai 洪邁, *I-chien ting-chih* 夷堅丁志 20.155 (TSCC).

⁵⁶ *I-chien i-chih* 乙 7.52.

⁵⁷ Wolfram EBERHARD, *Lokalkulturen im alten China*, Pt. 2, *Die Lokalkulturen des Südens und Ostens*, *Monumenta Serica Monograph III* (Peiping, 1942), p. 37, citing *I-chien chih*. I have been unable to locate this passage in available editions of the original.

⁵⁸ CHOU Ch'ü-fei 周去非, *Ling-wai tai-ta* 嶺外代答 10.23a (edit. of *Chih-pu-tsu-chai ts'ung-shu* 知不足齋叢書).

⁵⁹ *Shang-hang hsien-chih* 上杭縣志 cited in *T'u-shu chi-ch'êng*, I-shu tien 藝術典 810.7b.

year, the attacking army sent naked women out towards the city wall, and the guns of the defenders were silenced. The besieged in turn despatched naked monks to the parapets, which had the effect of ruining the cannon of the enemy also.⁶⁰

Doubtless further searching would reveal other examples of ritual nudity in China. The instances given above are intended only to supplement briefly the discussion of types of ceremonial exposure consecrated and stereotyped by Confucian orthodoxy. It is not to be expected that the customs of the countryside would gain as much attention from the Chinese literatus as have the venerable traditions of the Chou nobility. But it is to the religious and semi-religious activities of the peasant that we should look for more material on the ancient belief that the exposure of a human being gives him power over the gods.

Finally, I should like to cite a myth, not from China but from Japan, which, it seems to me, illustrates the antiquity of the belief in the spiritual power of nudity, and typifies also the translation of a rite into a legend. The story is from the *Kojiki*. The Sun-goddess Amaterasu, terrified at the ravages of the Storm-god Susano-o, retired into a cave, leaving the world dark. The other gods then called upon Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto, a deity in the pattern of a shamaness or witch, to do a dance before the cave and induce the goddess to come out. This personage,

. . . laying a sounding board before the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, and stamping till she made it resound and doing as if possessed by a Deity, and pulling out the nipples of her breasts, pushing down her skirt-string usque ad privates partes . . .⁶¹

⁶⁰ LI Kuang-tien 李光○, * *Shou-pien jih-chih 守汴日志*, 11b (in *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu 昭代叢書*). For other examples see Alide and Wolfram EBERHARD, *Die Mode der Han- und Chin-Zeit* 39 (Antwerp, 1946).

* For this character cf. *K'ang-hsi tzü-tien* p. 256, entry no. 22.

⁶¹ Basil Hall CHAMBERLAIN, *The Kojiki or 'Record of Ancient Matters,' TASJ* 10 (Supplement, 1906). Dr. Ensho ASHIKAGA has told me that ritual nudity is not unknown in modern Japan. He narrated the instance of the villagers at Fushimi who dance naked at the Inari shrine before rice-planting. This is clearly a rite to induce fertility in the crops. For more on the significance of Ame-no-uzume see especially NAKAYAMA Tarō 中山太郎, *Nihon miko shi 日本巫女史* (Tōkyō, 1930), pp. 236-243, 561-569. Mr. NAKAYAMA produces other evidence of exposure as a ritual act of Japanese shamans, and emphasizes particularly the magical and apotropaic

was able to provoke laughter among the gods and bring forth the Sun-goddess in all her glory.

The shamanistic character of Ame-no-uzume is emphasized by the text in saying that she danced as though possessed by a deity—this although in the story she is represented as a deity herself. In fact she is the prototype of all shamanesses, working a feat of weather magic in the ancient manner.

VII

WU 巫 AND HSI 覡

The intermediaries between the human and supernatural worlds, whose essential function was to ensure the productivity of the land, and particularly to bring seasonable falls of rain, was the shaman,⁶² the Chinese *wu* 巫. The earliest texts which explain this term make it clear that the *wu* was a woman.

. . . *Wu* is *chu* 祝 (“conjure”); a woman able to serve the invisible and to bring down spirits by dancing . . .⁶³

value of pubic hair. For instance he cites a recent charm whereby a girl who loses a needle while sewing, may find it by striking her pubic hair and combing it in a prescribed manner. Another tale of Ame-no-uzume occurs in the *Nihongi*: Amaterasu sends Ninigi-no-mikoto to rule over Japan, but on his way he is barred by a weird being named Saruta-hiko. Ame-no-uzume is sent to dispose of this creature. “So Ame no-uzume forthwith bared her breasts and, pushing down the band of her garment below her navel, confronted him with a mocking laugh.” (W. G. ASTON, *Nihongi* 1.77, Supplement I, *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*, London, 1896). In this case nudity has an exorcistic purpose. The story of Uzume should be compared with that of the Ainu hero Ainurakkur, whose sister overcame the famine demon by baring her breasts. Nobuhiro MATSUMOTO, “Essai sur la mythologie japonaise,” *Austro-Asiatica* 2 (1928) .131.

⁶² For the problem of the word “shaman,” see Berthold LAUFER, “Origin of the word shaman,” *American Anthropologist* 19.361-371 (1917). LAUFER argues that the usual identification of Tungus *šaman* with Sanskrit *śramana* is false, and that *šaman* is a very old word in the Altaic languages, its Turkish form being *kam*, a form found in the *Kudatku bilik* and the *Codex cumanicus*. He notes that the T’ang Chinese said of the Kirgiz that “they call shamans ‘kam’” (呼巫爲甘). But see the criticisms of N. D. MIRONOV and S. M. SHIROKOGOROFF, “Śramaṇa-Shaman. Etymology of the word “shaman,”” *JNChRAS*, 55 (1924) .105-130, and S. M. SHIROKOGOROFF, *Psychometric Complex of the Tungus* (London, 1935) p. 268.

⁶³ *Shuo wen*.

... then a spirit descends into him (or her), and if a male he is called *hsi* 覡, and if a female she is called *wu*.⁶⁴

The graph in the *Shuo wên* which represents *wu* is 巫. This, on the analogy of other contemporary graphs, appears to show two human figures facing some central object (possibly a pole, or in a tent-like enclosure?), and it has been indeed suggested that the picture shows a pair of shamans performing a ritual dance.⁶⁵ *Shuo wên*'s description of the graph, "... resembling the shape of a person with two sleeves dancing . . .," is made intelligible only by viewing the archaic forms of the graph *wu* "dance."⁶⁶ In Shang times the words *wu* 巫 "shaman," *wu* 舞 "dance," and *wu* 無 "luxuriant growth," now distinguished graphically and semantically, were identical graphically and phonetically. They consti-

⁶⁴ *Kuo yü*, Ch'ü yü 楚語 18.1a-1b. The commentary of Wei Chao 韋昭 adds, "The *wu* and the *hsi* are they who see the spirits. In the *Chou li* males are also called *wu*." I shall use the word "shamaness" to translate *wu* when it seems advantageous to draw particular attention to the femininity of the person so designated, but "shaman" for *wu* of either sex, especially if it is not clear from the context whether the person referred to is a man or a woman. In the opinion of Wolfram EBERHARD shamans in ancient China were essentially female, typically represented in the "Tai" culture. In the "Yao" culture, however, shamans were men. For a discussion of this problem of cultural differentiation and other aspects of the shamanistic cult see EBERHARD, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 58, 311-315. Cf. Erwin ROUSSELLE, "Die Frau in Gesellschaft und Mythos der Chinesen," *Sinica* 16 (1941) 130-151. In the chapter entitled "Die Schamanin oder Seherin" (pp. 136-138), ROUSSELLE, like EBERHARD, holds shamanesses typical of the "Tai" culture (center in ancient Ch'ü) and of the Yüeh coastal culture and the tungusic culture of the north. Tungusic shamanism is well known through the studies of SHIROKOGOROFF, and southern China has been noted as strongly shamanistic by the Chinese themselves from the earliest times. I wish to acknowledge here the criticisms and suggestions of Professor Serge ELISSÉEFF, who has been kind enough to provide me with further references on shamanism in China. In a private communication dated May 20, 1949, he includes the following: "This subject is also discussed by 孫晉泰 in his article 支那の巫に就いて (民俗學) in Volume 2, No. 4, page 217, April 1930. In the article 巫字考 by 齋伯守 published in Volume II of 民俗學 No. 9 p. 531, the interpretation of the character 靈 is given. The author indicates the mistakes contained in the 'Shuo wên' as, for example, 'Wu is chu,' and states that he does not consider Lo Chên-yü's explanations of the character 巫 as correct." Unfortunately neither of these two articles is available to me.

⁶⁵ B. KARLGREN, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, p. 363, No. 1282.

⁶⁶ For studies of the graphic aspects of the word for "shaman" see L. C. HOPKINS, "The Shaman or Wu 巫, A Study in Graphic Camouflage," *The New China Review* 2.5 (Oct. 1920) 423-439, and CH'ÊN Mêng-chia, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

tuted, in short, a single word, whose connotations have since been separated out as independent words. One early form is □^k, which shows a human figure with something like plumes descending from its arms: the *Shuo wên* description must refer to some form like this, or like the Lesser Seal form of *wu* 無, namely □^l.⁶⁷ The element □^m (林) is absent in some of the bronze forms of this character, and if abstracted from it, leaves □^r, which is identical with the □^o of the Shang oracle bones, representing a nursing mother.⁶⁸ Other Shang symbols equivalent to modern *wu* 巫 are □ⁿ, □^p, or □^q. These show hands (of a shaman?) elevating a piece of jade (the rain-compelling mineral) inside an enclosure, possibly a tent.⁶⁹ The Seal and modern form 巫 may well derive from this original, the hands becoming two figures, a convergence towards the dancer-type graph.

The graphic evidence, then, shows a cluster of concepts "feminine," "dance," "shaman," "fertility," and "rain-making" about the word *wu*. In the oracle bones, according to Professor CH'ÊN, this ancestral *wu* was used exclusively as a verb, "to dance for rain," and the noun "shaman" was represented by an archaic form of *wu* 戊.⁷⁰ Another graph to be added to the complex is 武 *wu* "martial," whose Shang form was □^s, clearly related to the archaic form of 戊, which was □^t. The semantic development of the former was from "ceremonial dance" to "martial dance" to "martial."⁷¹ A Shang *wu* 戊 was, at least, a ritual dancer.

An examination of all the graphic and phonetic relatives of *wu* 巫 shows ancestral word-families of the phonetic shape "labial

⁶⁷ Now borrowed for *wu* "have not," original meaning preserved in the enlargements 蕪 and 廡.

⁶⁸ CH'ÊN Mêng-chia, *op. cit.*, 537.

⁶⁹ SUN Hai-po 孫海波, *Chia-ku wên-pien* 甲骨文編 5.2b.

⁷⁰ Ancient *mzu*, archaic *mug*. The other *wu*'s have ancient *müu*, archaic *müwo*. It is interesting to note that in late historical times, the god of the productive soil, Shê-chi 社稷, was worshipped in mid-spring and mid-autumn on a day designated by the cyclical character *wu* 戊. See E. T. WILLIAMS, "Agricultural Rites in the Religion of Old China," *JNChRAS* 67.43.

⁷¹ The Ta Wu 大武, a kind of Master of the Pyrrhic Dance, was a Chou official in the Department of Music (Ta Ssü Yüeh 大司樂), who gave instruction in ceremonial dancing specifically designed to "influence supernatural beings." *Chou li*, Tsung-po 宗伯 22.32b.

initial plus principal vowel in velar position," with the semantic groupings:

1. "fruitful, fertile," (撫 , 無 , 補 , 降 , 節 , 蕪 , 敷 , 苦 , 扶 , 步 , 坳 , 富 , 茂 , 楸 , 藪);
2. "cherish, pacify," (忤 , 撫 , 懌 , 撫 , 扶 , 慕 , 怵);
3. "woman," (婦 , 婦 , 媼 , 母 , 媪 , 媿 , 嫫 , 姆);
4. "mound," (阜 , 培 , 塢 , 壑 , 墓);
5. "net, membrane," (罟 , 罟 , 罟 , 罟 , 罟 , 罟 , 罟);
6. "egg, ovary, embryo," (浮 , 浮 , 卵 , 胎 , 胎 , 胎 , 胎);
7. "boat," (舫 , 舫 , 舫);
8. "pot, receptacle," (罍 , 罍 , 罍 , 罍 , 罍 , 罍 , 罍);

These large word-families show a close attachment of the root-ideas "maternity/fecundity/fertility" to the ancient concept of the shaman. This conforms to Hsü Shên's definition of the shaman as a *woman*, the embodiment of the metaphysical principle *yin* 陰, and the rightful rain-maker. This association is underlined by the primitive symbolism preserved in the "Classic of Changes," under the diagram ☰, represented by the character *tui* 兌,

Tui is marshy-fertile (澤), a youngest daughter (少女), a shaman (巫).⁷²

⁷² In their archaic readings, as opposed to the ancient, this collection breaks down into two subdivisions, one with vowel final, the other with final -g. The alternation between nasal and stop initials is not surprising in view of 無 ancient mju vs. 撫 ancient p'ju, or 武 ancient mju vs. 賦 ancient pju. The symbolologist or psychologist might investigate the meaning of these semantic associations with profit. Suffice it here to say that the possibly mysterious "net, membrane" concept seems to fit into the "fertility" idea, on the basis of 稗 and 穀, "membranous coverings of seeds of grain," via the various "ovary" words. I suggest that 浮 "to float" originally referred to the embryo in the amniotic fluid, and 浮 "many" to a multiple birth. Phonetically curious is 乳 (ancient nju, archaic nju) with the primitive 孚 which occurs in an abundance of words with labial initials having to do with "eggs" and "brood." Semantically it is consistent with its graphic relatives, since it has the meanings "nipple; suckle; breed."

⁷³ Text of the *Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series*, Supplement 10.52.

The shamaness of ancient China probably personified a fertility goddess, and the archaic graph, 𠂔°, which has the known connotations of "maternity" and "productiveness" as well as "shamaness," may have represented such a divine being, shown with the full breasts of the universal mother who was incarnate in her priestess as she danced for rain. CH'ÊN Meng-chia believes that the legendary Nü Wa 女媧, sister of Fu Hsi 伏羲, was a deified shamaness, possibly to be identified with the O 娥 of the oracle bones.⁷⁴ This divinity, known also as the "Divine Intermediary" (*shên mei* 神媒), was simultaneously a fertility goddess (for she was prayed to by barren women), and a rain goddess.⁷⁵ That this was a female deity, and that she was not merely an ancient empress as in the euhemeristic interpretation of the *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* may be known from the testimony of WANG Ch'ung 王充, who says that she was represented, presumably to worshippers, in the form of a woman.⁷⁶ This conversion of a shamaness into a deity is known from other times and places in China. An instance is the case of the shamaness styled Golder Flower 金華, who was enshrined in Canton after her death by drowning.⁷⁷

The role *par excellence* of the ancient shamaness was that of dancer for rain. The great ceremony of the Chou dynasty, revived sporadically in later periods, was named the Yü.⁷⁸ The

⁷⁴ The archaic readings of these two names are *nga (娥) and *kwa (媧). The identification is phonetically uncertain. See CH'ÊN Mêng-chia, *op. cit.*, 536.

⁷⁵ The close relation between the fertility of human beings and of the soil was as natural in China as elsewhere. Note for example the dual role of the ancient Mulberry Grove (*sang-lín* 桑林), where T'ang 湯 prayed for rain, and which was the mating place of youths and maidens. See the ode *Sang chung* 桑中, the fourth of the Yung 庸 series in the "Classic of Poetry," the story of the Shamaness of the Mulberry Field in the *Tso chuan* (Duke Ch'êng 成公 tenth year), and the ritual dance performed there, mentioned by Chuang-tzû (ch. 3).

⁷⁶ *Lun heng* 3 (Shun-ku p'ien 順鼓篇).

⁷⁷ LI T'iao-yüan 李調元, *Nan-yüeh pi-chi* 南越筆記 4.65 (TSCC). The prevalence of shamans in the south is observed by LI T'iao-yüan *op. cit.*, 4.65-66, with which compare *Shih chi* 12.8b.

⁷⁸ Phonetically this is the same word as *yü* 雨 "rain," in modern and ancient readings alike. Apparently the ritual existed among the Shang people in some form, since the graph has been identified on the oracle bones, in the form 𠂔°. See KARL-GREN, *Grammata Serica* No. 97r.

ritual code of Chou placed this ceremony specifically in the hands of the female shaman:

Female shamans shall be in charge of seasonal purification and anointing with aromatics, and in times of drought shall dance the Yü.⁷⁹

In later centuries, the shamaness was gradually removed from the official hierarchy, and forced to practise her divine arts among the people, like the European witch. Yet she retained a small place in the government at least until the Sui Dynasty. The Office of the Grand Diviner (*T'ai-pu shu* 太卜署) of that period employed various kinds of augurs, and sixteen male shamans (*nan-hsi* 男覡) and eight female shamans (*nü-wu* 女巫).⁸⁰

The ancient Chinese shaman was by definition a woman, but male shamans are known to have existed in every period of Chi-

⁷⁹ *Chou li*, "Tsung-po" 26.20a-b.

⁸⁰ *Sui shu* 28.2a. This office was under the jurisdiction of the T'ai-ch'ang Ssü 太常寺, which had existed under various titles since the Ch'in dynasty. See *Han shu* 19a.2b, *Hou Han shu* 35.1a, 2a, *Chin shu* 24.7a, *Sung shu* 39.7a-b, *Nan Ch'i shu* 16.3a-b, *Wei shu* 113.11b. During these dynasties the female shaman had varying fortunes. Under Han Kao Tsu they were extensively employed (*Shih chi* 28.7a-b), but under Wu Ti they were severely persecuted, although they had powerful connections within the ranks of the aristocracy. For a discussion of the shamans of Han and Ch'in times, and especially of their gradual transformation into professional entertainers (*ch'ang* 倡), see Mori Mikisaburō 森三樹三郎, "Shin-Kan ni okeru minkan saishi no tōitsu" 秦漢に於ける民間祭祀の統一 in *TG 東方學報* 11 (1940). 61-89. The second emperor of Later Chao, SHIH Hu 石虎 (A.D. 334-349), employed a host of female astrologers (*nü t'ai-shih* 女太史), and the foster mother of his Heir Apparent "first attained her advancement through shamanistic arts" (*Chin shu* 106.2a-b). During the early part of the Topa Wei dynasty, shamanesses were employed in various state ceremonies, but they were removed by Hsiao Wen Ti in A.D. 472 in an attempt to purify the official rites along orthodox Confucian lines (*Wei shu* 108a.2a-b, 7a.1b). The Office of the Grand Diviner was continued under the T'ang emperors, with the shamanistic personnel given as "fifteen shamanistic masters" (*wu-shih* 巫師), not distinguished as to sex (*T'ang shu* 48.3a, 4b-5a). Curiously, *Chiu T'ang shu* 44.7b does not mention shamans under this office at all. The number "fifteen" suggests that the eight shamanesses of Sui had been removed—the fifteen shamans of T'ang, plus a director, would constitute the sixteen *hsi* 覡 of Sui. Against this is the use of the word *wu*, with its usual feminine connotations plus the customary use of the logoid *shih* 師, in various titles known to apply to female shamans, e.g., *shih-p'o* 師婆 (*Chao-yeh chien-tsai* 朝野僉載 3.33 edit. of *TSCC*), or the *shih-wu* 師巫 of Kuangtung, who, although male, impersonated beautiful girls (Li T'iao-yüan *op. cit.* 1.5), and *shih-kung* 師公, used for shamanesses in the Canton area (*ibid.*, 1.13).

nese history since the Chou dynasty. These are ordinarily designated by the expression *nan wu* 男巫 "male shaman." Unless context shows definitely that the person in question is a man, the unqualified word *wu* may reasonably be translated "shamaness."

There exists, however, another word meaning "shaman," not used in the *Chou li*, and comparatively rare in Chinese literature. This is the word *hsi* 覡. Its presence in the *Ch'u yü* (see note 64 above) suggests at least the possibility that it may have been a Ch'u dialectical word. In later texts the binom *wu-hsi* 巫覡 occurs occasionally with the collective meaning "shamans." In the opinion of the writer, the Chou ruling class was particularly hostile to women in government, and regarded the ancient fertility rites as impure. This anti-female tendency was even more marked in the state of Lu, where Confucius approved of the official rain-ceremony in which men alone participated.⁸¹ There was, within ancient China, a heterogeneity of culture areas, with female shamans favored in some, males in others. The "licentiousness" of the ceremonies of such a state as Chêng (doubtless preserving the ancient Shang traditions and customs) was a by-word among Confucian moralists. Confucius' state seems on the other hand to have taken the "respectable" attitude that the sexes should not mingle in the dance, and that men were the legitimate performers of the fertility rites. The general practice of the later Chou period, or at least the semi-idealized picture given of the rites of that time in such books as the *Chou li*, apparently prescribed a division of magical functions between men and women. The former generally play the role of exorcists, the latter of petitioners. This is probably related to the metaphysical belief that women, embodying the principle *yin*, were akin to the spirits, whereas men, exemplifying the element *yang*, were naturally hostile to them.⁸²

A Chinese writer of the Ming dynasty has noted a phenomenon

⁸¹ M. GRANET, in *Festivals and Songs of Ancient China*, pp. 151-152, discusses this feature.

⁸² A similar situation has been observed in Korea. "In Korea, the male doctors attend to the duties of exorcism, while it is the work of their female colleagues to propitiate the spirits." J. L. MADDOX, *The Medicine Man, A Sociological Study of the Character and Evolution of Shamanism* 79.

which is apparent to any student of shamanistic practices in the course of Chinese history:

... the ancients, to relieve a drought, without fail employed female shamans; now we employ Buddhist and Taoist priests . . . if a female shaman was not obtainable, they sometimes used *nü-kuan* 女冠 (Taoist "nuns") or Buddhist "nuns" 比丘尼, seeking *yin* by means of *yin*.⁸³

The author of this illuminating passage goes on to say that monks are used in such rites because they are, in modern times, held in high esteem, whereas shamans (i.e., shamanesses) are little regarded. We have seen already that the exposure and burning ceremonies for making rain, where they did not devolve upon the Confucian functionary, tended in late historical times to be performed by male priests of the great religions.⁸⁴

A final note on the word *hsi*: the reading *chi* for the character 覡 in some dictionaries (e.g., MATHEWS, *Chinese-English Dic-*

⁸³ T'ANG Shun-chih 唐順之, *Ching-ch'uan pai-pien* 荆川稗編 "P'ing yü yung 評雋榮 (cited in *T'u-shu chi-ch'êng*, "Li-i tien" 244 Yü-ssü pu 雋祀部).

⁸⁴ Such was the force of tradition in respect to the basic femininity of the shaman, that male shamans in the Far East often impersonated women, either consciously, or because a nervous and impressionable temperament, that is, an "epileptoid" character, was considered a prerequisite for successful adoption of the shamanistic profession. This behavior pattern, typical of shamans in many parts of the world, might be an unconscious imitation of the attitudes and gestures of women. The shamans of Central and Southern China, called *luan-kung* 端公 and *nan-wu* 喃巫, are men disguised as women (Fu Ch'in-chia 傅勤家, *Chung-kuo tao-chiao shih* 中國道教史 47). The male shamans (*shih-wu* 師巫) of Kuangtung in the eighteenth century impersonated beautiful girls (Li T'iao-yüan, *op. cit.*, 1.5). DORÉ observes that the possessed boys of Amoy, with whom he was familiar, were occupied by *female spirits* (H. DORÉ, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine* 1.5 pp. 463 ff.). The shamans of the Ch'ing dynasty were frequently eunuchs, that is to say, artificial women (E. D. HARVEY, *The Mind of China*, pp. 127-133). I have not discovered textual examples of transvestites as shamans in ancient China, but Fu Ch'in-chia (*op. cit.*, 179-190) notes the prevalence of this linkage in ancient Korea, and it seems likely that its existence in eighteenth-century China stems from earlier practices which have been omitted or overlooked in the literature. There is a tradition that a king of Silla, in the year A. D. 576, instituted the official use of "flower boys" (*hua lang* 花郎) in place of female shamans (*San-kuo shih-chi* 三國史記, Hsin-lo pen-chi 新羅本紀 4.495-496, in *Chōsen-shi* 朝鮮史 published by the Government-General of Korea, 1932). For an example of the coupling of homosexuality with Korean shamanism in the thirteenth century, see *Kao-li shih* 高麗史 99.167a (Biography of HSÜAN Te-hsiu 玄德秀), and for a tale of a wizard "dressed in woman's clothes, as a shaman (*hsi*)," see Fu Ch'in-chia, *op. cit.*, 182.

tionary) seems to be illegitimate. It is probably based on the passage in *Hsün-tzū* ("Wang chih" 王制)⁸⁵ where the graph 擊, commonly read *chi*, is substituted for *hsi*. The commentary explains that 擊 is here to be read *hsi*; the deduction of an alternate reading of *chi* for 覡 is not warranted. I am unable to explain the anomalous use of the character 擊 in this passage. A possible link may be found, however, in the rare character *chi* 𠂔 * "rain demon." *Hsi* 覡 has ancient * γ iek, *chi* 擊 ancient *kiek, and *chi* 𠂔 * ancient *kiek. Perhaps the *hsi* was the man who personified this demon in a local ritual now lost.

VIII

WANG 尪 AND WANG 王

According to the *Tso chuan*,⁸⁶ mysterious personages called *wang* 尪 were burned in the rain-making ceremony along with the shamanesses. The word *wang*, like *hsi*, occurs sometimes as the second element of a binom with *wu* 巫, and some commentators take the whole group *wu-wang* to mean "female shamans." CH'ÊN Mêng-chia⁸⁷ has proposed that *wang* 尪 is merely an enlargement of *wang* 王 "king," and further that the "conjurer" *chu* 祝, who acts in company with the shamaness in the funeral rites described in the *Li chi* (T'an kung 檀弓) is another linguistic relative. The "phonetic" 兄 (* χ iwang) has, he believes, lost its original value in this word.

Other words belonging to the *wang* family are: 匡 *k'uang* (**k'iwang*) "square box," "crooked (!)"; 狂 *k'uang* (**g'iwang*) "mad"; 枉 *wang* (**i*wang) "crooked," "depraved"; 誑 *kuang* (**ki*wang) "deceive." The predominant ideas are "crooked," "deceitful," "mad." *Wang* (**wâ*ng) 尪 itself is said to connote

⁸⁵ 僂巫跛擊之事 "... affairs of hunchbacked shamanesses and lame shamans" For more about the attribution of physical deformity to shamans, see the section following, on *wang* 尪.

* For this character cf. *K'ang-hsi tz'ü-tien* p. 1634 entry no. 8.

⁸⁶ Duke Hsi 僖公 twenty-first year.

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.*, 535, 565. *Wang* were also exposed for rain; cf. *Li chi*, "T'an-kung."

“emaciated,” “crippled.” This group of words suggests strongly the shamanistic character of the prehistoric Chinese king, and probably also the delirium of the great shaman when possessed by a spirit, and the deceitfulness of his oracle. Compare the kinship of *wu* 巫 “shamaness” with *wu* 誣 “false witness.” Textual evidence supports the conception of the madness of a shaman in his delirium. Thus, “he simulated madness, (acting) like a shaman.”⁸⁸

These “madmen,” the *wang*, are ritualized in the *Chou li*, where the Fang-hsang-shih 方相氏, a demon impersonator, is provided with four assistants, called *k'uang-fu* 狂夫 “maniacs.”⁸⁹

The graph 匡 occurs as a substitute for *wang* 尫 in *Hsün-tzū*,⁹⁰ in a passage exactly like that cited above from the same book with reference to *hsi*. In this case, 匡 replaces 覡. We have then “lame *wang*” as well as “lame *hsi*,” i. e., impersonators of drought and rain spirits who are physically deformed. GRANET has pointed out the same characteristic in two of the sage-kings of antiquity, both of them noted in tradition for their power over the elements.

Witches have a virtue which renders them powerful. Their power lies in the fact of their being emaciated or quite dried up. Now, it happens that two founders of royal dynasties, T'ang the Victorious and Yü the Great, are represented in history as dried-up beings. Both inaugurated their reign by sacrificing themselves for the goods of their people, the one to put an end to drought, the other to stop a flood.⁹¹

The lameness of Yü, perpetuated in “the step of Yü” 禹步, or “the shamanistic step” 巫步, should also be mentioned in this connection. The evidence, although not conclusive, suggests a ritual sacrifice of the king-shaman for his people, resulting in his lameness or emaciation, his crookedness of back as complement to his crookedness of speech.

The word *wang* 尫 survives in the dialect of Amoy in the compound *ang-i* 尫姨, signifying a female shaman.⁹² Now the *wang*

⁸⁸ 佯狂爲巫. *Shih chi* 92.6b, and a similar passage in *Han shu* 45.2b. “Simulate” is *yang*, written 陽, 詳, or 佯.

⁸⁹ *Chou li* 7.5a (Hsia kuan 夏官). E. T. C. WERNER in “The Origin of the Chinese Priesthood,” *JNChRAS* 59, p. 192, makes the assertion that the Fang-hsiang-shih himself was “originally, as well as in later times” known as a *k'uang-fu*.

⁹⁰ “Chêng lun” 正論 12.5b.

⁹¹ *Chinese Civilization*, p. 191.

⁹² J. J. M. De GROOT, *The Religious System of China*, p. 1333.

尪 was the *wang* 王—the king in his ceremonial role as chief of the shamans. In the present state of our knowledge we do not know if, at the time when the two words were not yet completely differentiated, the *wang* was male or female. The possibility of the latter having been the case is suggested by (1) the possibility of a semantic survival in Amoy, (2) the fact that female shamanism was characteristic of this remote age, (3) the erstwhile high political status of prehistoric shamanesses, as indicated by traditions of Shang “ministers” called “The Shaman (ess) so-and-so” (see footnote 10 above), and (4) commentators’ definitions of the expression *wu-wang* as “female shamans.” Against this is the strength of the male tradition in Chinese kingship. Possibly, at the earliest period for which we can fruitfully contrive hypotheses, the high-shaman was a man while his subordinates were women. Moreover it seems reasonable that, at some stage, the *wang* 尪 was, if not the king himself, a substitute for the king in the rites of exposure and burning—crooked like the legendary Yü, a scapegoat in kingly guise.

IX

PO 魃 OR PO 夔

It has been stated that the ancient shamaness impersonated a drought spirit in the rain ceremony. This spirit, called *han-po* 旱魃, is known from the *Shih ching*.⁹³ No source as early as this, however, *describes* the spirit, but a text of the third century A. D. reveals, and later texts confirm the opinion, that it had eyes on top of its head. *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, citing the lost work of WEI Chao 韋昭 (A. D. 204-273), *Mao-shih ta-wên* 毛詩答問, says, “The eyes of the drought demon are on the top of its head.”⁹⁴

⁹³ Poem Yün han 雲漢. LEGGE translates the line in question, “The demon of drought exercises his oppression, as if scattering flames and fire.”

⁹⁴ *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 364.5b. The citation is garbled. The author's name is given as 韋曜, and the title of his book as 毛詩問 (without the 答). Moreover, *p'o* appears as 鬼. The *Tz'ü t'ung* makes the proper emendations but unnecessarily substitutes *t'ou* 頭 for *ting* 頂. WEI Chao's book is reconstructed in the *Yü-han-shan-fang chi-i-shu* 15.3a, with the title *Mao-shih ta-tsa-wên* 毛詩答雜問 and gives the passage

The same monster, in somewhat different guise, less monstrous in fact, appears in the *Shan-hai ching* 山海經.⁹⁵ The latter relates that on a certain mountain

There is a person clad in blue-green garments called Po, daughter of the Yellow God.⁹⁶ Ch'ih-yu 蚩尤 took up arms and attacked the Yellow God. The Yellow God then commanded Ying-lung 應龍 to attack him in the wilderness of Chi-chou 冀州. Ying-lung impounded the waters, and Ch'ih-yu besought the Earl of the Winds 風伯 and the Master of Rain 雨師 to let loose a great wind and rain. The Yellow God then sent down a sky-woman 天女 called Po, and the rain stopped, whereupon he killed Ch'ih-yu. Po was not able to ascend again, and where she stayed it did not rain.⁹⁷

In this myth the drought-demon is female and a benevolent character. She is a spirit with power over the rain.⁹⁸

as "The *po*-demon is man-shaped; its eyes are on top of its head" 魃鬼人形眼在頂上. This is based on a version in OU-YANG Hsün 歐陽詢, *I-wên lei-chü* 藝文類聚 100.

⁹⁵ Ta-huang pei ching 大荒北經 17.2b-3a (edit. of *Tzū-shu pai-chia*).

⁹⁶ Or, "The Yellow God's Nü-po."

⁹⁷ For a critical examination of this and related texts see B. KARLGREN, "Legends and cults in ancient China," *BMFEA* 18(1946).199-365. KARLGREN translates *ying-lung* as "Winged Dragon," but commentaries do not say that *ying* means "winged," only that Ying-lung is a dragon with wings. A literal translation: "Responding Dragon." LIU Ming-hsü 劉銘恕 has made the deity Po a clear solar goddess. This attractive thesis requires reading the *Shan-hai ching* passage as *t'ien nü jih po* 天女日魃 instead of the conventional *t'ien nü yüeh po* 曰, so that the name of the goddess becomes Jih-po 日魃. I do not know that any other scholar has suggested this emendation, which unhappily lacks the support of the appearance of the name *jih-po* in any other text. Nonetheless a drought-creating deity is most naturally the sun, and the ceremony *p'u* 暴 (□^u), graphically an offering (for practical or religious purposes) to that star, certainly was a ritual of exposure to its consuming rays. See LIU Ming-hsü, "Wu-liang tz'ü hou-shih-shih so-chien Huang-ti Ch'ih-yu chan-t'u k'ao 武梁祠後石室所見黃帝蚩尤戰圖考," *Bulletin of Chinese Studies* 2(1942).341-365, especially page 352. On p. 354 the author identifies "Jih-po" with the sky goddess Hsüan Nü 玄女, elsewhere an emissary of Heaven to the Yellow God. See CHANG Shou-chieh 張守節, *Shih-chi cheng-i* 史記正義 1.3a (edit. of *Ssü-pu pei-yao*), citing *Lung-yü ho t'u* 龍魚河圖.

⁹⁸ M. GRANET pairs Nü-po with a male counterpart, Kêng-fu 耕父 (GRANET translates "the Plowman"). This deity is mentioned in the *Shan-hai ching* and is elsewhere described as a drought demon (see *Hou Han shu* 15.4b, comm.). From his function, Kêng-fu is a male god of drought; from his name, also a fertility god. There is also a bird in the *Shan-hai ching* called *ch'ing-kêng* 青耕, which has the power to ward off the plague. The recurrence of the element *kêng* is interesting. Birds in China, as elsewhere, have power over rainfall (see J. G. FRAZER, *The Magic Art and the Evolu-*

Other tales of the goddess Po give her other properties. *Shên-i ching* 神異經 says,

In the southern regions there is a person about two or three feet long, bare of body, with eyes on top of its head (祖身而目在頂上). Its running is like the wind, and it is named Po. In the country where it appears there is a great drought, and there is red (naked) earth 赤土 for a thousand *li*. Its alternate name is Ko 格.⁹⁹ If he who encounters it captures it and throws it into a cesspool it will die, and the calamity of drought will abate.¹⁰⁰

The noteworthy addition here is the characterization of the deity as nude. Conceivably this reflects the appearance of the shamanistic dancer who impersonated her in ancient times.

tion of Kings (The Golden Bough), pp. 261, 287 ff. (3rd ed. London, 1911), and Mark W. HARRINGTON, "Weather Making, ancient and modern," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* (1894) 249-270, for many examples of rain-making and rain-predicting by birds). The *yü* 鵲 (sometimes identified with the kingfisher, but nowadays meaning "snipe") is a well-known Chinese rain-predicting bird; it is so described in the *Shuo wên*. As for *ch'ing-kêng*, *Shan-hai ching* says "it is shaped like a magpie, with a blue-green (*ch'ing*) body, a white beak, white eyes and a white tail." Some water bird is suggested, but the magpie shape seems to rule out the kingfisher. In China, drought spirits are barely distinguishable from plague spirits (see CH'EN Mêng-chia, *op. cit.*, 568, where he treats the demon personified by the Fang-hsiang-shih as bi-functional, drought-demon and plague-demon, originally identical).

⁹⁹ *kək (Arch. *klāk) or *γek (Arch. *g'lāk); cf. 垆 *γek (Arch. *g'lāk) "water drying off land," and compare the data on relatives of *lu* 露 "expose" given below.

¹⁰⁰ I translate the version cited in CH'EN Ch'í 錢琦, *Tao-yü tsa-chi* 禱雨雜紀 (TSCC) written in the sixteenth century. Other editions of the text of *Shên-i ching* (attributed to Tung-fang Shuo 東方朔 of the Han dynasty) vary considerably from the version given here. That of *Tzū-shu pai-chia* gives as another name of the drought spirit the graph ○ * (pronunciation unknown; this seems to be the only textual occurrence). In this edition the word "Po" does not appear as part of the basic text, but in the double-column commentary, thus: "Popularly it is called Han-po." The whole passage is absent from the edition of *Han Wei ts'ung shu*, which reproduces the version constructed by CH'ENG Jung 程榮 (Ming dyn.). The date of the attribution of the described characteristics to a being called Po is therefore impossible to determine. Nudity is not unknown as an attribute of deity in China. Cf. *Yü-ti ch'i-shêng* 128.7a, relative to Mt. Fu 福山: "The *Chün-kuo chih* 郡國志 says that on its summit there is a divine being, bare of body, with dishevelled hair. If a man sees it he will inevitably have good fortune. Hence its (i. e., the mountain's) name." See also W. EBERHARD on the naked god Kun, in *op. cit.*, 370, and the same author on the nude goddess of Kuangsi, called Yeh-p'o 野婆, in "Kultur und Siedlung der Randvölker Chinas," *TP*, Supplement to vol. 36 (1942) 357.

* For this character cf. *K'ang-hsi tzü-tien* p. 1708, third entry.

Henri MASPERO has observed the stubbornness with which European Sinologues persist in writing of this spirit as masculine, apparently following the authority of LEGGE in his translation of the *Shih ching*.¹⁰¹ Graphic evidence also points to the feminine nature of Po. A common alternate of *po* 魅 is *po* 妿.¹⁰² Furthermore there is little reason to doubt that the word *nü* 女 prefixed to the name *po* should be taken with its full semantic value. The compound *nü-po* occurs with fair frequency, although it is not as common as *han-po*.¹⁰³ *Nü-po* appears also with the graphs 女 妿. The passage in which the latter forms appear is interesting in adding another physical peculiarity to those already noted:

Nü Po is bald and hairless. In the places where she dwells it does not rain.¹⁰⁴

Doubtless the baldness symbolizes the lack of vegetation in drought-burned fields (cf. *fa* 髮 "hair," with phonetic 友).

The dynastic annals note from time to time the actual appearance, and occasionally the capture, of a drought spirit. Thus a *nü-po* was caught at Ch'ang-an in A. D. 680. Its length was one foot two inches, and "in this year it did not rain during the autumn nor until the first month of the following year."¹⁰⁵ Similarly the appearance of a *po* is registered in the fourteenth century: in A. D. 1336 a woman bore a son with a "dog's head," which died at birth. It was believed to be a *han-po*. Another was

¹⁰¹ H. MASPERO, "Légendes Mythologiques dans le *Chou King*," *JA* 204, p. 57, note 2.

¹⁰² Actually 魅 is the form of the *Shih ching*, and of the various editions of the *Shan-hai ching*. MASPERO (*loc. cit.*) notes, however, the remark of Ho I-hsing 郝懿行 in his *Shan-hai ching chien shu* 山海經箋疏 17.6a to the effect that according to Kuo P'u's commentary it is likely that the primitive text had 妿 and the commentary 魅. Moreover the citation in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 79.2b has 妿 uniformly for the 魅 of the standard editions of *Shan-hai ching*.

¹⁰³ Note the compound *nü-po* in the *Chu-shu chi-nien* 竹書紀年 (Pt. 1, Ch. 1), in a passage translated by LEGGE; "By means of the Heavenly Lady Pă, he stopped the extraordinary rains caused by the enemy." LEGGE notes that this may be an interpolation of the sixth century by the commentator SHÊN Yüeh 沈約.

¹⁰⁴ Ts'AO Hsien 曹憲, *Wên-tzŭ chih-kuei* 文字指歸 cited in *Kuang yün* 廣韻, rhyme 末, under 女 妿. Ts'AO Hsien wrote during the Sui dynasty. *Kuang yün*'s definition of *po* 妿 is "spirit woman" (鬼婦).

¹⁰⁵ *T'ang shu* 36.9a.

seen in A. D. 1354, during a great drought.¹⁰⁶ In the first of these notices we see a common feature of the folklore of historic times—the association of abnormal births with the drought spirit. This notion is generalized by CHU Yü 朱彥, writing in the early twelfth century:

The tradition is that if a woman bears something in a demon's shape and is unable to seize and kill it, it will fly away, but will return by night, go to her breast and cause the mother much suffering. This is popularly called a *han-po*.¹⁰⁷

This statement immediately calls to mind the story of the exposure of the woman in Northern Yen (see above, p. 135) who had borne a drought demon. The text just quoted goes on to distinguish between male and female *po*, but the term *êrh-po* 兒魃 (as distinguished from *nü-po*) is unique here. It may be a late folkloristic development to account for the obvious masculinity of some monstrous births.

But the drought spirit has also, in relatively recent times, been materialized as a corpse. Thus a text of the eighteenth century:

The *han-po* is in fact always a cadaver. If it is exhumed and burned, this will often cause it to rain.¹⁰⁸

The burning of the shamaness who impersonated the deity in archaic times is relevant to this concept. Is the latter a vestige of the ritual in popular legend?

The family of words written with the phonetic 𠂔 has the root meaning of "root; uproot; pull out," and conversely of "cover; protection." It also includes a number of words with ceremonial connotations, especially exorcistic:

𠂔	po/*b'uât	"expel"
𠂔	"	"trample; foot"
𠂔	"	"furrow" (also written 𠂔, alternate pronunciation fa/*b'iwæt)
𠂔	po/*puât	"body hairs"
𠂔	"	"grass roots"

¹⁰⁶ Both from *Yüan shih* 元史 51.7b.

¹⁰⁷ CHU Yü, *K'o t'an* 可談 8a (in *Pai-ch'uan hsüeh-hai* 百川學海).

¹⁰⁸ CHI Yün 紀昀, *Yüeh-wei-ts'ao-t'ang pi-chi* 閱微草堂筆記 7.1b.

拔	pa/*b'wat	“pull out,” or
	pei/*b'uâi	“trees thinned out”
髮	fa/*p̥iɰwət	“hair”
輶	po/*b'uât	“road sacrifice” ¹⁰⁹
袂	fa/*b'ïwət	“shield”
紱	fu/*p̥iɰət	“silken waist-band for seal”
韍	fu/*p̥iɰət	“knee cover” ¹¹⁰
黻	fu/*p̥iɰət	“embroidered symbols on robe”
帔	fu/*p̥iɰət	“ceremonial wand” ¹¹¹
祓	fu/*p̥iɰət	“exorcise”

The last of these words is employed in the *Chou li* in describing the exorcistic activities of the female shamans.¹¹² It was, in short, a word used to describe the banishing of the spirit of drought and infertility, personalized in the goddess Po 敔.¹¹³

To the list of related words already given, the following may be added:

* 𡵓	po/*b'uât	“trample grass”
撥	“	“uproot”
伐	fa/*b'ïwət	“strike; plow furrow”

¹⁰⁹ See Bruno SCHINDLER, “On the Travel, Wayside and Wind Offerings in Ancient China,” *AM* 1 (1924). 651-3. SCHINDLER regards the *po* 輶 as essentially a dog sacrifice, and does not make much of its connection with *po* 𡵓 and *fu* 祓. Dogs or no dogs, the *po* 輶 sacrifice was certainly exorcistic, though not directly connected with droughts.

¹¹⁰ The specific ceremonial purpose of some of these garments in ancient times is not clear. That they *did* in fact have ritual significance is certain. See *Li chi*.

¹¹¹ So KARLGREN. For the *fu* dance 帔舞, see *Chou li* 3.36b-37a (*Ssü-pu ts'ung-k'an*) under *wu-shih* 舞師 “Dance Master,” and *ibid.* 6.7b under *yiiieh-shih* 樂師 “Music Master.” This dance was performed with feathers, and was connected with the worship of the fertility god, *Shê chi* 社稷. The dance particularly connected with rain-making, in the systematization of the *Chou li*, was the *huang* dance 皇舞, a part of the *Yü* 雩 ceremony.

¹¹² See note 80 for reference. “Purification” there is the word I translate “exorcise” here.

¹¹³ The conversion of a rite into a deity is a phenomenon not unknown in the history of religions, see for instance Gilbert MURRAY, *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, p. 28, and *passim* (London: The Thinker's Library, 1943). The applicability of this theory here is not certain.

*For this character cf. *K'ang-hsi tzü-tien* p. 867 entry no. 25.

罰	“	“punish”
𠂔	po/*puât	“trampling feet”
撥	“	“bend”
蓑	“	“straw raincoat”
發	fa/*p̥iɰwət	“shoot; throw out”
弗	fu/*p̥iɰət	“remove” ¹¹⁴
剗	fu/*p̥iɰət	“chop”
拂	“	“brush off”
廢	fei/*p̥iɰwɛi	“remove”
佛	fu/*b̥iɰət	“resist”
拂	“	“oppose”
曝	fei/*p̥jwɛi	“expose to sun” (曝也!)

The etymon appears to be something like *BWAD, with a palatalized variant (contrast 𠂔 *b'uât with 𠂔 *p̥iɰət). The meanings may have been: non-palatalized—“to uproot”; palatalized—“to ward off,” both convergent in the meaning “exorcise.” Possibly related is Tibetan *byad* “1. symmetry, beauty; 2. enemy; wicked demon; imprecation, malediction.”¹¹⁵ The vocalization is difficult. But (1) the velar vowel is almost universal after labial initials in ancient Chinese; it is an extension of the initial, peculiar to that language; (2) a palatalized form of the root word existed in archaic Chinese, as indicated above; (3) analogous Chinese-Tibetan correspondences have already been proposed. Thus Chinese 八 *pwat “eight” with Tibetan *brgyad* “eight.”¹¹⁶

As for the form 𠂔, the *Shuo wên* does not list the meaning “name of a drought deity” in its definition of this word. It gives only the meaning “beauty of a woman.” Moreover the *Chi yüan* 集韻¹¹⁷ says that 𠂔 is a word for “woman” among the

¹¹⁴ 弗 is used in the sense of “exorcise” in *Shih ching* (ode Shêng min 生民) in reference to the goddess Chiang Yüan 姜嫄, ancestress of the Chou royal clan, who sacrificed “in order to exorcise her barrenness” 以弗無子 (see commentary of CHENG Hsüan 鄭玄).

¹¹⁵ H. A. JÄSCHKE, *A Tibetan English Dictionary* (London, 1934).

¹¹⁶ See Walter SIMON, “Tibetisch-chinesische Wortgleichungen,” *MSOS* 32 (1929). 1732, 213. It has been otherwise proposed that Chinese 割 *kât is the true cognate of Tibetan *brgyad*. This does not rule out the Chinese -a- Tibetan -ya- correspondence either.

Ch'iang 羌 people. Possibly we have a pair of homonyms here: *po* 𡇗 (in *nü-po*) as an alternate of 𡇗, to emphasize the feminine nature of the deity, and *po* 𡇗, a loan-word from a western dialect given lexical status by the *Shuo wên*. Or perhaps the goddess of drought was of western origin, called in her homeland simply "The Woman," with *nü* prefixed by the Chinese by way of explanation. To the writer, however, the best explanation is to regard the word as common to archaic Chinese and Tibetan, from a proto-Sino-Tibetan original, with one of its meanings "woman," or "female beauty," reintroduced into Chinese as a loan-word. The meanings of Tibetan *byad* (beauty; demon; imprecation) correspond nicely to Chinese 𡇗, 𡇗, and 𡇗. The chart on the following page indicates the possible lines of development.

X

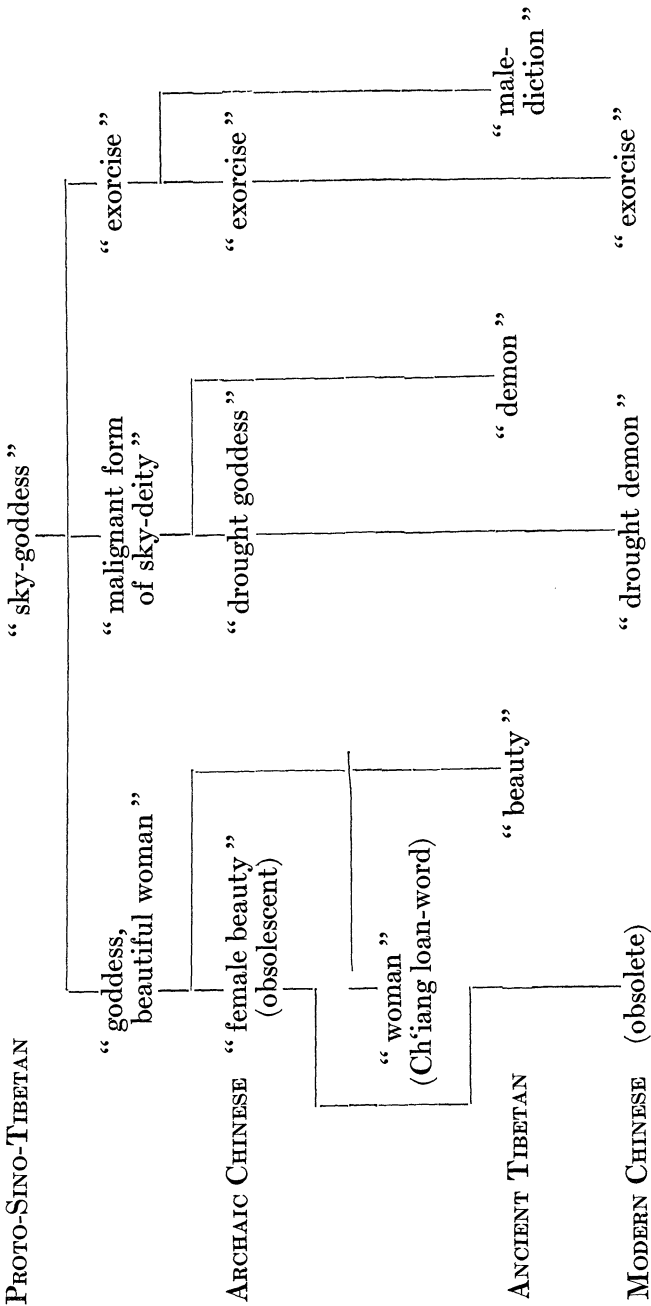
P'U 暴, LU 露 AND HSIANG 襄

The character 暴, standardized by antique usage in the meaning "to expose (a person, esp. in a rain-making rite)," has the usual reading *pao*/*b'âu (Archaic *b'og), in which case it means "fierce, violent." In the former meaning, however, the word is *p'u*/*b'uk. The seal character of *Shuo wên* is 𡇗, explained in TUAN Yü-ts'ai's commentary as a pair of hands holding rice up to the rising sun to dry it.¹¹⁷ The primary meaning of the word was "expose to the sun," surviving in the enlargement *p'u* 曝. The "ablaut" form *pao* "fierce" was probably derivative as far as this graph was concerned. The meaning "to expose (someone) to the sun," as in a rain ceremony, is at least as old as the Chou dynasty, as we have seen from the textual occurrences of the expression *p'u-wu* 暴巫. It is even possible that the meaning "violent" traditionally assigned to 暴 in some texts is incorrect. A possible emendation along these lines is suggested by a passage

¹¹⁷ *Chi yün*, Sung text in *Wu yün* 五韻, rhyme 末, under 撥.

¹¹⁸ *Tuan-chu Shuo-wên chieh-tzû* 段注說文解字 7a.11b.

CHART INDICATING THE LINES OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE DESIGNATIONS
FOR THE GODDESS OF DROUGHT



in Mencius: 自暴者不可與有言也.¹¹⁹ LEGGE translates this as “With those who do violence to themselves it is impossible to speak.” The alternative interpretation, reading *p’u* for *pao* (and the phrase *tzū p’u* “to expose oneself” is common enough), is “It is not possible to have speech with those who expose themselves,” that is, to speak with shamanistic rain-makers (a jab at the decaying ancient religion or at fanatics). This thesis, though suggestive, is not now possible to prove.

Etymological relatives of *pao/p’u* are not common. Aside from enlargements of 暴, such as 曝, 瀑, and 爆, the word *p’ao/*b’âu* (Arch. *b’ôg) 炮 “roast; fierce” goes with the linguistic form *pao*, and *po/*pâk* (Arch. *pŭk) 剝 “strip, lay bare” with the form *pu*. Of particular interest is *p’o/*p’âk* (Arch. *p’ŭk) 朴 “bark of a tree,” that is, “what is stripped off,” from *pu/*puk* (Arch. *puk) 卜 “diviner.”¹²⁰ Thus the connection between stripping/exposure and magical activities seems borne out by the philological evidence.¹²¹

Another word commonly used, especially in later texts, to mean “expose” is *lu* 露. This probably meant “expose to the dew” in contrast to “expose to the sun,” which was *p’u*. With this should be compared *lo/*luâ* (Arch. glwâr) “naked” 裸.

露	<i>lu/*luo/*glâg</i>	“to expose”
落	<i>lo/*lâk/*glâk</i>	“to shed leaves”
輅	“	“rawhide, skin”
烙	“	“burn”
垆	<i>ho/*ɣœk/*g’lâk</i>	“water drying up”
骼	<i>ko/*kœk/*klâk</i>	“bare bones” ¹²²

¹¹⁹ Li lou 離婁 a.

¹²⁰ 朴 alternates with 暴, as in 辟暴 “open up”; “split open and expose.” Alternate form 棼朴. See *Tz’ü t’ung* 2313. Also note *po* 襍, usually “(red) collar,” in 表襍, identical with 表暴 and 標白 “to set forth.” See *Tz’ü t’ung* 2295.

¹²¹ Non-Chinese cognates are probably Siamese *bpauk*⁴ (McFARLAND; pò:g in the phonemic transcription of Dr. Mary HAAS) “to pare, peel, flay; stripped off,” and perhaps Tibetan *pags-pa* “skin, hide, bark” (JÄSCHKE).

¹²² See the *Shih wên* 釋文 commentary on the *Li chi*, Yüeh ling 月令.

Lo 烙 is particularly interesting as part of the term *p'ao-lo* 炮烙, described in *Shih chi* 3 as a "punishment" employed by Chou Hsin. Possibly the Chou conquerers have so interpreted a religious rite analogous to fire-walking in the Western world. The punishment is elsewhere (*Lieh nü chuan* 列女傳) said to consist in having the victim tread a metal pole over a fire. *Lu* 路, as the basic form of 露, goes with this set, especially in view of *lu-tan* 路亶 "naked."¹²³ Similarly *lo* 落 "stripped" appears in *lo-tan* 落亶 (or 落單), equivalent to modern *lu-t'an* 露袒.¹²⁴ A series of binoms indicates an archaic word *B^uGLAK:

暴露 (Archaic)	*b'uk-glâg ¹²⁵
剝落	" *pŭk-glâk
暴樂	" *b'uk-glâk (or b'og-glâk)
(爆爍	" " " " ")
炮格	" *b'ôg-klăk
炮烙	" *b'ôg-glâk ¹²⁶

The first three correspond to modern *p'u* 暴 "expose," the last two to modern *pao* 暴 "do violence to (by fire)."

A possible connection between the concepts of "stripping" and "fertility" may be found in the word *hsiang*/**siang* (Arch. **snjang*) 襄. *Shuo wên* explains, "(In) the Han law, to plow with the clothes removed is called *hsiang*." Something more than the common near or complete nudity of a peasant at work seems to be involved.¹²⁷ Graphs embodying the primitive 襄 are quite numerous, and carry such meanings as "strip" and "fertile" as will be seen below. But of particular interest is 禳 *jang*/**ńziang* (Arch. **ńiang*), explained by *Shuo wên* as a ceremony to expel noxious influences, and appearing in *Chou li* with that meaning.¹²⁸ The word also appears conjoined with *fu* 祓 as *fu-jang* (**p'juet-*

¹²³ *Hsün-tzŭ*, I-ping p'ien 議兵篇 10.2b (edit. of *Ssŭ-pu ts'ung-k'an*).

¹²⁴ LIU Hsiang 劉向, *Hsin hsü* 新序 3.36 (TSCC).

¹²⁵ See the story of Ch'í Ching Kung and Yen-tzŭ and the letter of YING Ch'ü above; also the tale of Fo-t'u-têng.

¹²⁶ See *Tz'ŭ t'ung* 23.21, 23.61.

¹²⁷ I am indebted for this suggestion to Prof. P. A. BOODBERG.

¹²⁸ "T'ien kuan" 2.30b, under *Nü chu* 女祝.

ńziang) in *Tso chuan* where it describes a ceremony to avert the calamity of fire.¹²⁹ The rite is specifically connected with the *she* 社, altar to the earth-deity, suggesting that this kind of exorcism was traditionally for the fertility of the land.

Following are members of the family (readings, as usually, follow KARLGREN):

饗	shang/*síang	“bring food to field-workers”
壤	jang/*ńziang	“cultivated soil; mound; rich”
攘	“ “	“pull away; pull up sleeves”
穰	“ “	“heavy with dew”
禳	“ “	“exorcistic rite”
穰	“ “	“rich growth of grain”
讓	“ “	“yield; give way”

The strip/fertile/exorcism complex, then, is repeated in this phonetically very uniform series.¹³⁰

XI

T'AN 袒

The graphic series using the phonetic 旦 includes a few words which, taken together, indicate a root meaning of “to remove a covering.”

袒	t'an	“to be bare”
坦	t'an	“to lay bare (MATHEWS); opened up”
袒	tan	“to brush off; to dust” ¹³¹

A branch of this word-family has the final stop instead of nasal.

¹²⁹ Chao Kung 昭公 eighteenth year. LEGGE translates the passage 大爲社祓禳於四方 thus: “celebrated a great sacrifice at the altar of the land, and ordered exorcisms and deprecatory sacrifices throughout the state.” Better would be “made Earth-altars on a large scale and performed exorcistic rites to the four directions.”

¹³⁰ Compare 穰 with 露 in the latter's meaning of “dew,” as against 襄 and 攘 with 露 in the latter's meaning “expose (to dew).”

¹³¹ There is a curious analogy between this series and the meanings of *ch'ih* 赤 “red, naked.” Note here *tan* (*tân) 丹 “red,” and *tan* (*tân) 旦 “sunrise” (emphasis on the redness of dawn?).

Thus *ta*/*tât 怛 “grieved.” There is not much to be done with this, but *ta*/*tât 姪 is more suggestive.¹³²

GRANET, that imaginative sociologist, writing of the “orgies” of Chou Hsin, which he believes to have been the midwinter ceremonies of the Shang court to assure the reascendancy of the *yang* principle, says:

Therefore their winter festivals ended with an orgy in which men and women, formed into opposing groups, struggled together and tore off each other's garments. . . . In the same way, in the royal festival, men and women pursued each other, quite naked. Singing a song which treated of the death of the sun, they then danced round dances.¹³³

Without saying yea or nay to the assumption that this was the expression of a solar cult, I wish to add my support to GRANET's belief that the great festival, interpreted by the Chou moralists as merely a secular display of licentiousness, was in fact a religious ceremony. But in addition I wish to emphasize that Chou Hsin is usually said to have instituted these orgies at the instigation of the beloved lady Ta Chi 姪己.¹³⁴ This was the same lady who is supposed to have taken special pleasure in the fire ceremony called *p'ao-lo*. While it is easy to see in the nudity of the celebrants an ancient custom in fertility rites, it requires a more extravagant leap of the fancy to see in Ta Chi a priestess of the cult. The commentaries say that Chi was the family name of the princes of Su 蘇 from whom she was descended, and that she

¹³² It may be that these words provide a link with another series with a velar vowel: *t'o* (*t'uât) 脫 “to peel off, remove (clothes)”; *t'uei* (*t'uái) 蛻 “exuviae of insects,” etc.); *t'o* (*t'uât) 掇 “take away” (also read *shuei* (*šiwäi) “to wipe off,” cf. *tan* 担 above); *shuei* (*šiwäi) 帨 “kerchief” (i.e., “wiper”). It should be noted that the character 襴 often interchanges with 袒. In the meaning of “to be bared” it is read *tan* (*d'ân). But it appears frequently, especially in the *Li chi*, in the sense of “plain, undecorated (of clothes),” from “bare, unadorned,” in which case it should be read *chan* (*t'jän). Possibly related are *tan* (*tân) 單 “single; simple” and *tan* (*tân) 禪 “unlined garment.” *Tan i* 檀衣 “unadorned clothes” are regularly prescribed for noble women of certain ranks at important ceremonies. The phonetic series with 亶 is probably closely related to both 旦 and 單. We might add *t'an* (*d'ân) 壇 “altar, especially for burnt offerings” in view of the religious connotations of the whole complex. *Tan* (*tân) 亶 must be included in view of *lu tan* 路亶. See above, p. 172.

¹³³ *Chinese Civilization*, p. 201.

¹³⁴ See *Shih chi* 3.4b. The name is also written 姪姬.

was styled (*tsü*) Ta. Could her name have been in fact a descriptive title, "The Nude (Lady) of the Chi clan?"

APPENDIX

RITUAL NUDITY IN NON-SINITIC CULTURES

The legend of Ishtar and Tammuz furnishes a Western parallel to the Chinese ritual of exposing a shamaness to obtain power over the spirit of drought. The Mesopotamian goddess sought to coerce Allatu, goddess of the nether world, whose minister was the demon of plague and whose scribe was "The Lady of the Desert," into releasing her lover. To effect this end she was required to abandon successively parts of her clothing, until she reached her objective quite nude.¹ Ritual exposure, whether it illustrates a pre-existent myth, or whether it is justified by the creation of a pertinent myth, or whether its existence in a cult has no traceable links in mythology, purports to give power over the mysterious forces of the universe. In this appendix, I have collected, with as little comment as possible, a number of instances illustrating the exposure of human beings in a ritualistic way outside of China, emphasizing those which aim at controlling the weather and the fertility of the soil. The list could be easily added to, and doubtless other examples will occur to the reader.

Ritual exposure in weather magic, including rain-making, usually takes the form of complete or partial nudity.² In various forms, and linked with various other ceremonial procedures, ritual nudity is very widespread in Europe, Africa and Asia. In the ancient Roman culture sphere, a naked woman (especially when menstruating, but not necessarily) had the power to quell storms.³ Maimonides, using Oriental sources partly based on such works as the Greek *Geoponica*, tells that four women lying on their backs with raised legs, exposing themselves to the sky, have the power to stop a hailstorm.⁴ A similar custom survives in modern Serbia, where an old woman can exorcise the storm-spirits by baring her buttocks to the clouds.⁵ In Gaul a maiden stood naked in a river and was whipped with branches as a rain-charm.⁶ For Germany in the eleventh century, Bishop Burchard of Worms reports that

¹ Marian EDWARDES and Lewis SPENCE, *A Dictionary of Non-classical Mythology* 8, p. 92 (Everyman's Library, 3rd edit.).

² For a study of weather-magic of all kinds see H. BERKUSKY, "Regenzauber," *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 43 (1913) 273-310.

³ C. Plini Secundi, *Naturalis Historiae* 28.23.

⁴ M. FRIEDLANDER, *The Guide of the Perplexed of Maimonides* 3 (London, 1885), 171 (Chapter 37).

⁵ F. S. KRAUSS, "Erotik und Skatologie im Zauberbann und Bannspruch," *Anthropophyteia* 4 (1907) 170.

⁶ J. A. MACCULLOCH, "Branches and Twigs," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* 2, p. 833.

a young girl was undressed, henbane tied to her foot, and splashed with water, to bring a fall of rain.⁷ In such cases devices of sympathetic magic and the like have attached themselves to the nudity custom. In Rumania, Serbia, Croatia, Bulgaria and Greece there is the custom of stripping a girl (known as the *papaluga* in Rumania) and covering her with leaves and flowers as part of a rain-making ceremony.⁸ Also in Transylvania, to bring an end to a drought, a group of nude girls drag a harrow into the fields.⁹ In Ruthenia, at the end of the eighteenth century, naked women were thrown into the water to bring rain after a long drought.¹⁰ In this general connection, it is interesting that in Germany it is believed that if a storm-creating witch can be detected by a counter-charm, she will be seen completely nude, and will fall from the clouds in this condition.¹¹ In Wallachia, nude women pour water on the ground by night to end a drought.¹² Among the Bantu on the banks of the Limpopo, the village women remove their clothes, dance and call upon the rain to fall.¹³ Elsewhere in South Africa, there is a special group of rain-making girls who, in performing their rites, are "almost naked" and striped with ashes.¹⁴ Among other Bantu groups a woman who had a miscarriage, together with her husband, must undergo a ceremony of purification, both naked, to relieve a drought.¹⁵ Note the similarity to the Chinese idea that abnormal births are drought demons. Among various Moroccan groups, unclothed women play ball games to induce a rainfall; in the Great Atlas women are made to fall over and expose themselves in a tug-of-war for a similar purpose; elsewhere rain can be stopped by a newly married couple lifting their garments to reveal their bodies.¹⁶ Similarly, in Morocco, bad weather can be stopped by a maiden showing her nudity to the sky.

⁷ Jacob GRIMM, *Teutonic Mythology* 2 (trans. of 4th edit. London, 1883), p. 593; E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ, "Charms and Amulets (Christian)," *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics* 3, p. 419; Dan MCKENZIE, "Children and Wells," *Folk-lore* 18.3 (1907) 277-278.

⁸ Wilhelm MANNHARDT, *Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme* (Berlin, 1875), pp. 329-331; E. GERARD, *The Land Beyond the Forest, Facts, Figures and Fancies from Transylvania* (New York, 1888), pp. 202-203; J. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 2, pp. 593-594.

⁹ MANNHARDT, *op. cit.*, p. 553. A recent and detailed study of the uses of nakedness in Hungary is the article of Thomas A. SEBEOK, "Data on Nakedness and related traits in Hungary," *Journal of American Folklore* 61 (1948) 356-363.

¹⁰ Karl WEINHOLD, "Zur Geschichte des heidnischen Ritus," *Abhandlungen der königl. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin* 33 (1896).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹² Raimund Friedrich KAINDL, "Zauberglaube bei den Huzulen," *Globus* (1899) p. 253.

¹³ Henri-A. JUNOD, "Les conceptions physiologiques des Bantou Sud-Africains et leurs Tabous," *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie* 1 (1910) 141.

¹⁴ H. W. GARBUTT, "Native Witchcraft and Superstitions in South Africa," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 39 (1909) 550.

¹⁵ W. C. WILLOUGHBY, *The Soul of the Bantu* (New York, 1928), p. 211.

¹⁶ Edward WESTERMARCK, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* 2 (London, 1926), pp. 268, 271, 278-279.

"The sky is ashamed to be covered when the young girl shows herself: the thunder stops and the weather turns fine again."¹⁷ In India, nude rain-making is very prevalent. The women of Bihar strip themselves and drag a plow across the fields to end the drought, just as in Transylvania.¹⁸ This method of producing rain by yoking nude women to a plow is also found among the Gonds and the Korkus.¹⁹ Elsewhere in North India, a downpour may be stopped by a naked woman putting a stool in a courtyard, and hailstorms may be stopped by a naked male sorcerer with a trident and rosary.²⁰ The Gonds employ a naked bachelor to stop excessive rain, and the Korkus use a naked boy.²¹ Note that women are employed for creating rain, men for banishing it. In South India, the Telugus send a nude little girl into the rain with a torch to halt the downpour.²² In the Bombay area rainfall is halted by the turning of a spinning wheel made of human bones by a naked person, and in the Deccan naked boys with leaves on their heads are the rain-bringers, like the Rumanian rain-maidens.²³ A curious variant of the nudity rite is found in Madras, where women of an agricultural caste ensure a heavy rainfall with a procession whose central figure is an image of a naked human being—this they escort while singing obscene songs.²⁴ Obscene language often serves the same purpose as nudity. Thus female worshippers of a form of Indra dance and sing obscene songs by night to bring rain.²⁵ In Assam, the men (including even the Raja) use obscene language to relieve a prolonged drought, while the women strip themselves in the fields by night.²⁶ Among the Rājibansis of Bengal, the women have a special ceremony for the alleviation of a long drought: they make images of a god from mud or cowdung, and dance naked around them by night, singing obscene songs.²⁷ Formerly in Formosa the natives went about for considerable periods perfectly nude to insure a normal rainfall, and the shamanesses brought the help of the spirits by appearing stark naked both in the temples and in public.²⁸ Among the Minangkabau of Sumatra a young boy is escorted

¹⁷ Françoise LEGEY, *The Folklore of Morocco* (transl. by Lucy Hertz, London, 1935), pp. 49-50.

¹⁸ Walter LUPTON, "Har Parauri," *JRAS* (1898).194; Sarat Chandra Mitra, "On the Harparowri or the Behari Women's Ceremony for Producing Rain," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* 4.7 (1895-99).388.

¹⁹ R. V. RUSSELL, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* 3 (London, 1916), pp. 106, 563.

²⁰ Sarat Chandra Mitra, "Further Notes on Rain-Compelling and Rain-Stopping Charms," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* 7.1 (1904).198.

²¹ R. V. RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, 3, pp. 106-107, 562.

²² M. N. VENKETSWAMI, "Telugu Superstitions," *Indian Antiquary* 24 (1895).359.

²³ R. E. ENTHOVEN, *The Folklore of Bombay* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 321, 323.

²⁴ J. G. FRAZER, "Agricultural Superstitions in Bellary," *Folk-lore* 18 (1907).332.

²⁵ G. A. GRIERSON, "Notes on the Rangpur Dialect," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 46.1 (1877).188.

²⁶ T. C. HODSON, *The Meitheids* (London, 1908), p. 108.

²⁷ H. H. RISLEY, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* 1 (Calcutta, 1892), p. 498.

²⁸ Rev. Wm. CAMPBELL, *Formosa under the Dutch described from contemporary records*, pp. 16, 25, 76.

to a river by nearly nude women and there doused with water as a rain-charm.²⁹

Ritual nudity in weather magic is a special instance of ritual nudity in fertility magic. I list here some instances of this practice in rites designed to promote an ample harvest, other than those directly concerned with the weather. Pliny observes that a nude woman, during her menstruation, can destroy the vermin in a grainfield.³⁰ Naked feet, a sub-variety of complete nudity, is a common ritualistic device, and the Roman ceremony called *Nudipedalia* was performed when crops were threatened by excessive heat.³¹ Moreover the custom of sending a naked virgin about a field to destroy noxious weeds is reported from the classical world.³² The Roman rite of Floralia, originally a fertility ceremony, was celebrated with games played by nude prostitutes.³³ In relatively recent times a Scottish woman was accused of attempting to insure the prosperity of her land by revealing her nakedness from the waist down.³⁴ Numerous rituals involving nudity for the sake of the fertility of the soil are reported among the Finns and Ests.³⁵ In East Prussia a nude or half-nude woman must go into a newly sown field to avert mildew, and there is a similar custom in Transylvania as a protection against fire.³⁶ In the eighteenth century in Esthonia, barren women danced naked around a bonfire, and the festival of Midsummer Night in the same area has been compared to a bacchanal, both in respect to nudity and licentiousness.³⁷ Certain women, comparable to the witches of western Europe, perform fertility-ensuring ceremonies among the Bulgars, always unclothed.³⁸ In Lusatia, south-eastern Germany, the girls go naked into the fields to make the flax grow.³⁹ Not for fertility, but to avert the plague, Russian peasant girls, "clad only in their shifts," drag a plow around the village. The single garment seems to be "a modern concession to decency," and the ritual is analogous to the rain-

²⁹ J. L. van der TOORN, "Het Animisme bij de Minangkabauer der Padangschen bovenlanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië* 5.5 (1890).93.

³⁰ *Naturalis Historiae* 28.23.

³¹ Josephus HECKENBACH, "De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis," *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 9.3 (1911).29.

³² *Ibid.*, 51.

³³ *Ibid.*, 59.

³⁴ J. M. McPHERSON, *Primitive Beliefs in the North-east of Scotland* (London, 1929), p. 236.

³⁵ A. V. RANTASALO, "Der Ackerbau im Volksaberglauben der Finnen und Esten mit entsprechenden Gebräuchen der Germanen verglichen," *F. F. Communications* 30 (1919).87-88, 31 (1919).127-129.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.7.

³⁷ Hermann Heinrich PLOSS, Max BARTELS and Paul BARTELS, *Woman, an historical gynaecological and anthropological compendium* 2 (London, 1935), p. 295; Karl PEARSON, *The Chances of Death and other studies in Evolution* 2 (London and New York, 1897), p. 40.

³⁸ George POLIVKA, "Neuere Arbeiten zur slawischen Volkskunde, 2. Südslawisch in den Jahren 1910-1913," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 23 (1913).325.

³⁹ J. KOŠTIAL and T. DANIČIĆ, "Nacktheitzauber," *Anthropophyteia* 8 (1911).288.

making ceremonies of Transylvania and Bihar.⁴⁰ In northeast Italy a woman banishes harmful grubs from her turnip field by sitting naked astride a tub and reciting an exorcistic formula.⁴¹ Human fertility is ensured in Morocco by the hopeful women walking naked in a garden on Midsummer Night.⁴² For the fertility of the yam crop, all the women of a Nigerian village proceed naked at dawn to a sacred pool.⁴³ Hottentot girls run about naked in a thunderstorm to make themselves fruitful.⁴⁴ In parts of northern India, barren women stand nude in the sun and ask that deity for offspring.⁴⁵ In the Bombay area girls are bathed and exposed to the sun as soon as they reach puberty, and in the same region female worshippers of the Pipal tree perform a nocturnal ceremony devoid of clothing. Both of these customs are for the purpose of obtaining children.⁴⁶ The fruitfulness of crops is ensured among a pagan people of Celebes by the employment of obscenity by naked women at night.⁴⁷ In the Trobriand islands there is a garden rite performed by the women, who are naked.⁴⁸ Similar rites have been observed in aboriginal America: Algonkin women went nude into the fields at night to rid the crops of pests.⁴⁹ A race between naked men and women featured a ceremony for ripening crops in ancient Peru.⁵⁰

Nudity in fertility rites is an aspect of nudity in general magic and in religion. Nakedness has often been noted as an attribute of witches making magic, as well as a feature of all kinds of religious rites in both the pagan and the Christian worlds. A few examples will suffice, but the interested reader may find many other instances in two surveys of the whole subject, Josephus HECKENBACH, "De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis," *Religions-geschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 9 (1911) .3, and Karl WEINHOLD, "Zur Geschichte des heidnischen Ritus," *Abhandlungen der königl. Akademie der Wiss. zu Berlin* 33 (1896). Nudity is often associated with funeral ceremonies (as in China). An instance is the case of Polyxena who was naked when sacrificed to the ghost of Achilles. Moreover possessed seers may use the device of nakedness—thus Cassandra is represented without clothing.⁵¹ In an Eleusinian hymn partly preserved in the *Protreptikon* of Clement of Alex-

⁴⁰ E. S. HARTLAND, "Phallism," *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics*, 9, p. 830.

⁴¹ KOŠTÍÁL and DANIČIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

⁴² WESTERMARCK, *op. cit.* 2, pp. 190, 191.

⁴³ D. AMAURY TALBOT, *Woman's Mysteries of a Primitive People, The Ibibios of Southern Nigeria* (London, 1915), pp. 109-110.

⁴⁴ Theophilus HAHN, *Tsumi-|| Goam, The Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi* (London, 1881), p. 87.

⁴⁵ William CROOKE, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Oxford, 1926), p. 35.

⁴⁶ R. E. ENTHOVEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 331-332.

⁴⁷ Richard LASCH, "Wachstumszeremonien der Naturvölker und die Entstehen des Dramas," *Globus* 86 (1904) .138.

⁴⁸ Ellis SILAS, *A Primitive Arcadia, being the impressions of an artist in Papua* (Boston, 1926), p. 168.

⁴⁹ Karl WEINHOLD, *op. cit.*, 33.

⁵⁰ J. J. von TSCHUDI, "Kulturhistorische und sprachliche Beiträge zur Kenntniss des alten Peru," *Denkschriften d. kaiserl. Akad. der Wiss., Philos.-hist. Classe* 39 (1891) .25-26.

⁵¹ J. HECKENBACH, *op. cit.*, 9-10, 22.

andria, Baubō, a mythical prototype of the priestess before the deity, coerces Demeter to her will by exposing her private parts.⁵² The baring of breasts at funeral rites is a well-known trait of classical culture, and nudity in Roman and Greek magic preceded the naked witches of medieval Europe. Thus Petronius tells that it was a precondition for transformation into an animal, and Medea is pictured nude as she mixes her poison.⁵³ Nudity is also a regular part of love spells. A medieval (fifteenth-century) Flemish picture shows a naked girl preparing a love potion; in Aru and Tenimber in the Dutch East Indies nudity is a feature of love magic; in various parts of Germany prognostications of love are obtained by a girl standing nude on a hearth and looking between her legs into a chimney.⁵⁴ In Poitou, girls who desire greater beauty roll nude in the dewy grass before sunrise.⁵⁵ In Tuscany, when consulting the cards for a love prognostication, three girls, always nude, invoke the pre-Christian goddess called La Bella Marta.⁵⁶ In nineteenth-century Swabia girls performed a Christmas rite completely unclothed, to determine the wealth of their future bridegrooms.⁵⁷ In the Baltic lands nakedness is required both of the layer of spells and him who would remove a spell, as when a hunter charms himself against the power of witches.⁵⁸ So also, in Subcarpathian Russia, the witches, when they gather marvelous herbs, are altogether naked.⁵⁹ In Germany it is believed that if a person goes naked into a meadow on St. John's Eve, he will be able to identify all the witches in church on the following Sunday, and a woman afflicted with the gout in Northern Switzerland may cure it by performing a ceremony of magic while naked.⁶⁰ Nudity as a condition of magic is common in south Slavic countries. This is particularly true of love charms, but also for such purposes as growing a mustache.⁶¹ In ancient Egypt, the female worshippers of the Apis-god revealed their nakedness to him—could this have been an anti-barrenness ritual?⁶² The professional

⁵² P. L. COUCHOUD, "Le mythe de la danseuse obscène," *Mercur de France* 213 (July 15, 1929).340-341.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 36, 40; see also K. F. SMITH, "Magic (Greek and Roman)," *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics* 8, p. 283).

⁵⁴ PLOSS and BARTELS, *op. cit.*, 2, pp. 165-6, 168, 184.

⁵⁵ LEON PINEAU, *Le Folk-lore du Poitou* (Paris, 1892), pp. 498.

⁵⁶ CHARLES GODFREY LELAND, *Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition* (London, 1892), p. 148.

⁵⁷ ANTON BIRLINGER, *Aus Schwaben—Sagen, Legenden, Aberglauben, Sitten, Rechtsbräuche, Ortsneckereien, Lieder, Kinderreime* 1 (Wiesbaden, 1874), pp. 381-382.

⁵⁸ A. V. RANTASALO, *op. cit.*, 31.128-129.

⁵⁹ PIERRE BOGATYREV, *Actes magiques rites et croyances en Russie subcarpathique* (Paris, 1929), p. 80.

⁶⁰ MORITZ BUSCH, *Deutscher Volksglaube* (Leipzig, 1877), pp. 61, 78.

⁶¹ For many examples see F. S. KRAUSS, "Südslavische Volksüberlieferungen, I. Einige Bräuche und Anschauungen, 1. Von der Nacktheit," *Anthropophyteia* 1 (1904). 1-2, and the folktales (nos. 143, 144) about getting the best of the devil through nudity, *ibid.*, 170-174; KRAUSS, "Nacktheitzauber," *Anthropophyteia* 6 (1909).206-211; KRAUSS and KOŠTIÁL, "Nacktheitzauber," *Anthropophyteia* 7 (1910).287-289; WILLIAM GODELÜCK and others, "Liebeszauber der Völker," *Anthropophyteia* 7 (1910).274-281; KOŠTIÁL and DANIČIĆ, "Nacktheitzauber," *Anthropophyteia* 8 (1911).287-288.

⁶² Diodorus Siculus 1.85.

witches of Morocco go to cemeteries to collect "moon-water," and there they "take off their clothes, and rush about among the tombs, riding on a reed."⁶³ In the same country a spell which has prevented the marriage of a girl is removed in a ceremony whose central theme is her complete nakedness, and a rite to give mortal illness to an enemy employs an undressed virgin.⁶⁴ Maimonides says, of the ancient Near East: "The mode of worshipping Peor, then very general among the heathen, consisted in uncovering the nakedness."⁶⁵ Indeed nudity is reported as a condition of successful magic among the Arabs, whose sky-riding witches were nude (twelfth century), and whose women stripped themselves at funerals (tenth century).⁶⁶ In India nudity is a common part of magical rites and a condition of spiritual power.⁶⁷ For instance, in Bombay female practitioners of sorcery, in the course of their ceremonies "go quite naked, and apply turmeric and red powders to the body and forehead."⁶⁸ In Indochina the female sorcerers of the Chams dance and sing naked before an altar as part of the method of obtaining supernatural power.⁶⁹ The witches (*leyak*) of Bali are naked, with exaggerated sexual organs, and like European witches fly naked over housetops; moreover, to see them, one must oneself be naked, and peer between one's legs.⁷⁰ In south-east Australia the women stand around the enclosure where boys are being initiated; these women are completely nude and hold torches in their hands.⁷¹ The aborigines of Vancouver Island, when performing the Seal Dance, apparently to ensure the fecundity of that useful animal, were nude.⁷²

Ritual nudity has been variously explained. The explanation of the celebrant or magician himself is always interesting, but may be only a rationalization of a custom whose origin is long forgotten. In any case, he need not have a rationalization, since the force of tradition is enough for him, plus the "proved" efficacy of the method. One explanation (given in India) is that the god is coerced to do the will of the celebrant through his fear of "indecentcy," that is, his fear of the shameless exposure of the male or female principles. Such an explanation would seem reasonable in a land much attached to the notion of modesty as applied to the human body. Thus, in Burma an image of the Buddhist saint Shin Upâgôk (Upagupta), apparently identified with the local rain-god, is placed in the sun until rain falls. Curiously enough there is a legend (not found in India) that this saint was once compelled to remain naked as punishment for stealing a boy's clothing. These

⁶³ Françoise LEGEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-179.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 188-189, 197.

⁶⁵ M. FRIEDLANDER, *op. cit.*, 3, p. 222 (ch. 45).

⁶⁶ J. WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* pp. 159, 195 (2nd edit., Berlin, 1897).

⁶⁷ Cf. R. E. ENTHOVEN, *Folk-lore notes*, compiled from materials collected by the late A. M. T. JACKSON (Bombay, 1914), 1, pp. 48, 50-52; 2, pp. 17-18, 20, 85, 88, 92.

⁶⁸ R. E. ENTHOVEN, *The Folklore of Bombay*, p. 236.

⁶⁹ Antoine CABATON, "Chams," *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics* 3, p. 349.

⁷⁰ Miguel COVARRUBIAS, *Island of Bali* (New York, 1942), pp. 325, 344.

⁷¹ A. W. HOWITT, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 603.

⁷² Gilbert Malcolm SPROAT, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (London, 1868), pp. 66.

two facts, his exposure to cause a rainfall and the tale of his nakedness, seem somehow to be related, and should be viewed from the perspective of the Burmese' normal aversion to nakedness, which he explains as "fear of offending the good spirits."⁷³ Another explanation (given in Africa) is that female ritual nakedness symbolizes the woman's yielding of herself to a male deity. It will be seen that these explanations are the same as two of those given by scholars as the "basic" or "primitive" reasons for ritual nudity. A list of these follows: 1. clothing pollutes the celebrant, or may disastrously touch and contaminate a taboo object; 2. nakedness symbolizes submission to the will of the god, or the innocence of a child; 3. nudity shows the identity of the celebrant with nature (in this connection MANNHARDT suggests that the leafy garment of the Hungarian rain-maidens is not in fact clothing, but a second skin—the girls have become plants but are still unclothed); 4. knots and similar impedimenta of clothing restrict the flow of spiritual energy (see HECKENBACH); 5. "erotic" nudity induces fertility by imitative magic; 6. exposure of the genitalia (and by substitution, obscene gestures and language) wards off adverse influences and forces the submission of spiritual powers (this idea coincides with the Indian explanation above—exposure looses power which may coerce the deity); 7. a special case is HECKENBACH's well-documented theory that naked feet may draw power directly from the soil. These various hypotheses are not mutually exclusive; all of these beliefs have probably worked separately or together in the development of ritual nudity. The general theory of nudity, so to speak, might be stated as follows: the human sexual organs have magical power, akin to the vitalizing energies of nature. They are normally covered, being taboo objects, as are all things in which spiritual force resides. With the development of "civilization" the religious meaning of this covering is forgotten, and the superstitious belief is replaced by the "moral" attitude which we call "shame" or "modesty." Contrariwise, the exposure of the loins makes their magical power available for immediate use; it is the revealing of a religious object which must take place only during a ritual.

An inescapable observation is that ceremonial nakedness is an attribute of women much more frequently than of men. This fact has been pointed out locally, for instance:

"Ungemein häufig ist die Nacktheit die Bedingung eines Zaubers, u. zwar ganz überwiegend bei Mädchen u. Frauen, selbst bei ehrbaren Hausfrauen, nicht bloss bei Hexen, nur selten bei Männern; auch manche Wahrsagung wird nur nackt möglich."⁷⁴

Moreover the fact is clearly connected with the omnipresence of the witch, the sorceress, the sybil and the female shaman. As was the case in China, so elsewhere in the world (though not universally) the faculty of direct and easy access to the realm of spirits has been the peculiar possession of women.

"Sprenger said, before 1500: 'We should speak of the *Heresy of the Sorceresses*, not of the Sorcerers; the latter are of small account.' So another

⁷³ Grant BROWN, "The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese," *Folk-lore* 32 (1921). 85, 98.

⁷⁴ Adolf WUTTKE, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1869), pp. 170.

writer under Louis XIII: 'For one Sorcerer, ten thousand Sorceresses.'⁷⁵

I have used the Ishtar legend to illustrate ritual nudity in the Western world. Ishtar was "exposed" to the spirit of the underworld. In writing briefly of ritual burning I employ another Western myth whose heroine is "exposed" in a different way to the sun. In both cases the final effect is the regeneration of life in the land. The burning of a witch or shamaness to induce fertility is typified by the classic legend of Semele, beloved of Zeus, who, on being exposed to his full glory, died consumed by flames, giving birth to Dionysus in her final moments of life. Semele is the earth in spring, Zeus the fructifying but scorching sun, and Dionysus the fruit of the soil.⁷⁶

The various forms and motivations of human sacrifice have been studied rather fully. Suffice it to say here that the custom is well known as a device serving the same ends as ritual nudity. Men have been sacrificed to avert the plague, to bring an end to famine, to increase the fertility of the soil, and to bring rain.⁷⁷ Copious examples from many parts of the world may be found in Edward WESTERMARCK, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* 1 (London, 1906), pp. 442-445, and in the article "Human Sacrifice" in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Examples of the burning of the victim, however, seem to be relatively rare.⁷⁸ Vestiges of ceremonies apparently analogous to the Chinese rite may be readily found, however; the story of fire-ordeals, fire-walking, fire-jumping and the like is well documented for many parts of the world. Some investigators have described the purpose of such rites in much the same terms as those which I have used to indicate the basic assumptions of ritual nudity. For instance, apropos of the priests of Apollo Soranus, an Etruscan deity who walked barefoot over hot coals at the god's annual festival, Lily Ross TAYLOR observes,

"The closest Italic parallel is the custom of springing over crackling straw at the festival of Pales. This custom, identical with the habit, widespread in European lands, of springing over Midsummer and Easter fire, has in it the same idea of the purifying effect of fire that is found in ancient times in the fire-walking ceremonies of the priestesses of Artemis Perasia at Castabala in Cappadocia . . . These ceremonies seem to combine the apotropaic with

⁷⁵ Jules MICHELET, *Satanism and Witchcraft, A Study in Medieval Superstition* (trans. by A. R. ALLINSON, New York, 1939), p. 1.

⁷⁶ Semele was originally a Thracian earth-goddess, and in the local mythology was the wife of Zeus. Dionysus was a god of fertility and vegetation, and Zeus a sky- and weather-god. See *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* Ser. 2, 2 (edit. G. WISSOWA, Stuttgart, 1923), pp. 1342-1345. Human sacrifice was once offered to Zeus for rain, see Martin P. NILSON, *Greek Popular Religion* (New York, 1940), p. 6.

⁷⁷ Richard BURTON tells that in Benin he saw a young woman bound to the top of a tall tree as food for the buzzards, and that the natives explained this rite to him as a rain-making charm. See R. F. BURTON, *Abeokuta and the Camaroons Mountains, An Exploration* (London, 1863), p. 1, note 19.

⁷⁸ The famous sacrifice of the Skidi-Pawnees to promote the fertility of their lands include the burning of the human victim. See G. B. GRINNELL, *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-tales* (New York, 1912), pp. 363-369.

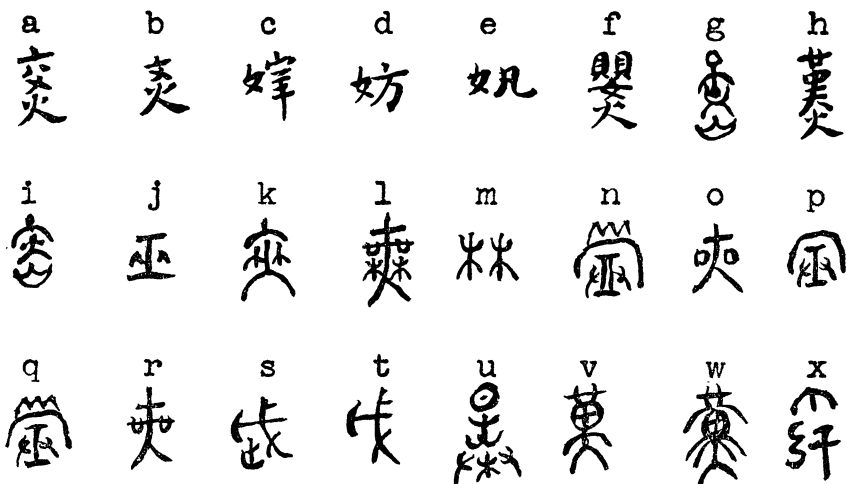
the cathartic, the warding off of evil spirits in future with the exorcizing of evil spirits actually present.”⁷⁹

In general, exposure to fire, like exposure to the sun or dew, has the effect of releasing magical energy to work on the spirit world. The fire may symbolize the sun, and if that is the case, it is the action of the sun, or its spiritual equivalent, which is desired.

The custom of burning witches in Europe may suggest an origin in ancient ritual comparable to that of Shang dynasty China, but at present the idea could not be proved, although it seems to me to be worthy of investigation.⁸⁰ The fragmentary nature of the material dealing with ritual burning may be due both to the growth of aversion to human sacrifice (more than to nudity, for instance) as well as to the geographical restriction of ceremonial burning, although further study might prove the latter more widespread than supposed. As for survivals, I quote KARL PEARSON:

“... elsewhere in Swabia a female figure in the form of a witch is burnt, and her ashes scattered over the land to increase its fertility; in Spain it is an old woman with a distaff in her hand, and it seems more than probable that the priestess herself was occasionally, perhaps as representative of the goddess, sacrificed by burning on the sacred hill or drowning in the sacred well.”⁸¹

PEARSON's final speculation describes the situation in ancient China very well. To this I would add that the burning was a rite symbolizing the action of the life-giving and destroying sun, a rite perhaps preserved in the myth of the unfortunate Semele.



⁷⁹ L. R. TAYLOR, *Local Cults in Etruria* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. 2, Rome, 1923).

⁸⁰ Cf. A. E. CRAWLEY, "Fire," *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics* 7, p. 28: "In ancient theory, burning made its patient divine. The passing of children through the fire is probably due in part to these ideas, and is paralleled by the Greek stories of burning children to render them immortal . . . There can be little doubt that the fires of the *auto-da-fé* were kindled in consequence of the theory of purification by fire."

⁸¹ KARL PEARSON, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 33.



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THE PEARL FISHERIES OF HO-P'U

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AS A RESULT of the destruction of the Kingdom of Yüeh^a, which had been founded by the hero Chao T'ob in the wilderness about Canton, by the troops of the Warlike Emperor in 111 B. C., the natural wealth of the tropical South and its adjacent waters became available to the monarchs of Han. Among the new administrative areas set up by the central government for the control and exploitation of this land was Ho-p'u *chün*^c—the Province of the Estuary of the Ho River. The province comprised a considerable territory in what is now largely western Kuang-tung, including the Lei-chou Peninsula. The official census states that the province included five counties (*hsien*^d), 15,398 (taxable) families, and 78,980 adult persons.¹ The seat of the provincial administration was established at Hsü-wen County near the southwest corner of Lei-chou Peninsula, but was subsequently moved to Ho-p'u County, close to the modern town of that name just east of the Ho River, and north of Pakhoi.² The region represented a virtually untouched source of luxury goods for the Chinese court and aristocracy. In the words of the *Book of Han*: "It is situated by the sea, and abounds in rhinoceros and elephant [i. e. horn and ivory], tortoise-shell, pearls, silver, copper, fruit,³ and stuffs.⁴ Many merchants going from the Central States^e obtain riches there."⁵ The text goes on to describe Hsü-wen and Ho-p'u Counties as important ports-of-call for ships trading in the South Seas.

Henceforth pearl-gathering was an important industry in southern China. Thus, we may read of the wife and children of a certain Wang Chang^f who, after the death of the husband and father, moved to Ho-p'u, and became wealthy through the pearl-diving profession. This was late in the 1st century B. C.⁶ At the same time, the use of pearls as personal ornaments increased in the North, and a premium came to be placed on the largest and most lustrous gems. A person sensible of the difference between mere man and enthroned divinity might not forget to forward the especially fine specimens to the throne. So we read that a certain native of K'uai-chi^g sent pearls three and four inches in diameter to the imperial court in the middle of the 2nd century B. C.⁷

As time wore on, the custom became an institution, and magistrates who could obtain them delivered first-rate pearls to the imperial treasury as routine "local tribute." Thus, in the 1st century A. D., "the provinces and states [presumably of the South] presented luminous pearls."⁸

^a *Han shu* 76.0553c-d.

⁷ *Sung shu* 29.1509b. This source is much later than the event, but may be accurate. K'uai-chi is in the Wu area. The pearls may have been local, and this was before the pacification of Yüeh.

⁸ *Sung shu* 29.1509b. "Luminous pearls"^t, according to later scholiasts, are "night-shining pearls"^z. A variant expression is "luminous-moon pearls"^h, a term current before the Han Dynasty. Actually the two latter terms are synonymous, since *yeh-kuang*ⁱ "light of the night" is a metaphor for "moon." Conrady has observed the use of both of these expressions in reference to precious gems in texts of the Chou Dynasty, *ming-yüeh chih chui* being first observed in *Chan-kuo ts'e*. He suggests an Indian origin for them, with analogues in *candrakānta* "moon-beloved" (a gem created by rays of moonlight, and shining only in the moonlight) and *harinmani* "moon-jewel" (used for "emerald"). See A. Conrady, *Das Älteste Dokument zur Chinesischen Kunstgeschichte, T'ien-wen, Die "Himmelsfragen" des K'üeh Yüan* (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 168-169. The phrase "Precious Pearl of the Luminous Moon"^k also occurs in the Manichaean document translated by Chavannes and Pelliot, as "... le premier entre tous les bijoux" (Chavannes and Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. 10, XVIII [1911],

¹ *Han shu* 28b.0426d. Page references refer to the K'ai-ming edition of the Twenty-five Histories.

² See the Han maps for this area in Yang Shou-ching, *Li-tai yü-ti yen-ko chien-yao t'u*^a (1911).

³ Glossed as "lichee and lungan."

⁴ Glossed as *ko-pu*^b "pueraria fabric."

⁵ *Han shu* 28b.0429d. Cf. *Yen-t'ieh lun*^c (edit. of *Ssu-pu pei-yao*^d) 1.6a: "Pearls, rhinoceros, and elephant come from Kuei-lin^e. This is more than 10,000 *li* from Han." The area administered by the Province of Kuei-lin is not known with certainty, but may be considered to include part of modern Kuang-hsi. This was north of Ho-p'u Province. Some river-pearls may have been found in this inland region, but probably most pearls were brought in by trade from Ho-p'u.

In the Later Han Dynasty, the population of Ho-p'u Province had increased considerably,⁹ and as pearls became increasingly familiar to the inhabitants of the Empire, so did stories, legends,

563-564). The luminous pearl seems to be a special case of the widespread belief in the luminosity of various gems. Instances are the Red Sea *ροπαζιον* (probably the peridot) of Diodorus Siculus, which shone in the dark (C. H. Oldfather, *Diodorus of Sicily*, Loeb Classical Library [1935], III, p. 39); the gem on the head of the image of Dea Syria which "flashes a great light in the night-time" (H. G. Strong and John Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess* [London, 1913] ch. 32); the night-shining jewel in the golden crown of the Emperor Manuel described by the Rabbi Benjamin (L. Grünhut and M. N. Adler, *Die Reisebeschreibungen des R. Benjamin von Tudela* [Jerusalem, 1903], p. 17); and the jewel in the hand of a Sumatran king, reported by Chao-Ju-kua, "... which shines in (the darkness of) night like a torch" (F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries*, entitled *Chu-fan-chi* [St. Petersburg, 1911], p. 73). The expression *ming-yüeh-chu*^h appears in *Huai-nan-tzu* three times, and two of these occurrences are of philological interest. One reads: "Luminous moon pearls are produced by *lung-ch'en*¹" (*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* edition, 16.13a). The first character of the doublet *lung-ch'en* is rare, presumably a variant of *lung*^m, in which case *lung-ch'en*¹ could be *lung-ch'en*^h, a collective term for the "dragon" tribe. But *ch'en*^o means also "pelecypoda" (especially when the graph is enlarged to *ch'en*^h), that is, "clams, oysters, mussels, etc.," and the whole expression may just as well stand for "Animals with scales and shells" (cf. *lin-chieh chih wu*^a). Thus, *Lu Tien*, *P'i-ya*^a (11th century): "Oysters^a are alternately named *ch'en*^h" (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng*¹ edition, 2.35). The other noteworthy passage in *Huai-nan-tzu* states: "Luminous pearls are an advantage to us, though a disease for an oyster" (17. 12b). This would indicate that the origin of pearls as centers of irritation in the oyster's flesh was understood in China in the early Han Dynasty. A more debatable but linguistically stimulating conclusion may be drawn from the conclusion of the first passage quoted above from *Huai-nan-tzu* (in its entirety: *ming-yüeh chih chu sheng yü lung-ch'en*, *Chou chih chien-kuei sheng yü kou-shih*^v) with an analogous passage cited by *P'i-ya* and purporting to come from *Mo-tzu*^w. The latter passage is not found in present editions of *Mo-tzu*, but it and the *Huai-nan-tzu* passage doubtless both stem from a common source. At any rate, *P'i-ya* has: *Chou chih ling-kuei ch'u yü t'u-shih*. *Ch'u chih ming-yüeh sheng yü pang-ch'en*^x. The word *lung*^v in the one corresponds to the word *pang*^z in the other. With these compare *p'ang*^z. I suggest an archaic word of the form *BLONG, having the root meaning "sea-creature," diverging into 1) "oyster," 2) "dragon." Both meanings are also, as we have seen above, preserved in the word *ch'en*.

⁹ *Hou Han shu* 33.0710b. The same five counties now comprised 23,121 families and 86,617 persons.

and fantastic notions of their origin spread through the land. A book attributed (perhaps wrongly) to Kuo Hsien^h of this period, states the following: "The Fei-le [**b'iwoi-lək*]ⁱ Nation is 9000 *li* from Ch'ang-an. It lies in Jih-nan.^j The people are seven feet tall, and have their hair loose down to their heels. They ride in rhinoceros- and elephant-carriages. They mount elephants and enter to the bottom of the sea, [where they] take treasures, and pass the night in the houses of the shark-people^k. They obtain tear-pearls^l, which are pearls wept by the sharks. These are also called 'wept pearls'^m." ¹⁰ We shall hear more of these shark-people and their pearls in later times, in connection with Ho-p'u itself. Possibly "shark"ⁿ should be rendered "cockatrice" (*chiao*^o for *chiao*^o, a "variety of dragon"), since dragon-like creatures are traditionally associated with pearls (as they are with various precious stones in the West), though any important marine beast may easily have been thought of as the special producer or protector of pearls. As for tears as pearls, this seems to be a concreted metaphor, and the image is world-wide.¹¹

To the Later Han period belongs one individual who has in history and tradition been placed above all others as a man wise in the ways of pearls, and who has been deified as the guardian of the fisheries of Ho-p'u. This was Meng Ch'ang^p, Grand Protector of the Province of Ho-p'u^q:

The Province did not produce grain or fruit, but the sea gave forth pearls and treasures [or, its treasure of pearls]. Its borders were coterminous with Chiao-chih, and there was regular communication [with that place] by merchants and speculators who brought cereals. In earlier times, the governors had all been, by and large, avaricious and corrupt, and required people to gather and search [for pearls] without regard for any limit. Consequently the pearls gradually migrated to the confines of Chiao-chih Province. Henceforth the travellers

¹⁰ *Tung-ming chia*^a (edit. of *Tzu-shu po-chia*^b) 2.2a. R. A. Stein states that this work may well be as much as two or three centuries post-Han. See his "Le Lin Yi, sa localisation sa contribution a la formation du Champa et ses liens avec la Chine," *Han-hiue*, Bulletin du Centre d'Études Sinologiques de Peking, II (Peking, 1937).

¹¹ For instance, the tears of Väinämöinen in the Kalevala fell as pearls into the sea (Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th ed. [Berlin 1876], II, 1019). Pearls may also be dewdrops, as in the proverb: "Wenn den Tau die Muschel trinket, wird daraus ein Perlenstrauß" (*Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* [Berlin and Leipzig, 1934-35], VI, 1497).

did not come, people were without resources, and the destitute died of starvation in the streets. When Ch'ang took up his office he radically altered the earlier evil practises, and sought out what was advantageous to the populace. Before the expiration of a year, the departed pearls returned again, the folk went back to their profession, and commerce circulated. This was said to be a miracle.¹²

Simply told the story means that this non-farming population depended on imported grain, for which they traded the proceeds of the pearl-market. Avaricious magistrates forced the gathering of the maximum possible crops of pearls. As a result, the oyster-harvest was quickly reduced, and normal production not restored until Meng Ch'ang put limitations on gathering. This was during the middle part of the 2nd century A. D. A thousand years later, in the Sung Dynasty, the ruins of the "old city," east of what was then Lien Prefecture, were remembered as the site of the virtuous administration of Meng Ch'ang and the "return of the pearls."¹³ As late as the 16th century, a Kiosk of the Returned Pearls^s was still standing at or near this place. The *Kuang-tung t'ung-chih*^t,¹⁴ in the section on "Ancient Remains"^u, quotes a Ming gazetteer¹⁵ to the effect that the kiosk was erected by the hands of posterity to commemorate Meng Ch'ang's victory over the pearls. Just how much later than the Han Dynasty the building was first raised cannot be told. It was certainly earlier than the 11th century, for a poem by T'ao Pi^v (A. D. 1017-1080), "Inscription for the Kiosk of Returned Pearls,"¹⁶ has the verse: "Where the pearls returned to Ho-

p'u, from of old there has been a kiosk." "From of old" certainly implies a Sung tradition that the building was built long ago, but I have seen no allusions to it in earlier literature.

The story of the Grand Protector has excited the imagination of many Chinese poets, who felt the subject peculiarly appropriate to the style of the "rhapsody" (*fu*^w). Rhapsodies on the theme of the return of the pearls to Ho-p'u from the brushes of the T'ang poets Lu Fu-li^x, Ling-hu Ch'u^y, and Yin Shu^z, for instance, still survive. Of particular interest, however, are the short poems of T'ao Pi, several of which are preserved in the *Yü-ti chi-sheng*. In addition to the one mentioned above is another, "Inscription for the Hall of the Temple of Grand Protector Meng at Lien Prefecture,"¹⁷ whose title implies the local deification of Meng Ch'ang, and the existence of a temple to the god in early Sung times. The poem goes:

In bygone times the Grand Protector Meng,
Loyal and honest, walked by this remote edge of the sea.
He did not rob the wombs of the oysters,
And the waters' depths abounded with returning pearls.

With the partition of the Empire at the close of Later Han, Ho-p'u became the portion of the maritime state of Wu.¹⁸ This southernmost of the Three Kingdoms changed the name of the province from "Estuary of the Ho" to "Pearl Officer"^{aa}. The renaming took place in A. D. 228, but the original name was restored before the end of the dynasty. The province was now placed under the jurisdiction of a larger administrative area, Chiao Prefecture^{ab}, later Yüeh Prefecture^{ac}. At this time the Wu government also created a Chu-kuan County^{ad}, whose ruins could still be seen in the Sung period.¹⁹ I have found no contemporary explanation of the use of the term *chu-kuan*, but it occurs in later texts in the expected sense of "officer in charge of pearling," as, for instance, in a poem of Lu Kuei-meng^{ae}, who wrote in the 9th century. Lu describes the characteristics of

¹² *Hou Han shu* 106.0870d. "Miracle" is *shen-ming*^{ae}, explained by Ueda's *Daijiten* as *kami*, i. e. the work of supernatural powers. The metaphysics underlying this story is the belief that the moral attributes of the Son of Heaven and his representatives had "magical" consequences in the realm of nature. Compare, for instance: "When the virtue of a 'princely one' extends to gulfs and springs, the sea gives forth luminous pearls" (*Hsiao-ching yüan-shen-ch'iao* 47a, in *Huang-shih i-shu k'ao*^{af}). And also: "As to luminous-moon pearls, when a 'princely one' does not exhaust the creatures of shell and scale — then they [the pearls] appear" (*Sung shu* 29.1509b).

¹³ *Yü-ti chi-sheng*^{ag} 120.4a, citing the gazetteer *Chiu-yü chih*^{ah}.

¹⁴ 1864, Commercial Press reprint of 1934.

¹⁵ Cited as "Huang chih"^{ai}, presumably meaning Huang Tso^{aj} (A. D. 1490-1566), *Kuang-tung t'ung-chih*.

¹⁶ *T'i Huan-chu-t'ing*^{ak}. Quoted in *Yü-ti chi-sheng* 120. 6b-7a, along with other poems about the same event. T'ao Pi held many provincial offices in this area.

¹⁷ *T'i Lien-chou Meng T'ai-shou tz'u-t'ang*^{al}.

¹⁸ *San-kuo chih* (Wu chih) 2.1035c; *Sung shu* 38. 1541b.

¹⁹ *Yü-ti chi-sheng* 120.5a-b. The precise time of the creation of the new county is obscure. Wu Tseng-chin and Yang Shou-ching in their *San-kuo chün-hsien-piao fu k'ao-cheng*^{am} (in *Erh-shih-wu-shih pu-pien*^{an}), p. 139 cite a geographical treatise by a Mr. Shen^{ao}, which simply assigns it to the Wu period. It was certainly already in existence in the Chin Dynasty.

the far South in a "matched" poem to a certain Mr. Yang of Ch'üung Prefecture^{af}:

Where men are mostly herbalists, and practise mad
sorcery,
And the bureaucracy includes a "Pearl Officer" who
disburses the salary cash.²⁰

Moreover, as will be seen below, (Chao) Sung Dynasty texts tell of an "officer" placed in charge of diving operations here. We may surmise then that the change in official designation of the place in the 3rd century reflected its changed status, namely that pearl-gathering had now become a government monopoly, or was at least closely supervised by government officers.

A text attributable to the same period, the *Nan-chou i-wu chih*^{ag} of Wan Chen^{ah} gives our first account of actual diving operations: "There are folk in Ho-p'ü who excel in swimming to gather pearls. When a boy is ten years of age or more, he is then instructed in entering the water to look for pearls. The officials forbid the folk [except on behalf of the government?] to gather pearls. Certain skilful robbers crouch on the sea-bottom, split open the oysters, get the fine pearls, and come forth after swallowing them."²¹ In short, government restrictions on pearl-diving brought the inevitable result of pearl-smuggling. The frontier days were over.

One cause, at least, for the interest of the rulers of Wu in preventing the pearls from trickling into private coffers was their usefulness as capital to exchange for urgently needed horses from the North. "Wei sent envoys seeking to trade horses for pearls, kingfisher feathers, and tortoise-shell. [Sun] Ch'üan [Emperor of Wu] said, 'While all of these things are of no use to me, I may yet obtain horses [for them]. Why should I not consent to the exchange?'"²² The northern court of Wei, however, probably did not receive all its pearls from the southeast coast. Wei Wen Ti, for instance, made inquiries about the possibility of obtaining large pearls from the "Western Regions" of Turkestan, whence they were known to have come formerly—some of these, no doubt, had their ultimate source in the Persian Gulf.²³ The

miraculous "night-shining pearls" and other sought-after species were attributed, among other sources, to Ta-ch'in^{ai} in the Far West,²⁴ and, in the East, the people of Han^{aj} were said "to regard strings of pearls as wealth."²⁵ Nonetheless, the fisheries of the South China Sea remained, in all likelihood, the prime source of the gems. These were not necessarily inferior, despite the tendency to ascribe to foreign and remote countries the most wonderful pearls. So we read that "the Counties of Chu-yai^{ak} [in Hainan] and Chu-kuan produce 'luminous-moon pearls'," ²⁶ which were also among the marvels of Ta-ch'in, and described by Tung-fang Shuo^{at} as two feet in diameter and radiating 2000 *li* in one locality in the "northwest wilderness."²⁷

It would appear that a serious decrease in the population of Ho-p'ü Province took place sometime after the conclusion of the Later Han period. The *Book of Chin* gives a total of only 2,000 families for the six counties of Ho-p'ü, as compared with the 23,000 recorded for Later Han.²⁸ There was, of course, some change in the geographical size of the province during these centuries, but it was not considerable enough to account for this difference, and no major towns were involved. The most important cities, Ho-p'ü and Hsü-wen, remained in the province throughout. Possible factors in this decrease were, first of all, famine in Later Han due to the falling off of rice imports, as already observed; secondly, limitations imposed on the pearl industry by the governments of Later Han and Wu, resulting in emigration of the taxable (i.e. productive) families; thirdly, the powerlessness of the government to protect the natives against bandits.²⁹

The situation at the end of the Three Kingdoms period was outlined in a memorial submitted to the Chin^{am} court by T'ao Huang^{an}, Prefect of Chiao^{ao}:

"Moreover, since the soil of Ho-p'ü Province is hard and

²⁴ Wei lüeh^{as} in *San-kuo chih* (Wei chih) 30.1006c.

²⁵ *i ying-chu wei ts'ai-pao*^{at}. *San-kuo chih* (Wei chih) 30.1005c.

²⁶ Chang Po, *Wu lu*^{au} (Chin Dyn.), cited in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 803.11a.

²⁷ Tung-fang Shou, *Shen-i ching*^{av} (ed. of *Han Wei ts'ung-shu*^{aw}) 10b-11a.

²⁸ *Chin shu* 15.1120d.

²⁹ Unchecked banditry in this region was the subject of an official complaint to the throne. *San-kuo chih* (Wu chih) 8.1048c.

²⁰ In *T'ang Fu-li Hsien-sheng wen-chi*^{ap} (in *Ssu-pu pei-yao*) 9.27b. See also *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao*^{aq} (Commercial Press, 1936) 22.220a.

²¹ As cited in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*^{ar} 803.10b.

²² *San-kuo chih* (Wu chih) 2.1036a.

²³ *San-kuo chih* (Wei chih) 16.0967b.

stony there is no cultivation of fields, and the people only gather pearls as a livelihood. Merchants come and go, and pearls are exchanged for rice. In the time of Wu, the restrictions on pearling were very severe. Concerned lest the people smuggle³⁰ the best pearls, [the government of Wu] prohibited and cut off the coming and going [of the merchants], [so that] the natives were distressed by hunger. Further, the tithes³¹ were abundant, and were never paid off in full³². Now I beg that the superior pearls be divided into three parts, [of which they shall] transmit two [parts of the best as tax]; of the second grade they shall transmit one [part in three]; as to the coarse ones, [the tax] should be purged and done away with. From the tenth to the second month [should be] a time when superior pearls are not to be gathered. We should permit merchant travellers to come and go as of old." This plan was followed in all respects.³³

From this it would appear that free pearl-fishing was once more permitted by the Chin government, but that a certain proportion of the take, in accordance with quality, should become the portion of the treasury.

There is a traditional tale about this same T'ao Huang which makes him the hero of a romantic encounter with a bird-woman. The Prefect was catching a day-time nap, and woke to find the mysterious stranger sleeping beside him. He tried to seize her, but she scratched him and flew away. This anecdote is to be found in the *Chiao-chou chi*, attributed to Liu Hsin-ch'ia³⁴ of the Chin Dynasty, and reconstructed in Ch'ing times from quotations in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* and other works.³⁵ The book contains many other amusing and instructive items which refer to Ho-p'u. It tells, for instance, of Husk-head Mountain³⁶ at the harbor of Ho-p'u, which was supposed to have been built up by the husks accumulated from the rice-pounding of the "King of Yüeh," doubtless Chao T'o.³⁷ There are stories in this book of the weird apparitions of bronze boats on the waters of a lake in this area—a favorite theme in the Chiao Prefectural area.³⁸ Southwest of the seat of government, near the modern Annamese border, was the town of Lu-

jung³⁹, the site of a gold placer, to judge from the local place-name "Gathering Gold Estuary"⁴⁰.³⁴ More especially connected with the pearl fishers are two notices, the first of which recalls the shark people of our earlier quotation: "The shark⁴¹ comes from Ho-p'u. It is three feet in length, and on its back has armor, patterned with pearls. This is hard and strong, and can be used to decorate swords. It may also be used to abrade things."³⁵ These "pearls" are doubtless globular protuberances on the tough skin of some species of elasmobranch, and may in part explain the legend of the shark-people and their pearl-tears. A trace of the religion of the natives of Ho-p'u survives in a further notice: "There is a stone house on Wei Island⁴² in Ho-p'u. Inside it is a stone in the shape of a *p'eng*.³⁶ One sees a staff of pomegranate-wood which leans against the wall. The pearl-ers⁴³ commonly offer prayers to it."³⁷

Under the southern dynasty of Sung, the population of Ho-p'u Province dwindled to 938 families.³⁸ No explanation is readily available. Indeed, prosperity and increase should have been the portion of the province, in view of the presence at that time of a virtuous magistrate, Ch'en Po-shao⁴⁴, who became Prefect of Chiao in 469,³⁹ and left a glorious name to posterity. The Prefecture of Yüeh was created in 471, and Po-shao administered this as well. A later tradition tells us that he "pierced a mountain" to make a gate for a city, presumably the prefectural capital, and that "his influence subdued the aborigines⁴⁵."⁴⁰ The T'ang gazetteer *Chün-kuo chih*⁴⁶,⁴¹ gives an expanded account of these events: "Po-shao tranquillized the barbarians and put [them in] Ho-p'u. He saw three green oxen, and had them surrounded, but did not catch them. Just on this spot he placed a city, which was popularly called 'Green Ox City'⁴⁷."⁴² Possibly the intent of the

³⁰ *Chin shu* 57.1234d-1235a.

³¹ *Chiao-chou chi*³⁴ (ed. of *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng*) 1.3.

³² *Ibid.* 1.1. Another and later version (in *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi*³⁵ 169.4a) says that the heap was made by the encamped soldiers of Chao T'o.

³³ *Ibid.* 1.1, 2.8. One text has *ho-liu*³⁶, which the commentator reasonably emends to *ho-p'u*. For a detailed study of the bronze boat traditions in South China and Annam, see R. A. Stein, op. cit., 147 ff. The boats, as well as bronze pillars and great canals, are associated with the name of Ma Yüan³⁷, the great military hero of Later Han.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 2.7.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 1.3.

³⁶ This whole passage is difficult. *P'eng*³⁶ is perhaps *p'eng*³⁶, some kind of crustacean.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 2.9.

³⁸ *Sung shu* 38.1541b.

³⁹ *Sung shu* 8.1434c.

⁴⁰ *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi* 169.3a.

⁴¹ Quoted in *ibid.*

⁴² My interpretation of the first sentence of this passage may not be correct. It goes: *p'ing i chih Ho-p'u*⁴². It is not altogether clear whether "Green Ox City" is meant to be a colloquial name for the provincial seat of Ho-p'u. At any rate, it is clear that Po-shao brought

Prefect was to compensate for a declining population by settling non-Chinese aborigines in the Province of Ho-p'u.

For the Sung or Ch'i Dynasty, we have an account, worth translating entire, of attitudes and evaluations connected with the pearls of this region:

In Yüeh, the pearl is commonly regarded as the superior gem^{bd}. If [someone] bears a girl, they call her "Pearl Maiden"^{be}, and if [someone] bears a boy, they call him "Pearl Boy"^{bf}. In the Wu-yüeh area there is a popular saying: "A bushel of luminous pearls is as valuable as a Princely One"^{bg}. There is a Pearl Market^{bh} in Ho-p'u. Among pearls in general there are Dragon Pearls, which have been disgorged by dragons, and Serpent Pearls, disgorged by serpents. A popular proverb of Nan-hai says: "A thousand serpent pearls are not equal to a *mei-kuei*^{bi}," meaning that Serpent Pearls are inferior ([gloss]: *mei-kuei* is also a handsome pearl). A proverb of the men of Yüeh goes: "Plant a thousand acres of oranges^{bj}—they are not as good as one Dragon Pearl."⁴³

As to "dragon pearls" and "serpent pearls," popular lore ascribed the production of pearls to other scaly and armored creatures. Thus: "Dragon pearls are in the chin^{bk}"⁴⁴ [of that animal], shark pearls are in the skin, serpent pearls are in the mouth, turtle pearls are in the foot, fish pearls are in the eye, and oyster pearls are in the belly."⁴⁵ The *Shu-i chi*, the source of the above maxims, also alludes to the shark people: "In the South Sea are the houses of the shark people. They dwell in the water like fish. They do not abandon spinning on the loom^{bl}. When their eyes weep, they bring forth pearls."⁴⁶ The wording of this passage seems to imply that the shark people were originally land-dwellers, having migrated along with their human domestic activities to the depths of the ocean. Their residence there is not permanent, however. The text just cited also appears in the *Po-wu chih*^{bm}, attributed to Chang Hua^{bn} of the 3rd century, where it is followed by this further information: "They come forth from the water and sojourn in the dwellings of humans, and, over a period of days, sell pongee^{bo}. When about to depart, they demand a vessel of their host. They make pearls by weeping, fill the bowl [with

them], and present it to the host."⁴⁷ This passage is certainly needed to complete the sense of the short text in *Shu-i chi* and in other editions of *Po-wu chih*.

For the year 489, we have the following notice: "Yüeh Prefecture presented [to the throne] a white pearl shaped naturally like the image of a 'Meditating Buddha'^{bp}, three inches in height. The Temple of the Magic-power of Concentration^{bq} had it placed under the *ksetra*^{br}."⁴⁸ The custom of presenting fine pearls, whether shaped like a divine image or not, to Buddhist temples became quite popular in later times, to judge from stories in such collections as the *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi*^{bs}.⁴⁹

During the Sui and T'ang Dynasties, the Province of Ho-p'u underwent many changes of name. Its fortunes as an administrative unit may be summarized as follows:

SUI—successively, Lu Prefecture^{bt}, Ho Prefecture^{bu}, Ho-p'u Province.⁵⁰

T'ANG—A. D. 621—Yüeh Prefecture.⁵¹

A. D. 634—Lien Prefecture.⁵²

A. D. 742—Ho-p'u Province.⁵³

A. D. 758—Lien Prefecture.⁵⁴

The County of Ho-p'u continued to exist throughout these larger administrative changes. Also, for a short period, a new county was created—"Pearl Pond"^{bv}.⁵⁵ It was named after a region

⁴⁷ *Po-wu chih* (ed. of *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng*) 9.57. The additional passage does not appear in the *Tzu-shu po-chia* edition, which overlooks a citation in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 803.7a.

⁴⁸ *Nan Ch'i shu* 18.1702b.

⁴⁹ See for instance the stories of "The Green Mud Pearl," "The Precious Pearl," and "The Water Pearl," outlined in my article "Iranian Merchants in T'ang Dynasty Tales," *Semitic and Oriental Studies* (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, 1951), IX, 403-422.

⁵⁰ *Sui shu* 31.2440a. In Sui and T'ang, the "prefecture" and "province" were no longer larger and smaller divisions respectively, but were alternately the designation of the administrative unit next above a "county." In T'ang, except for a short period, "prefecture" was preferred.

⁵¹ *T'ang shu* 43a.3732d. *Chiu T'ang shu* makes the year 622.

⁵² *T'ang shu* loc. cit. *Chiu T'ang shu* 41.3240b states that a new Chiang^{bs} Prefecture was carved out of Lien Prefecture in 634, and abolished in 638.

⁵³ *Chiu T'ang shu* 41.3240b.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Yü-ti chi-sheng* 120.2a states that the county was

a body of natives under the control of the Chinese administration.

⁴³ Jen Fang, *Shu-i chi*^{be} (ed. of *Tzu-shu po-chia*) a. 2b.

⁴⁴ Another version of this text has "forehead"^{bf}.

⁴⁵ Lu Tien, *P'i-ya* 1.17.

⁴⁶ *Shu-i chi* b.13a.

which had hitherto been part of Ho-p'ü County—an “indentation of the sea”⁵⁶ which produced an abundance of pearls, hence the name.⁵⁶ A Sung gazetteer tells that the ruins of the town which administered the short-lived county were still visible after many centuries.⁵⁷ Meanwhile, since the 5th century, the population of the whole prefecture had taken a swing upward. During the reign “Heavenly Treasure”⁵⁸, that is, in the middle of the 8th century, there were over three thousand families in residence in the area.⁵⁸

At least once and possibly twice during the T'ang Dynasty pearl-gathering was prohibited, whether because of the high number of casualties among the practitioners of the art, or as a result of imperial censorship of public morals, including injunctions against frivolous ornaments. The first prohibition was announced on December 25, A. D. 655, and our text says simply: “Decreed to halt the submission of pearls [as tribute] by the various prefectures.”⁵⁹ It is not clear whether this implied local restrictions on diving, but probably that was the case. The second instance is more explicit: “[August 24, 714, the government caused to be] burned brocades, embroideries, pearls, and jade at the Fore Hall”⁶⁰. [August 27, the government] prohibited the gathering of pearls and jade, as well as the making of carved and engraved vessels, strings of ‘fondling beads,’ and clothing with attached sashes. [The government also] abolished the Department of Brocade Weaving”⁶¹.⁶⁰ This year was full of other measures tending to make life more puritanical, especially at the court. For instance, we read that later in the year “. . . the government prohibited female musical [performances].” Doubtless all this was aimed at a spiritual purification of the imperial court, but it was certainly restrictive of commerce. Meanwhile the annual tribute of Ho-p'ü Province (or Lien Prefecture) was officially fixed at twenty taels of silver, this metal being the common local tribute

established in 634, in the same year as the change of Yüeh Prefecture to Lien Prefecture. This seems reasonable, though *T'ang shu* 43a gives 632. It was abolished in 638.

⁵⁶ *Yü-ti chi-sheng* 120.3b, citing *Chün-kuo chih*.

⁵⁷ *Yü-ti chi-sheng* 120.5b.

⁵⁸ *Chiu T'ang shu* 41.3240c. The official census gives 3,032 families and 13,029 taxable persons.

⁵⁹ *T'ang shu* 3.3638d.

⁶⁰ *T'ang shu* 5.3644b. “clothing with attached sashes”⁶¹ takes *t'ieh*⁶¹ to be a substitute for *t'ieh*⁶¹.

of the southernmost prefectures of China in T'ang times. Presumably it was produced from mines in the area.⁶¹ One and a half centuries later, on August 18, 863, “[the government] relaxed the prohibition on Pearl Pond in Lien Prefecture.”⁶² If the taboo had been continuously in effect since the reign of Hsüan Tsung, the subsistence level in Lien Prefecture must have been seriously reduced. At any rate, the text of the edict restoring pearl-gathering rights to the people makes it clear that the prohibition had had bad effects on trade, and states that the local authorities should permit the natives to engage in their usual source of livelihood.⁶³

From the T'ang Dynasty we have a new description of the Pearl Pond, with further details pertinent to the pearling industry:

In the sea on the edge of Lien Prefecture there is an island. On the island there is a great pond. Each year, when the Grand Protector prepares his tribute, he personally supervises the pearlers as they enter the pond. The pond is on the sea, and it is suspected that its bottom communicates with sea. Moreover the water of the pond is extremely deep, and no-one [can] fathom it. Those as large as a pea are the common pearls. Those like a bullet are also obtained from time to time. [Those] an inch through [which] illuminate a room are not to be encountered. Further, they take the flesh of the small oysters, pierce them with bamboo splinters, and dry them in the sun. These are called “pearl mothers.” The men of Jung and Kuei⁶⁴ are eager to take them and roast them, for offering with wine. Within the flesh are minute pearls like grains, whence it is known that they have pearls in their wombs in accordance with their size [i. e. small oysters have small pearls].⁶⁴

It has been noted that the wonderful return of the pearl-oysters to Ho-p'ü during the administration of Meng Ch'ang of Han was a common subject for “rhapsodies” (*fu*). An anecdote relating to T'ang times tells, in mysterious language, of the circumstances of the composition of such a poem:

During [the reign] Honorable Prime⁶⁵ [A. D. 785-805], when Tu Huang-ch'ang⁶⁶ administered the preferment [of candidates], he examined them [with the subject of] “A Rhapsody on the Return of the Pearls to Ho-p'ü.” The Advanced Gentleman⁶⁷, Lin Tsao⁶⁸, when his rhapsody

⁶¹ *T'ung tien* 6.37c.

⁶² *T'ang shu* 9.3655a.

⁶³ *Chiu T'ang shu* 19a.3134b. It is possible, of course, that the act of 863 rescinded a different prohibition, which I have not discovered.

⁶⁴ Liu Hsün, *Ling-piao lu*-ibk (ed. of *Wu-ying tien chü-chien-p'an*⁶¹).

was finished, leaned on a table and catnapped, dreaming that someone spoke to him in these words: "Your Honor's rhapsody is most delightful. However, one regrets that you have not yet quite expressed the concept of the coming and going of the pearls." Tsao awoke, looked at his draft, and found it perfected with four verses. That year he "made the grade," and gave thanks for the benefaction. Huang-ch'ang said to him, "Only you, Master Lin, expressed the concept of the coming and going of the pearls—it was as if you had supernatural aid."⁶⁵

The apparition could have been none other than the spirit of Meng Ch'ang himself, who knew more than anyone else the circumstances of the ancient miracle, and was, as we have seen, worshipped as a god in Ho-p'u.

After the final ruin of T'ang in the 10th century, the fisheries were the scene of renewed and vigorous activity. The last of the emperors of the southern state of Han, whose capital was at Canton (then Hsing-wang fu^{6f}), Liu Ch'ang^{6g}, undertook the systematic exploitation of the oyster-beds for the enrichment of his palace and the swelling of his treasury. He drafted a large body of troops^{6h} which he designated "The Division of the Seductive Stream"^{ch}.⁶⁷ This body of men was stationed at the "Sea Gate," that is, on the coast south of the seat of Lien Prefecture, in the vicinity of the fisheries, and given instruction in pearl-diving.⁶⁸ The pearls recovered by these pseudo-warriors were sent to Canton, where, in conjunction with tortoiseshell, they were chiefly used for the decoration of the buildings of the palace of the Emperor of Han: "Each suspended a stone to his foot and went as much as 500 to 700 feet into the sea. One after another died of drowning. After a while the pearls filled the treasury to repletion. The pavilions and houses in which [the emperor] dwelled, their rafters, beams, screens and portieres, were one and all decorated with pearls, going the limit in elegance and richness."⁶⁹ In 971, Canton was taken by the Sung armies, and in 972 the Division

of the Seductive Stream was abolished. The *Yü-ti chi-sheng*, which is virtually unique in recording the existence in Sung times of countless ancient ruins, notes the site of the Office of the Seductive Stream^{ci}, presumably the headquarters of the ill-fated division.⁷⁰ The circumstances of the fall of Canton are of some interest in this regard. The first Sung emperor entitled his third reign, beginning in 968, "Opened Treasure"^{ci}. Lingnan was at this time still independent of the upstart northern dynasty, but the government of the Chao family was making elaborate preparations for the reduction of the last of the Ten Kingdoms. In particular, the training of sailors and marines for water warfare was being emphasized. The name of the new reign most probably signified the hope for the early capture of Canton and the seizure of its fabled treasures. A passage in the history of the Five Dynasties makes it clear that the southerners were aware of the motives of Sung:

Kung Ch'eng-shu^{ck}, Li T'ou^{cl} and others plotted [together] saying, "The northern host has come merely to reap the profit of our country's wealth. Now if we burn it, and leave the city empty, the host will be unable to quarter itself, and will have to turn back." So they set fire to all the treasuries, warehouses, palaces and pavilions. [Liu] Ch'ang loaded ten or more sea-going vessels with valuables and female attendants and was about to put out to sea, but the eunuch Yüeh Fan^{cm} stole the ships in order to make escape and submission [to Sung] possible.⁷¹

So it would appear that the pearl-chests of Han did not escape the destiny allotted them by Heaven, and the scorched-earth program proved to be an empty gesture. Both capital and emperor were captured: "The Talented Ancestor^{cm}"⁷² [of the Sung Dynasty] abolished the Division of the Seductive Stream, and branded its stalwarts for the army. The oldsters he returned to farming villages."⁷³ The Division was disbanded on June 21, 972, and the "stalwarts" were reorganized into a new body, the Army of the Quiet River^{co}, presumably for more warlike purposes.⁷⁴ The ex-emperor, Liu Ch'ang, was given a nominal dignity at the Sung court, amounting to honorable imprisonment. A craftsman-king, like Louis XVI of

⁶⁵ Huang P'u, *Min-ch'uan ming-shih chuan*^{bm} (in *Shuo fubn*) 1b. The date of this work is uncertain.

⁶⁶ Wang P'i-chih (fl. 1080), *Sheng-shui yen-t'an-lu*^{bo} (ed. of *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng*) 9.77 says 8,000; *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* says 2,000. Other sources are silent.

⁶⁷ The use of *tu*^{bp} for a division of an army was common in the 10th century.

⁶⁸ *Yü-ti chi-sheng* 120.5b, citing *T'ung lüeh*^{ba}; *Sheng-shui yen-t'an-lu* loc. cit.; *Sung shih* 481.5698c; *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* loc. cit.; Chou Ch'ü-fei, *Ling-wai tai-ta*^{br} (ed. of *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng*) 7.76.

⁶⁹ *Sung shih* 481.5698c.

⁷⁰ *Yü-ti chi-sheng* 120.5b.

⁷¹ *Wu Tai shih* 65.4469d-4470a.

⁷² Synonymous with "Grand Ancestor"^{bs}.

⁷³ *Sheng-shui yen-t'an-lu*, loc. cit.

⁷⁴ *Sung shih* 3.4500b; *Ling-wai tai-ta* 7.76. *Sung shih* 90.4713a locates this army-area at Kueib^t Prefecture, far to the north. The ex-divers were transported, it seems.

France, he made use of his only real talents to please his new sovereign. It is told that he personally constructed a saddle sewn with pearls in the shapes of 95 dragons, which he presented to the Grand Ancestor.⁷⁵

Before leaving the Five Dynasties period, it may be noted that *Ch'ing-li lu* records an anecdote telling that the second Emperor of Later Han, in the north, was holding 108 small pearls at the time of his assassination. The text calls these by their Sanskrit name, *mo-ni*⁷⁶. They were stolen by the regicide Kuo Yün-ming⁷⁷. The text adds: "Presumably these were pearls of Ho-p'u."⁷⁸ It would appear, then, that Southern Han did not simply amass pearls in its warehouses, but traded them into the northern kingdoms.

The fortunes of Ho-p'u and its chief industry were varied under the early Sung emperors. At first the tendency was to exploit the natural resources of the newly conquered land. Later, as in earlier dynasties, pearl-diving was done away with: "... with the pacification of Lingnan, [the government] abolished it [i. e. the Seductive Stream Division], and maintained a prohibition against gathering by the people. Before long, [the government] restored 'the official take' [i. e. gathering under official supervision]. The sea-shoals⁷⁹ of Jung⁸⁰ Prefecture also produced pearls, and the administration⁸¹ established functionaries⁸² to manage it [i. e. pearl-diving]."⁸³ Jung Prefecture, far to the north in what is now Kuang-hsi Province, sent its first tribute-pearls to the court in 977, and thenceforth both Jung Prefecture and Ho-p'u were sources of the gems.⁸⁴ Hereafter

pearls were sent regularly to the treasury: 100 catties in 977, 50 catties in 982, 1,610 catties in 983. All were gathered at the so-called "pearl tracts"⁸⁵.

In the successive centuries of the Sung Dynasty, a series of decrees changed the fortunes of the fisheries as follows. On January 5, 985, the "pearl tracts" of Lingnan were abolished.⁸⁶ It would appear, however, that the taking of pearls was permitted, or else restored at a later date, for an edict of 1156 reads: "As to the annual tribute of pearls from Lien Prefecture, one hears that in taking them it is often injurious to the people. It is commanded that the tribute be rescinded henceforth."⁸⁷ Another version of the same edict, which dates it November 22, adds the following: "[We] license the Tan people to suit themselves [in the matter of gathering pearls]."⁸⁸ This seems to mean that while regular pearl-diving was forbidden to Chinese, the aboriginal Tan were allowed to gather at will. Henceforth notices of the Tan and their pearling activities become abundant in the Sung records. These people had been settled on the South China coasts since remote times, making various kinds of fishing their profession.⁸⁹

was not adjacent to the sea. The pearls of Japan and of ancient Britain were obtained from such genera of fresh-water molluscs as Unio and Anodonta. However, the expression "sea-shoals" in our text remains a puzzle.

⁷⁹ *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 18.179b. It is not clear whether the expression *chu-ch'ang* "pearl tracts"⁸⁰ is intended to be singular or plural. I take it to refer to Jung Prefecture and the Army-area of Grand Tranquillity (i. e. Ho-p'u). Probably the tribute pearls were kept in the treasure named "Throne-supplying Warehouse"⁸¹ in the Sung capital. See *Sung shih* 14.4522a, where, under date of November 13, 1068, the following entry appears: "Removed pearls from the Throne-supplying Warehouse to remit to Ho-pei for the purchase of horses."

⁸⁰ *Sung shih* 4.4503d.

⁸¹ *Yü-ti chi-sheng* 120.4a citing *Chung-hsing hsiao-li*⁸², by the 12th century writer Hsiung K'och. This latter work appears to be no longer extant, and not identical with the *Chung-hsing hsiao-chi*⁸³ of the same author. *Sung shih* 203.4989d lists it as containing 41 chapters.

⁸² *Tsung Tan-ting tzu pien*⁸⁴. *Sung shih* 31.4553c. *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, in referring to this event, has *Lien-chow*⁸⁵ for *Lien-chow*⁸⁶, an obvious error, and also the somewhat different sentence: "The Tan people are uniformly released to pursue their convenience"⁸⁷.

⁸³ *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü-chi* 169.2b, in referring to the Ho-p'u region, states: "the aborigines are called *yüeh-i*⁸⁸, and many gather pearls and shell-aromatic⁸⁹ as an occupation." It is not clear whether the expression *yüeh-i* here refers loosely to the Tan, or is used of a specific ethnic group. *Ling-wai tai-ta* 3.29 divides the Tan of

⁷⁵ *Sung shih* 481.5699c; T'ao Ku, *Ch'ing-i lu*⁷⁶ (ed. of *Hsi-yin-hsüan ts'ung-shu*⁷⁷) b.24a.

⁷⁶ *Ch'ing-i lu* b.24a. The term *mo-ni* may have been particularly associated with pearls imported from India. Cf. *Pei shih* 97.3043c, where it is stated that a city in Southern India produced "*mo-ni* pearls."

⁷⁷ *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 18.179b.

⁷⁸ The new dynasty abolished the administrative area of Lien Prefecture, and set up in its place the Army[-area] of Grand Tranquillity⁷⁹, with headquarters south of the old provincial seat, that is, at the Sea Gate, already referred to. I continue to use the name of Ho-p'u for the sake of tradition and simplicity. The change of name took place in 983. See *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü-chi* 169.1a and *Sung shih* 90.4713d. The population of the province (or army-area) for the fourth quarter of the 11th century (reign of Primal Fertility⁸⁰) is given as 7,500 families in *Sung shih*, loc. cit. The location of the oyster-beds of Jung Prefecture is uncertain. One would expect river-oysters as the source of the pearls of that area, which

The methods employed by them in taking pearls in Sung times was somewhat different from that used by the "soldiers" of Liu Ch'ang:

... for the gathering of pearls, it is necessary that the Tan people all dwell in sea-going boats⁸⁷. In gathering pearls, they ring the pond [i. e. Pearl Pond] with ships⁸⁷, and let down large ropes by means of rocks. In addition, they tie small cords to the waists of the Tan [i. e. themselves], plunge into the water, and take the pearls. When one's breath is oppressed, he jerks the cord, and when the cord moves, the boatmen then gather it in, and bring the man climbing up the great rope.⁸⁴

It will be observed that here the pearlers simply dive into the sea, and climb back up the cable, assisted by a cord around their waists, whereas our earlier account tells of stones attached to the feet of the divers. Doubtless this accounts for the number of casualties among the Chinese divers.

A summary of pearl-diving activities in Ho-p'ü compiled in the 12th century by Chou Ch'ü-fei,⁸⁵ describes such different matters as the manner of taking the oysters, the mysterious underwater dwellings earlier ascribed to the shark-people, the activities of the Tan, economic data on pearls, and comments on the miracle of Meng Ch'ang. This brief compendium of information, largely derived from earlier sources, deserves translation, representing as it does the actual situation of the pearl fisheries of Ho-p'ü in the middle Sung Dynasty, with which period this paper is brought to a close:

The pearl-producing region at Ho-p'ü is called "The Pond of Interrupted Hope"^{87,86}. It is beneath an isolated island in the sea, several tens of *li* from the shore. The

Ch'in⁸⁷ Prefecture into three classes, the fish-Tan, the oyster-Tan, and the wood-Tan, excelling at the gathering of fish, oysters and timber respectively. Ch'in was near the coast, west of Lien Prefecture. The same source mentions another category of Tan, called Lu-t'ing⁸⁷, who were skilled at naval warfare.

⁸⁴ Ts'ai T'ao (?-1126), [*T'ieh-wei-shan*] *ts'ung-t'an*⁸⁴ cited in *Yü-ti chi-sheng* 120.4a. This work has been reconstructed in *Shuo fu*, but the passage here translated does not appear there.

⁸⁵ *Ling-wai tai-ta* 7.75-76.

⁸⁶ This seems to be a different locality from the Pearl Pond already frequently alluded to, since elsewhere Chou Ch'ü-fei writes: "On the open sea to the East there is also a Pearl Pond." References to a "Pearl Mother Sea" are also occasionally found, as in *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi* 169.3b and 169.4b. This is variously rendered as *chu-mu-hai*⁸⁶ and *chu-mu-hai*⁸⁶. It appears to be the name of the area of the sea within which the pearl-fisheries occur.

depth of the pond is not ten *chang*.⁸⁷ The Tan people get oysters by diving, which they cut open to obtain pearls. To take the oysters, they tie a long cord to a bamboo basket, and take this along as they dive in. Once the oysters have been gathered, they shake the cord, causing the boatmen to haul it up. The divers instantly rise to the boats. If, unhappily, one meets an evil fish, a streamer of blood comes up to the surface of the water, at which the boatmen weep in agony, knowing that he is already in the fish's belly. Also there are those who, seeing the evil fish from afar, rise up quickly, arriving with wounded thighs and amputated arms. Of the evil fish in the sea, none compare with the *ts'ü-sha*⁸⁸, which they call "fish-tiger"^{88,89} and is much feared by the Tan. The Tan families themselves say that the Pearl Pond on the sea is like a city-wall [or "walled city"]. In its midst it is bright and strange, and may not be approached closely. Frequently there is some marvellous creature which gapes its mouth, exhales and inhales. Truly it is guarded and maintained by spiritual beings. The pearl-oysters in its midst have been unobtainable through the ages.⁹⁰ The oysters are born prolifically outside the city-wall and may therefore be gathered. The so-called "year of maturity of pearls" [refers to] an abundance of proliferation of the oysters. However years of mature production of pearls [occur] less than once or twice in a hundred [years], and these [others] are all scarcity years. In years of pearl-maturity, the Tan households do not make good prices, and will brave death to get them. They become altogether guileful people, and exchange a pint of wine or a peck of grain for several taels [of pearls]. But once they get them in their hands, they immediately sort them according to quality and weight, and then sell them in the city. [The pearls] then pass through numerous hands until they reach the capital, where their price has increased many-fold, going beyond estimation. The officialdom has prohibitions with regard to pearl-gathering [?]⁹¹, and the Prefecture is named "Lien" [i. e. incorruptible], which means that it has what is worth coveting.⁹² History tells that when Meng Ch'ang was Protector of Ho-p'ü, the pearls returned in quantity, in response to an incorrupti-

⁸⁷ It will be observed that this depth would not permit the 500 ft. or greater dives ascribed to the fishers of Liu Ch'ang. Possibly the latter ruler forced his divers to exploit new and deeper parts of the coastal waters.

⁸⁸ Lit. "prickly gauze." Possibly *sha*⁸⁸ is used here for *sha*⁸⁸, hence "the prickly elasmobranch," which might be some kind of shark or ray.

⁸⁹ This term is now used for *Diodon holacanthus*, a spiny fish, but not an elasmobranch. Probably the term had a different significance locally in the 12th century.

⁹⁰ Evidently this refers only to a single spot in Pearl Pond regarded as taboo.

⁹¹ Does this mean that officials were barred from pearl-gathering activities and speculation in pearls?

⁹² Apparently a *lucus a non lucendo* interpretation. The passage must mean that officials, being forbidden to engage in the pearl industry, were therefore putatively "incorruptible."

ble official. Yet twenty years before, there had been a Protector who was very covetous, and the pearls [then] too were highly "mature." Although there is no proof of a law of nature [operating in this matter], still the pure name of the former [i. e. Meng Ch'ang] survives

⁹³ I. e. Liu Tsung-yüan.

⁹⁴ This is the *Ling-ling chün fu ju-hsüeh ch'ia*, which may be found in *Liu Ho-tung ch'üan-chi* (ed. of *Ssu-pu pei-yao*) 28.1a-2a. It tells of a cave whose stalactites were used by the local populace for grinding up in food or medicine, until the supply was exhausted. But shortly

up to today, while the latter [official] has simply decayed along with plants and trees. Ah! Who knows whether the tale of Meng Ch'ang's bringing back the pearls is not [like] Liu Tzu-hou's⁹³ tale of the restoration of the stalactite cave?⁹⁴

after the arrival of a new Prefect, they miraculously reappeared. This legend, like the story of Meng Ch'ang, reflects a fact of nature, the normal process being shortened in time, and associated with an historical figure. Stalactites of limestone grow fairly rapidly (in geological time) under the best conditions.



TEXT

a 越
b 趙佗
c 合浦郡
d 縣
e 中國
f 王章
g 會稽
h 郭憲
i 吠勒
j 日南
k 鮫人
l 淚珠
m 泣珠
n 鮫
o 蛟
p 孟嘗
q 合浦太守
r 廉州
s 還珠亭
t 廣東通志
u 古蹟
v 陶弼
w 賦
x 陸復禮
y 令孤楚
z 尹樞

aa 珠官
ab 交州
ac 越州
ad 珠官縣
ae 陸龜蒙
af 和寄瓊州楊舍人
ag 南州異物志
ah 萬震
ai 大秦
aj 韓
ak 珠崖
al 東方朔
am 晉
an 陶璜
ao 交州刺史
ap 私散
aq 調
ar 限每不充
as 劉欣期
at 糖頭山
au 盧容
av 採金浦
aw 鮫魚
ax 圓州二洲
ay 珠人
az 陳伯紹

ba 俚獠
bb 郡國志
bc 青牛城
bd 上寶
be 珠娘
bf 珠兒
bg 明珠一斛貴如王者
bh 珠市
bi 玫瑰
bj 木奴
bk 領
bl 不廢機織
bm 博物志
bn 張華
bo 絹
bp 思惟佛
bq 禪靈寺
br 刹下
bs 太平廣記
bt 祿州
bu 合州
bv 珠池
bw 海曲
bx 天寶
by 前殿
bz 織錦坊

ca 容桂
cb 貞元
cc 杜黃裳
cd 進士
ce 林藻
cf 興王府
cg 劉鋹
ch 媚川都
ci 媚川館
cj 開寶
ck 龔澄樞
cl 李托
cm 樂範
cn 藝祖
co 靜江軍
cp 摩尼
cq 郭允明
cr 復官取
cs 海渚
ct 容
cu 官
cv 吏
cw 珠場
cx 海艇
cy 船
cz 斷望地
da 刺紗
db 魚虎
dc 採珠在官有禁
dd 柳子厚

NOTES

- | | | | |
|---|----------------------|----|----------|
| a | 楊守敬, 歷代輿地沿革險要圖 | aa | 洞冥記 |
| b | 葛布 | ab | 子書百家 |
| c | 鹽鐵論 | ac | 神明 |
| d | 回部備要 | ad | 王者 |
| e | 桂林 | ae | 孝經援神契 |
| f | 明珠 | af | 黃氏逸書考 |
| g | 夜光珠 | ag | 輿地紀勝 |
| h | 明月珠 | ah | 九域志 |
| i | 夜光 | ai | 黃志 |
| j | 明月之珠 | aj | 黃佐 |
| k | 明月寶珠 | ak | 題還珠亭 |
| l | 蠓蜃 | al | 題廉州孟太守祠堂 |
| m | 龍 | am | 三國郡縣表附考證 |
| n | 龍辰 | an | 二十五史補編 |
| o | 辰 | ao | 沈志 |
| p | 蜃 | ap | 唐甫里先生文集 |
| q | 鱗介之物 | aq | 文獻通考 |
| r | 陸佃, 埤雅 | ar | 太平御覽 |
| s | 蚌 | as | 魏略 |
| t | 叢書集成 | at | 以璣珠為財寶 |
| u | 蜃 | au | 張勃, 吳錄 |
| v | 明月之珠生於蠓蜃周之簡圭生於
垢石 | av | 神異經 |
| w | 墨子 | aw | 漢魏叢書 |
| x | 周之靈珪出於土石楚之明月生於 | ax | 交州記 |
| y | 蠓 蚌蜃 | ay | 太平寰宇記 |
| z | 龐 | az | 合流 |

NOTES

- | | | | |
|----|------------|----|-----------|
| ba | 馬援 | ca | 中興小曆 |
| bb | 彭 | cb | 熊克 |
| bc | 彭 | cc | 中興小紀 |
| bd | 平夷置合浦 | cd | 縱蛋丁自便 |
| be | 任昉述異記 | ce | 連州 |
| bf | 額 | cf | 廉州 |
| bg | 姜 | cg | 蛋丁並放逐便 |
| bh | 帖緇服 | ch | 越色 |
| bi | 帖 | ci | 甲香 |
| bj | 貼 | cj | 欽 |
| bk | 劉恂, 嶺表錄異 | ck | 廬停 |
| bl | 武英殿聚珍版 | cl | 蔡條, 鐵園山叢談 |
| bm | 黃璞, 閩川名士傳 | cm | 珠母海 |
| bn | 說郛 | cn | 諸母海 |
| bo | 王闢之, 澠水燕談錄 | co | 紆 |
| bp | 都 | cp | 魚 |
| bq | 通略 | cq | 零陵郡復乳穴記 |
| br | 周去非, 嶺外代答 | cr | 柳河東全集 |
| bs | 太祖 | | |
| bt | 桂 | | |
| bu | 陶穀, 清異錄 | | |
| bv | 惜陰軒叢書 | | |
| bw | 太平軍 | | |
| bx | 元豐 | | |
| by | 珠場 | | |
| bz | 奉宸庫 | | |



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LI KANG: A RHAPSODY ON THE BANYAN TREE

by

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INTRODUCTION

The banyan tree, a species of fig, with its curious and striking habit, is widely distributed in southern Asia, but commonly thought of in connection with India. It is not unknown in China, however, and has attracted considerable attention there in folklore and literature because of the great canopy-like structure formed by the descent of aerial roots from its branches. These strike into the ground to form a series of new trunks, and ultimately enclose a cavernous space ideally suited for a retreat for men from the burning tropical sun.

Chinese literature, like Indian literature, has emphasized the peculiarities of the tree. Chi Han 嵇含, in his *Nan-fang ts'ao-mu chuang* 南方草木狀 (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* edition, b. 7. Hereafter cited as NFTMC), makes much of the feature of the aerial roots and their ability to form subsidiary trunks—hence such terms as “reverse-growing tree” (*tao-sheng-mu* 倒生木) or “reverse-growing roots” (*tao-sheng ken* 倒生根) are applied to the banyan. The *Nan-chou i-wu chih* 南州異物志 (quoted in Chia Ssu-hsieh 賈思勰, *Ch'i-min yao-shu* 齊民要術, *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* edition, 10.278-9) mentions the tree's habit of wrapping itself around other trees as it grows, constructing a basket-like network and ultimately strangling its host. Many allusions to this characteristic may be found in Chinese descriptive literature: for instance, the case of a banyan entangling a camphor-tree, described by Wang Shih-mao 王世懋 in his *Min pu su* 閩部疏 (*Chieh-yüeh-shan-fang hui-ch'ao* 借月山房彙鈔 edition, 1b.) For a full account of this habit of some figs, the reader should consult M. B. Emeneau, “The Strangling Figs in Sanskrit Literature”, *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), XIII, 345-370.

A descriptive and philosophical poem devoted to this prodigy among trees was written by the eminent Sung Dynasty statesman Li Kang 李綱 (A.D. 1085—1140), who is famous for his vigorous opposition to the conciliatory attitude of certain court factions toward the Jurchen, but not notable as a literary man. The subject might have attracted any poet, but it is probable that its selection by Li Kang indicates some nostalgia for the scenes of his youth. Kang was a native of Shao-wu 邵武 in the province of Fukien, where this exotic tree is abundant. Otherwise, the poem, entitled *Jung-mu-fu* 榕木賦, "Rhapsody on the Banyan Tree", reveals little about its author, aside from glimpses at his philosophical opinions. Further details of his life may be found in the long biography in chapters 358 and 359 of the *Sung shih*, or very much abbreviated in Giles' *Biographical Dictionary*.

It was inevitable that the banyan should be the subject of a *fu*, which I have tentatively translated "rhapsody". This English version of the Chinese name of a complex literary form is adopted by analogy with the use of the term "rhapsody" in music, implying a rather long, irregular and colorful composition. Otherwise the term does not include all of the connotations of the Chinese word *fu*. Be that as it may, the form and style are admirably suited to the description of and speculation about a marvel of the natural world. The literary merits of Li Kang exemplified in this rhapsody are not conspicuous, and the poem might best be described as a pastiche of quotations from famous books, most deriving from the Taoist classic *Chang tzu*. In the latter work, parables and philosophical anecdotes having a large and purportedly useless tree as their central figure are abundant. The banyan itself is not mentioned in *Chuang tzu*, but the analogy between it and other great trees whose wood lacks commercial value make it a perfect subject for Taoist allegories. The whole rhapsody is, in fact, a kind of rhymed Taoist apologue. In the end, it is this, rather than the political fame of its author or the artistry of his florid verses, that give the poem its interest.

I have followed the version of the text given in *Yü-ting li-tai fu-hui* 御定歷代賦彙 (edited by Ch'en Yüan-lung 陳元龍, 1886) 116.16b.

[Introduction in prose:]

1. The region of Min and Kuang abounds in the banyan tree ¹.

¹ The banyan is native to the southeastern coast of China, but an occasional allusion to its occurrence elsewhere in that nation may be found. The name *jung* has been applied to other trees

2. While its timber is large, it is useless.
3. Yet its intricacy¹ of branches and leaves shelters and shades several acres with sheer shadow.
4. And men really take advantage of it.
5. Therefore it need not be shorn or chopped by hatchet or axe.
6. This would seem to be what is called "the use of uselessness"².

of similar habit, notably to the "wintergreen" 冬青 possibly *Cornus macrophylla* of Kiangsi (Jung-ch'eng sui-pi 榕城隋筆, quoted in *T'u-shu chi-ch'eng*. "Ts'ao-mu tien" 草木典 252; and G. A. Stuart, *Chinese Materia Medica* (Shanghai, 1911) p. 128). Mistaken identification may be involved in the case of the so-called *jung* of Ts'ai Prefecture 蔡州 (in Honan): the story tells of a great tree there with pendent branches which no-one could identify, until a visitor from Fukien styled it a *jung* (Ch'en Shih-tao 陳師道, *Hou-shan t'an-ts'ung* 後山談叢, TSCC edit., 3.27). At any rate, our earliest source, NFTMC, makes it typical of the Lingnan area, specifically Nan-hai 南海 and Kuei-lin 桂林. But it is easier to think of the tree in connection with Fukien, since popular toponymy has distinguished Fu Prefecture 福州 with the name "Banyan City" 榕城. Giles, in his *Chinese English Dictionary*, also gives the phrase "banyan talk" 榕談 as meaning "Foochow dialect". This despite the fact that the banyan becomes most abundant south of the provincial capital, notably at Ch'üan 泉 and Chang 漳 Prefectures (*Min pu su* 19a). I have not been able to trace the term "Banyan City" back before the early Sung dynasty. It occurs, for instance, in the *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi* 太平寰宇記 100.3b. The *Fu-chien t'ung-chih* 福建通志 of Hsieh Tao-ch'eng 謝道承 (edit. of 1737) 62.2b tells that when Chang Po-yü 張白玉 was Governor of Fu Prefecture during the reign Regulated Tranquillity 治平 (1064-1067), he found the tree much planted by the plebs (*pien-hu* 編戶), and that after 1068, "... their green shade filled the city". Ch'eng Shih-meng 程師孟, who became Governor in that year, wrote a poem in which the expression "Banyan City" occurs (actually the text has 枕城, an obvious misprint), but is not certain that he invented the term.

¹ "Intricacy" is 扶疎. Cf. the *Shang-lin fu* 上林賦 of Ssu-ma Hsiang-jü 司馬相如 in *Han shu* 57a.0500c: "The intricacy of hanging branches" 垂條扶疎; and see *Tz'u t'ung* 辭通 p. 0267 for a discussion of graphic variants of this binom. "Shelter" is 茈, for which see the note on line 41, below. I translate 畝 very loosely as "acre". "Sheer shadow" is 清陰. Cf. NFTMC: "It will shade ten acres".

² From *Chuang tzu*, "Jen-chien-shih" 人間世: "Though all men know the use of usefulness, no-one knows the use of uselessness". Chapters of *Chuang tzu* most frequently quoted by Li Kang are "Hsiao-yao-yü" 逍遙遊 (here abbreviated as HYY), in particular the story of Hui-tzu 惠子 and his ailanthus 樗; "Jen-chien-shih" (abbreviated as JCS),

7. Being impressed, I made a rhapsody about it, whose verses go —

* * *

8. There is a giant tree in the South whose name is Banyan:¹
9. Coiling below² it takes hold in the dense ground.
10. Shifting above it rubs against the high vault,
11. Drenched and moistened by rain and dew,
12. Shaken and agitated by thunderclap and thunderpeal³,
13. Illumined and incandesced by sun and moon,
14. Engulfed and contained⁴ by heaven-soul and earth-soul,
15. Equally with all other trees.
16. Then just what are its singular anomalies of endowed form⁵ and indued spirit?

especially the story of Carpenter Shih 匠石 and his oak 欂; and “Shan-mu” 山木 (abbreviated as SM). But quotations from other sections occasionally appear.

¹ The first line of the rhapsody ends with *jung* “banyan”, giving the rhyme-word for the whole poem; so there follow *ch’iung* “vault”, *sung* “agitated”, *jung* “contained”, and so on.

² “Coiling below” is 下蟠, which, in a number of alternate graphic forms, has the sense of “taking root in [the earth]”. See *Chuang tzu* “K’o-i” 刻意, where the phrases “attaining to the sky above, coiling (蟠) to the earth below” occur, there with reference to “spirit” 精神. Compare also *Li chi*, “Yüeh chi” 樂記 where the text has the similar phrases 極天而蟠乎地, translated by Legge (*Sacred Books of the East* p. 104), “... they reach to the height of heaven and embrace the earth”.

³ Cf. *Chuang-tzu* “Yü-fü” 漁夫, where the clause “... like the shaking of thunderclap and thunderpeal” occurs with reference to the sword of a feudal lord.

⁴ “Contained” for *jung* 容. Probably a pun here. *Min shu* 閩書 (quoted in *T’u-shu chi-ch’eng*, “Ts’ao-mu tien” 252) gives the etymology “Since it can contain (容), so is it named *jung* (榕)”. But I have not seen an early version of this explanation. Possibly the reference is to the strangling network formed around other trees.

⁵ “Endowed form” is 賦形, “indued spirit” is 稟氣. Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130-1200) employs these terms, which must, however, have been elements of the common philosophical terminology of the early Sung dynasty. See his *Ssu-shu chang-chü chi-chu* 四書章句集注, “Chung-yung chang-chü” 中庸章句 p. 1 (Commercial Press, 1935), where his gloss on the classic reads, “Heaven, using *yin* and *yang* and the five elements, transformed them to give birth to all created things, gave them form (形) by means of spirit (氣), with reason (理) also endowed (賦) in them”; and then, “... although their natural principles are the same, their spiritual investments (氣稟) may be different.”

17. Its elongated ¹ trunk and outspread branches encircling and winding, meandering and twisting,
18. Its knotted roots and implanted bases clenching ² and crooking, contorting and swelling;
19. Mouths and nostrils—the gaps and holes through a thousand encompassings ³,
20. Dragons and serpents ⁴—the flight and movement over a thousand feet!
21. Look above ⁵ and gaze below—
22. In what is it undeserving of compass, square and stringmarker? ⁶
23. Timbers ⁷ for the superior and enlightened ones?

¹ “Elongated” is 擢, really meaning “pulled out”. “Encircling etc.” is 輪囷離奇. The four-character phrase occurs in *Shih chi* 53.0209b, of the “basal roots” 根柢 of a tree.

² “Clenching etc.” is 拳曲擁腫. Cf. *Chuang tzu* HYY, of Hui-tzu’s ailanthus: “The great roots contorting and swelling, the small branches clenching and crooking”, but with 巷 instead of 拳. The phrase 拳曲 is also in NFTMC, with reference to the banyan’s trunk. This and the following verses allude to the aerial roots sent down from the branches, which thicken into secondary trunks, all interconnected to form an elaborate twisted edifice under an enormous crown. See Emeneau, *op. cit.* 346.

³ “Encompassings” is 圍, here used as a measure, but I translate literally. The phrase is from *Chuang tzu* JCS. According to the commentary on the latter, an “encompassing” is the circumference of something one foot in diameter.

⁴ “Dragons and serpents” is 龍蛇. Cf. *Jung-ch’eng sui-pi*, which notes that when mature the banyan looks like a clump of many trees, “... resembling basilisks and dragons” 若虯龍. And see the *Wu tu fu* 吳都賦 of Tso Ssu 左思 (in *Wen hsüan* 文選): “encircling and winding, snaking and coiling” 輪囷虯蟠, i.e. intertwined like dragons and serpents.

⁵ “Look above, etc.” is 仰視俯察. From *Chuang tzu* JCS, but the latter has “see” 見 rather than “gaze”.

⁶ Quoting *Chuang tzu* HYY, of the ailanthus: “The trunk ... does not deserve (不中) string-marker, the branches ... do not deserve compass and square.” “String-marker” and “compass and square” also occur in *Li chi* “Ching chieh” 經解. The former is used to lay out straight lines, the latter to mark squares and circles.

⁷ The line is 高明之麗. It occurs in *Chuang-tzu* JCS, with 名 for 明, and with 麗 glossed as “housetimbers”, i.e. 櫺. 高明 means “an outstanding person”, but also “a high edifice”. I take it to refer to the homes of the aristocracy.

24. It is not the material for ridge-pole or beam ¹.
25. Workstuff for the chopping and paring ones? ²
26. It is not of service for table or bowl ³.
27. Make boat and paddle of it—they will quickly sink ⁴.
28. Make coffin and sarcophagus of it—they will quickly rot ⁵.
29. Make gate and door of it—they will be gum-exuding ⁶.
30. Make pier and pillar of it ⁷—they will be worm-eaten.
31. Make kindling of it—it will give you no flame ⁸.
32. It lacks merit for stove and boiler.
33. Make beacons of it—it will give you no light:
34. It lacks use for torch and fire ⁹.
35. It seems an ostentatious, ineffectual ¹⁰ tree,

¹ "Ridge-pole or beam" is from *Chuang tzu* JCS, of a tree whose branches are so knotted that they may not be used for beams.

² This is 斲削之工, which I take to refer to the work of ordinary artisans.

³ "Table or bowl" is 俎豆. Actually these are ceremonial vessels, the former intended to hold the sacrificial victim. Here they stand for joinery in general.

⁴ *Chuang tzu* JCS has "Make a boat of it—it will sink". The words "paddle" and "quickly" are added by Li Kang for perfect parallelism with the next verse.

⁵ This line is quoted intact from *Chuang tzu* JCS, with reference to the sacred oak. A similar phrase, "it may not be made into coffin or sarcophagus", occurs in the same chapter, of another useless tree.

⁶ Quoted from *Chuang tzu* JCS, but the latter has 楠 "resinous" after 液, dropped by Li Kang for parallelism with the next verse. A useful gum, "comparable to lacquer", is obtained from the banyan. It makes a superior glue for some purposes. See Chao Hsüeh-min 趙學敏, *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu shih-i* 本草綱目拾遺 6.21b (Shanghai, Hung-pao-chai 鴻寶齋, 1916).

⁷ Quoted from *Chuang tzu* JCS, with 楹 "pier" added before "pillar" by Li Kang for parallelism with previous verse.

⁸ A paraphrase of NFTMC: "Burn it—there will be no flame; this may not be used to make kindling".

⁹ "Torch or fire" occurs in *Chuang tzu* HYY.

¹⁰ The word 枵 here is a little difficult. In *Tso chuan* (Duke Hsiang 28) it appears as part of the name of a star (玄枵), and is explained as meaning "hollow", "consumed". In the form 枵, it occurs in *Chuang tzu* HYY with reference to a gourd, and is glossed as "big and hollow-seeming". Hence I have hazarded "ostentatious". "Ineffectual tree" is 散木. The phrase is from *Chuang tzu* JCS, where the Carpenter Shih applies it to the sacred oak, in the sense of "useless". It is an antonym of 文木.

36. Good only for the sighing admiration of ten-thousand oxen ¹;
 37. Deserving the inattention ² of Carpenter Shih,
 38. It would appear in his dreams like the oak of the Earth-altar ³.
 39. Nonetheless its extended limbs ⁴ wing-spread—
 40. Its masking ⁵ leaves cloud-thick—
 41. Will shelter ⁶ a thousand teams of linked quadrigae,
 42. And image the umbrageousness ⁷ of a royal-green canopy.
 43. Just when the summer days are longest ⁸,

¹ The first word in the line is 徒, parallel to 蓋 in the preceding verse. Literally, "It is presumably ..." and "It is merely ..." My translation "Good only for ..." seems to give a less stilted construction. "Sighing admiration" is 嗟重. For the oxen, compare *Chuang tzu* JCS "Its size [is such as to] shelter several thousand oxen".

² Cf. *Chuang tzu* JCS, where Carpenter Shih gives the sacred oak his "inattention" (不顧). and also HYY where "carpenters disregard" (匠者不顧) the ailanthus of Hui-tzu.

³ "The oak of the Earth-altar" is 櫟社, literally the "oak-altar", from *Chuang-tzu* JCS. The tree appeared in a dream to Carpenter Shih to explain its happy position, and to reproach him for his lack of perspicacity.

⁴ "Extended limbs" is 修枝. The use of 修 in this sense goes back to the *Shih ching* (ode "Lu yüeh" 六月): 四牡修廣, which Legge renders, "The four steeds were long, and stout ..." Hence such expressions as 修竹 defined as "long extended bamboo" 長くのびたる竹.

⁵ "Masking" is 密. The latter connotes both "crowded together" and "concealing".

⁶ "Shelter" is 庇. Cf. *Chuang tzu* JCS, where this word, and "a thousand teams of linked quadrigae" 結駟千乘 appear together; this is not in the story of Carpenter Shih, however. An actual case of two banyans, entangled with each other, is reported by the *Lung-men hsien-chih* 龍門縣志. 19.234a (citing *Kuang-tung hsün-yü* 廣東新語). The result was a great archway which would accomodate horses and carriages. It is said to date from the Sung dynasty.

⁷ "Umbrageousness" is 童童. Cf. *San-kuo chih* "Shu chih" 2.1008a, which has, "... the mulberry tree .. seen from afar is as umbrageous as the canopy of a small carriage." The term connotes "drooping and shade-forming". "Royal-green canopy" is 青蓋. I translate here "royal-green" to carry the connotation of its specialized use in this phrase; cf. *Hou Han shu* 39.0717a, where green canopies are prescribed for the carriages of the sons of an Emperor, hence the expression, "royal green canopied carriage" 王青蓋車.

⁸ The verse is 夏日才永, Cf. *Shih ching* (ode "Shan yü shu" 山有樞), which has 且以永日, translated by Legge, "... and to prolong the day".

44. And the fearsome radiance posts through the void ¹,
 45. It lets down a lovely shadow ² for the whole quarter,
 46. And attracts fresh winds from ten-thousand miles.
 47. Quiet ³ as an enveloping tent,
 48. Refreshing ⁴ as an apartment lattice,
 49. It is the resort and refuge of travellers,
 50. Who all ease their shadows in its midst ⁵.
 51. Therefore it can avoid premature death by hewing and striking ⁶ of
 hatchet and axe.
 52. These it escapes, though not being gifted ⁷, it has no use.
 53. Yet its use is great ⁸ and its dedication apparent.

¹ The verse is 畏景馳空. 畏景 means “the fearsome radiance of the summer sun”, ultimately deriving from the gloss of Tu Yü 杜預 on *Tso chuan* (Duke Wen 7): 夏日可畏 “Summer days are fearsome”.

² “Lovely shadow” is 美蔭, from *Chuang tzu* SM. For “It lets down, etc.”, compare *T'ang shu* 76.3869a, “Where a bad tree lets down a shadow, the aspiring gentleman will not rest”.

³ 靄 is used for 靜 “quiet”. The latter and 肅 (parallel to it in the next verse) occur as a compound in the meaning (according to Giles) of “quiet and peaceful”. 帷 is a tent-like enclosure, especially one covering the four sides. I translate it as a participle in the phrase 帷幄.

⁴ “Refreshing” for 肅 rather than the usual “austere”, because I take the word as representing the reduplicated *su-su*, which connotes the cool, refreshing atmosphere of a pavilion or temple. Thus see the poem *Tseng Ts'ai Tzu-tu* 贈蔡子篤 by Wang Ts'an 王粲 (in *Wen hsüan*), which has 肅肅淒風, where the connotation is more “biting” than “refreshing”, but the term means precisely “the feel of the wind on the skin”, a subjective quality. “Apartment lattice” is 房櫺. Cf. *Han shu* 97b.0615a: 房櫺虛兮風冷冷.

⁵ This line is based on *Chuang tzu* “Yü-fu”: “He did not know how to stay in the shade in order to rest his shadow”.

⁶ “Hewing and striking” is 梲擊, with 梲 for 梲. The expression occurs more than once in *Chuang tzu*, for instance in JCS, of cultivated trees, which bring this fate on themselves. “Premature death, etc.” is quoted from the story of the ailanthus in HYY, and a similar phrase appears in JCS.

⁷ “Not being gifted” is 不材. The phrase occurs in NFTMC. It means “not endowed with good qualities (of wood)”.

⁸ For “its use is great” (用大), cf. *Chuang tzu* JCS, where the oak says in the carpenter's dream, “[I am of] great use to myself” (爲予大用), i.e. it is enabled to live a long time. The whole verse is 乃用大而效顯, and I am unsure of my translation of the second part.

54. With its difference from the inevitable breaking of a cultivated tree ¹,
55. And its likeness to the avoided shearing of the sweet pear ²,
56. It is established in the Country of Nonesuch ³,
57. Matched with the Sacred Cedrela ⁴, but alone surpassing it.
58. Not being so, the wild goose is cooked since it does not sing ⁵,
59. The lacquer-tree is sliced since it has utility ⁶,

¹ "Cultivated tree" is 文木, The expression is used in *Chuang tzu* JCS to describe orchard trees that get damaged as result of their usefulness.

² "Sweet pear" is 甘棠, i.e. the 棠梨, *Pyrus baccata*, a wild pear revered as the symbol of virtuous government, in accordance with the passage in the *Shih ching* (ode "Kan T'ang"): "[This] umbrageous sweet pear-tree; — Clip it not, hew it not down. Under it the chief of Shaou rested." (Legge's translation). The virtue of the banyan also lies in the fact that it provides shade and rest. The phrase "avoided shearing" (勿剪) appears in *Chuang tzu* JCS, where the sacred oak escapes shearing because of its association with the altar.

³ "Country of Nonesuch" is 無何有之鄉, i.e. a non-existent place, or better, a kind of limbo, between being and non-being. It occurs twice in *Chuang tzu*, once in HYY with reference to Hui-tzu's tree, "Why not plant it in the Country of Nonesuch"; and again in "Ying Ti-wang" 應帝王, "Wherefore I can go out beyond the six poles [of the Universe], and travel in the Country of Nonesuch".

⁴ "Sacred Cedrela" is 靈椿. 椿 is the *Cedrela sinensis*, a symbol of longevity. Cf. *Chuang tzu* HYY, "In remote antiquity there was a great cedrela, which took 8000 years to be a spring-time". 靈椿 is from the poem *Tseng Tou Shih* 贈竇十 of Feng Tao 馮道 (*Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩 han 11, ts'e 4): "Tenth Master Tou of Swallow Mountain instructs his sons in dutiful ways; one trunk of the sacred cedrela is aged; five branches of the fairy cassia are fragrant". In short, the virtuous, useful and aged Master Tou is the cedrela, his well-taught sons are the cassia branches. "Alone surpassing it" is 獨遠; i.e. the banyan is the only tree surpassing the cedrela in longevity. Cf. *Chuang tzu* SM: "This tree, by reason of its lack of gifts, gets to complete its natural years". And Giles' *Dictionary* gives "immortal tree" 不死木 as a name for the banyan.

⁵ This is from an anecdote in *Chuang tzu* SM: a man orders a servant boy to kill a goose for a guest (殺雁而烹之), and when the boy asks which goose to slaughter, the master says, "Kill the one which cannot cry". This anecdote bewilders Chuang-tzu's disciple, who has just been told that a certain tree escapes killing because it is useless, and now the goose is killed for the same reason. For Chuang-tzu's reply, see line 62 below.

⁶ This is based on *Chuang tzu* JCS, from a short parable beginning "Mountain trees imperil themselves."

60. The rhinoceros and elephant are slaughtered for their teeth and horns,
 61. The ailanthus ¹ and oak are chopped for their poor wood.
 62. But this is located midway between the gifted and ungifted ²,
 63. And the consideration of its superiority or inferiority has hardly been easy.

¹ 樗 is *Ailanthus glandulosa* (or *A. altissima*); this is the tree of Hui-tzu, made the basis of so many analogies with the banyan by Li Kang. 櫟 is *Quercus serrata*, the oak of the earth-altar. Due to some superficial resemblances to the *Cedrela*, it is often regarded as a variety of that tree, but actually they are not related.

² Cf. *Chuang tzu* SM: "Chou [i.e. myself] intends to stay midway between the gifted and the ungifted".



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NON-TRANSLATION AND FUNCTIONAL TRANSLATION

—TWO SINOLOGICAL MALADIES

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AMONG the sins of scholarly translators from the Chinese, there is one which is so prevalent as to remain unchallenged generation after generation, possibly because no one is free from its taint. I refer to the practice of leaving uncooked and indigestible lumps in the sinological puddings served up to a tolerant public. This custom, against which I wish to make the strongest possible protest, has not yet been justified or even defended by any well-argued theory, but has become widely accepted usage in the absence of overt opposition. Specifically I challenge the common treatment of a large and poorly defined body of Chinese "names and titles" either by transliteration (an extreme kind of under-translation), or by what is sometimes known as "functional translation" (a species of paraphrase lacking consistent methodology). An obvious instance of the former would be the rendering of 自稱太上皇 by "he styled himself *T'ai-shang-huang*," and of the latter, the rendering of 爲樞密使 by "he was made Chancellor." I oppose such procedures on the general grounds that the chief if not the sole responsibility of the scholarly translator is fidelity to his text. In other words it is to convey, as precisely as he may in a different tongue, the sense of the *language* of the original.

The kinds of expression most commonly "transliterated" (i.e. not translated) or "functionally translated" (i.e. freely paraphrased) are appellations, epithets, names and titles, which, descriptively or fancifully, officially or casually, accurately or falsely, have been applied to persons, offices, associations, activities, organizations, buildings, mountains, rivers, seas and so forth. Doubtless other categories will occur to the reader, such as special names given to techniques, processes, games, and the like, which are frequently left untranslated, cloaked in the respectable obscurity of the custom-sanctioned Romanization. Thus the translator is spared one of his most thorny tasks. The custom might be understandable in the case of words whose meanings are unknown, or doubtfully understood. Fortunately there are not many of these in literary Chinese, if we except the ancient classical books. Certainly they are not especially characteristic of the category of expression most

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commonly sinned against, namely "official titles"; rather the reverse. If there are difficulties in finding an adequate English rendition, it is most likely due to syntactical and morphological differences between the two languages, but rarely to the absence from the English lexicon of a fairly suitable equivalent. Thus, the connotations of "official titles" are usually transparent, though *why* they are appropriate to the office and its occupant may not always be obvious.

The error of non-translation (use of Romanized forms) is the more mysterious of the two sins I am here castigating. Let us take an example: the expression 應天門, the name of a city gate, would be rendered simply "Ying-t'ien Gate" by many translators, although there is nothing at all enigmatic about the gate. It is called "Gate of Responsiveness to Heaven," and its name registers and praises the quality of sensitivity to the divine will. To ignore this fact is gratuitously to reduce

(1) the scientific value of the translation, since something which might have been revealed to the reader about Chinese belief and custom (however little) has been concealed, and

(2) the potential literary merit of the translation, since part of the color and quality of the situation has been concealed.

It is distressing to imagine what drab and anaemic Bible translations we should get if the example of the sinologists were followed. We should rejoice no longer in such as the following:¹

"...the entrance by the *Fish Gate*...." (II Chronicles 33.14)

"...they are written in the *Chronicles of the Seers*." (II Chronicles 33.19)

"...until you have learned that the *Most High* rules...." (Daniel 4.32)

"And I had two staffs; one I named *Grace*, and the other I named *Union*." (Zechariah 11.7)

"...and the *Mount of Olives* shall be split in two...." (Zechariah 14.4)

Instead of these resounding English phrases, representing intelligible "names" and "titles" in the original text, we should have groups of senseless transliterations, without value to the scholar or to the general reader, thus: "...and the Har Hazzêthîm shall be split in two...." Yet any attempt to do otherwise with Chinese translations is met by the shibboleth "proper name," which is habitually intoned, like an exorcistic formula, in defense of the failure to translate Chinese phrases which are quite analogous to the Hebrew and Aramaic phrases cited above. This dogma that titles and "proper names" are not translatable even when they are completely comprehensible, strange as it is, enjoys widespread adherence.

Let us next consider the second type of custom-sanctioned error widespread among sinologists: instead of completely avoiding translation by offering a

¹ Selected from the Revised Standard Version. Italics are mine. In the original text the forms referred to are respectively: *ša'ar haddāghîm*; *dibhêrê hôzay*; *šallîṭ 'illā'ā*; *nô'am*, *hôbbelîm*; *har hazzêthîm*. For these I am indebted to Leon N. Hurvitz.

phonetic transcription, the translator gives a rough paraphrase, preferably an English title which does not require a great deal of erudition for its comprehension. This approach is typical of the method now most generally approved for handling official titles, and the versions produced in this manner are frequently known as "functional-type translations." Actually they are linguistic swindles, and the present writer shudders to think of the great number which he has himself perpetrated in the past, and for which he must be held ultimately accountable before the Rhadamanthus of sinologues. The unchallenged acceptance of this method seems to be due in part at least to the fact that the sinologist is simultaneously philologist-translator-exegete and historian-ethnologist-sociologist, or is expected to be. In the latter of these concurrent roles he attempts to discern the functions of the office whose name he translates. But when he assumes his philologist's hat, it is all too easy for him to ignore what the text *says*, and put his politico-sociological conceptions in lieu of the linguistic facts. So, for 太守, instead of "Grand Protector," or something of that kind, he sets down "Prefect." Such judgments of actuality should be put in a footnote, a "Brief Communication," or a monograph. "Prefect" is an interpretative gloss, rather than a rendering of the language of the text, and might properly appear (for example) in a footnote to the translation "Grand Protector" reading, "Chin. *t'ai-shou* 太守, the title of an office which, in the 5th century, was somewhat analogous to that of a French departmental prefect."

Granted that to the student of comparative institutions, or the political historian, the proposed analogue "Prefect" may be more satisfying than the literal "Grand Protector." Nonetheless, the philologist (that is, the expert on linguistic and textual matters whose business it is to produce faithful translations) must not slant his translations for the benefit of any particular learned community, but, insofar as it is possible, produce a version which will be valid for any user. He must, for example, consider the possibility that his translation may be consulted by a graduate student doing thesis research on the subject "Defenders and Protectors of the People in various Ages and Societies." Finding "Prefect" as a rendering of 太守, our hypothetical researcher will never know that the Chinese at one time styled a type of magistrate "Grand Protector."

Most of us are familiar with the stereotyped expression "Shepherd of the Hosts" from reading translations of the *Iliad*. I am fond of the expression: it seems to me that it is poetic, and at the same time reveals something interesting and significant about early Greek ideas. The phrase is a rendering of Greek *poimēn laōn*. Doubtless a translator of the "functional" school would reason as follows: Agamemnon was not "really" a shepherd, but a kind of petty chieftain from Mycenae. Therefore (he will allege) we ought not to employ such a difficult and exotic expression as "Shepherd of the Hosts" in our

up-to-date version of the *Iliad*. Rather we should "translate functionally" by substituting "Chief" or "Captain" for the noxious phrase. Maybe even "Gauleiter" or "Boss."

To sum up: this pernicious and heretical doctrine of "functional" translation is widely supported in these days of intellectual pap-feeding. Readers, students and scholars of various interests and persuasions are not to be permitted to make independent judgments about early Chinese thought and culture based on their examination of and comparison of accurate translations of surviving textual materials, but must be provided with capsule theories masquerading as translations. The supporters of this doctrine (who would certainly not describe their beliefs in this language) imply, in short, that the names given by the Chinese to their institutions and officials have little or no interest or significance for a foreigner. At the same time, they give the stamp of eternity and universality to concepts familiar in Western Europe and America—places which notoriously provide all of the touchstones of politico-linguistic intelligibility. The same dreary reasoning would, I am afraid, eliminate all metaphors in the process of translating, on the theory that they distract the reader from the *facts*. Let me state my conception of a fundamental axiom for translators again: the responsibility of the translator is to convey the *linguistic content* of the text. A corollary of this proposition is: comments, theories and interpretations of the relevance of this linguistic material to the actual situation (the "facts" of Chinese society, for instance), ought not to find any place in the translation, but only in the glosses on it. By "linguistic content" I mean "connotations," and by "actual situation" I mean "denotations." It is necessary therefore to distinguish carefully between the "denotation" of a word and its "connotation."

For the purposes of this paper, and for the sake of argument, I will use the words "denotation" and "connotation" approximately as they are used by Susanne Langer in her stimulating book *Philosophy in a New Key*:

Denotation is, then, the complex relationship which a name has to the object which bears it; but what shall the more direct relation of the name, or symbol, to its associated *conception* be called? It shall be called by its traditional name, *connotation*. The connotation of a word is the conception it conveys.²

In the sense of this passage, names and titles may *denote* a single individual or his role, but they normally *connote* ideas more or less inapt to that individual and his various enterprises. Thus, in a certain context, 補闕 *denotes* Mr. Wang Chia, a rascal enjoying a sinecure obtained through patronage, but it *connotes* "Suppletor of Defaults," which is an official title conveying a conception which may or may not be appropriate to the individual who bears

² Susanne K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite and Art* (New York: New American Library of World Literature, Inc., Mentor Book 5th printing May, 1953), 52.

it and to his private and public activities. Actually, there are various degrees of semantic communication independent of direct denotation, that is, various degrees of connotativeness. Thus:

Schafer—(a) denotation: a specific teacher with some sinological training (or, in another context, another person).

(b) connotation: (1) to an average citizen, same as denotation, i.e. no meaning other than "reference to the person so-named." (2) to a German-speaker, or well-educated person, also "shepherd."

Oakland—(a) denotation: a specific city in California (or, in another context, a different city).

(b) connotation: "a land with oaks, now, or formerly, or in imagination." To a child, or to a dim-witted citizen, the relation between denotation (*Oakland*) and connotation (*oak-land*) may never occur. An average person may think of it several times during his life. A future scholar, performing his exegetical labors on a 20th century MS about the history of the San Francisco Bay area, will not fail to point out the appropriateness (or reverse) of the relation, and will translate the term into whatever language he happens to be writing in.

Ocean Beach—(a) denotation: a popular beach in San Francisco.

(b) connotation: "a beach of the ocean." Even to the least sophisticated person, the connotation is perfectly clear, and inseparable from the denotation.

It is my contention here that the vast majority of Chinese institutional titles, book titles, era titles, toponyms, etc. are of the "Ocean Beach" type, and that a conscientious philologist, or a sincere historiographer or biographer, ought to make a minimum effort to reveal the connotations of the title in his translation. Of course, there are some names in Chinese whose connotations are far from obvious, though a philologist may strive to uncover them, and may be successful. Contrast *Huai* 淮 (name of a river), connotation obscure, with *Huang* 黄 (name of a river), connotation "yellow"; and in fact the latter is frequently called the "Yellow River" by non-Chinese. In other words, even for a person of high literacy, 淮 has a denotation, but no connotation worth mentioning.

"Translate connotations, not denotations"—this ought to be axiomatic. In so saying, I do not touch on many basic problems of translation which have been competently discussed and treated by sinologists and others. For instance, it is probably impossible to find an English expression whose connotations will correspond precisely, without residue on either side, to a given Chinese expression. This is the meaning of the proverb "Traduttore traditore." Since a choice among nuances of connotation must be made by the translator, the theory of their selection becomes an important consideration to him. How shall he decide what connotation or connotations to single out for conveyance to his audience? Many aspects of this problem have been dealt with by abler

pens than my own, and I do not propose to discuss it here. I *do* say that the sinologist, in his role of philologist (even though he does not choose to call himself that) and translator, should not "translate" the *denotative* situation to which, he surmises, his text refers. He may certainly *discuss* these denotations, and in fact, if he is primarily a social scientist of some variety, he will probably discuss them at length. But the sinologist who takes upon himself the serious responsibility of publishing his version of potentially useful source material should not presume to elevate his private opinions as to the essential political significance (let us say) of the officer denominated "Grand Protector" by the Chinese of a given epoch to the status of a "translation." He may feel that the officer so entitled was at that time a "Governor" in the American sense, but at best he ought to keep this opinion (and its alternatives) in a modest footnote to his translation. If a competent political scientist wishes to *refer* to this office as that of a "warlord" or a "governor" or a "prefect," certainly he is privileged to do so. But the translator is duty-bound only to reveal the sense of the expression 太守. *Comments on the function of a Chinese official at any given moment of Chinese history belong in a gloss, footnote, or commentary.* This procedure is no whit different from the hypothetical one in which a translator, encountering the sentence 飛龍在天, translates "a flying dragon is in the sky." He does *not* argue: "Dragons are mythological creatures. This must have been some strange sort of cloud. I will translate, 'A moving cloud is in the sky.'" He is duty-bound to register "dragon" in his translation, however inappropriate, in his belief, the conception is to the reality. Furthermore, he may not omit the dragon (or the Grand Protector) on the grounds that the information is useless or irrelevant for a particular purpose or audience. He *does* register the *language* (i.e. connotation) of his text in the translation, though he may comment separately on its probable real denotation.

The kind of breach with traditional translation-dodging here advocated, especially when it has reference to "official titles," has sometimes met with the crafty objection that it is a kind of "etymologizing." Persons who seek to uncover etymologies are nowadays widely looked on as eccentric nonentities, impractical busibodies, or subversive confusion-mongers. I should not be very upset by the reproach, but I do not, alas, deserve it. If I advocated the notion that a translator should search for the archaic meaning of 淮 (for instance), and having discovered it, render the word with some English neologism created for the occasion, the charge might be justified. The idea is worthy of consideration, but I do not here and now recommend it. But translations of the non-functional type, which I shall recommend below, are definitely not "etymologizing." They do *not* dredge up buried and obscure meanings which had no significance to the writer of the text undergoing translation. They state simply what is transparently there in the text. In support of this

"anti-etymologizing" position, I have heard it argued that the Chinese title 司馬 might be translated boldly by English "Marshal" (from OHG *marah* "horse" and *scalc* "servant"), if the translator were really dissatisfied with the more usual "Ssu-ma." The assumption made here is, of course, that the connotation "horse" in 司馬 is as faint as it is in "Marshal." This is not true. 司馬 retains the connotations "administer, etc." and "horse, etc." plainly and unambiguously for any reader in any Chinese literary text; "Marshal" has no "horse" or "servant" connotations, unless possibly for a student of Germanic philology. There is no question of looking for the "etymology" of 司馬, which, in literary Chinese, is a construction of two words with fairly obvious meanings. Here it may be necessary to add that I do not at present have a definition of what I mean by "word" when speaking of literary Chinese which would be completely satisfying to a linguistic scholar. I hope that readers of this article will accept a rough-and-ready definition, which I believe to be basically sound: "a free form, such as 馬, 太, 州, 下, 東, 琵琶, 蹀躞."

This discussion leads inevitably into the shadowy realm of European and American personal names, "proper names" in the narrow sense, i.e. names conventionally applied to single individuals, which Susanne Langer discusses in these terms:

It is a peculiarity of proper names that they have a *different connotation for every denotation*. Because their connotation is not fixed, they can be arbitrarily applied. In itself, a proper name has no connotation at all; sometimes it acquires a very general sort of conceptual meaning—it connotes a gender, or race, or confession (e.g. "Christian," "Wesley," "Israel")—but there is no actual *mistake* involved in calling a boy "Marion," a girl "Frank," a German "Pierre," or a Jew "Luther." In civilized society the connotation of a proper name is not regarded as a meaning applying to the bearer of the name; when the name is used to denote a certain person it takes on the connotation required by that function. In primitive societies this is less apt to be the case; names are often changed because their accepted connotations do not fit the bearer. The same man may in turn be named "Lightfoot," "Hawkeye," "Whizzing Death," etc. In an Indian society, the class of men named "Hawkeye" would very probably be a subclass of the class "sharp-eyed" men. But in our own communities ladies named "Blanche" do not have to be albinos or even platinum blondes. A word that functions as a proper noun is excused from the usual rules of application.³

I have no immediate proposals with regard to personal names in Chinese, but the problem certainly deserves thought. Unfortunately Langer has not been able to indicate whether Chinese personal names belong with the "civilized" type or with the "primitive" type. In my present opinion Chinese "given names" (*ming*, *tzu* and *hao*) are analogous to Langer's "American Indian" names. At least, they are composed of living words in the Chinese literary languages, carrying with them, possibly, a hope, an ambition, an omen or a potentiality. It may well be that an unlettered person, hearing the personal

³ Langer, *op. cit.* 53.

name "Wen-chin," would be unaware of its connotations. A tenth century literatus, confronted with a textual reference to 文進, was most certainly aware of the meaning "cultural advance." Chinese given names differ from the familiar "civilized" ones (i.e. West European and American) in that they are not selected from a rather small set of traditional tags without obvious connotations, such as John, Henry, Elizabeth, etc.⁴ Rather they are constructed specially for each individual out of meaningful linguistic units, and, overlooking coincidences, are all different. However, personal names have a kind of life of their own: their very *sound* is an important part of them, at least to their owners. "Wen-chin" may *mean* "cultural advance," but the man Chu Wen-chin would not have thought that the English translation was in any sense his *name*. Therefore I am inclined to think that the translator of Chinese literary texts ought to leave personal names in phonetic symbols (Romanization), but that it is one of his duties to explain these personal names in footnotes, just as translators of the Bible are accustomed to gloss "Ishmael," for instance, with "God hears."

Chinese "surnames," on the other hand, resemble English surnames, in that many of them are unintelligible, and those which have a connotation independent of their denotation seem to be similar to "Smith," "Weaver," "Longfellow," etc. since one does not *ordinarily* think of this connotation ("metal-worker," "cloth-maker," "tall-person"), such is the strength of the personal denotation. No doubt textual glosses ought to be provided wherever possible, e.g. for 司馬, "Note: 'Administrator Equestrian,' an official title transformed into a surname."

So much for the general theory. But what of practice? I advocate translations of the following types in the following several categories. My versions are far from final and my categories far from exhaustive. I hope, however, that the novelty of seeing concrete proposals for English renditions of Chinese expressions commonly not translated at all, or at best very loosely paraphrased, will provoke other sinologists to try their hands at fitting Chinese conceptions of the type here discussed into appropriate English phrase-constructions.

(1) "official titles," like

貴妃 <i>kuei fei</i>	"Precious Consort"
太宗 <i>t'ai tsung</i>	"Grand Ancestor"

(2) informal titles, nicknames, etc., like

金鳳 <i>chin feng</i>	"Golden Phoenix" (a girl's sobriquet)
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(3) institutional titles, like

靜海軍 <i>ching-hai chün</i>	"Army of the Quiet Sea"
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⁴ But we also have our "Victors" and "Pearls," and a period in our recent history when names like Charity, Prudence, and Fidelity were living commonplaces.

(4) landscape features, natural and artificial, like

梅嶺 *mei ling* "Plum Range"

文殊臺 *wen-shu t'ai* "Manjusri Estrade"

(5) era titles,⁵ like

永隆 *yung lung* "Perpetual Eminence"

大寶 *ta pao* "Great Treasure"

(6) titles of books and sections of books, like

天文志 *t'ien-wen chih* "Tractate on Celestial Configurations"

閩都記 *Min tu chi* "Record of the Metropolis of Min"

At present, however, if there is any controversy over these matters, its real center is occupied by "official titles." They do not always come out so neatly as "Grand Protector." Take for instance the title 侍中. The expression is not difficult of comprehension, but it is not easy of translation. In actual practice it has up to now been left untranslated in the Wade-Giles (or other) Romanization as "Shih-chung," or else rendered by some form palatable to western tastes, such as "President" or "Secretary," with its burden of un-Chinese political associations. One method of dealing with the term is as follows:

(1) syntactically it is a "verb-object" construction, functioning as a unit, analogously to English "catchall" or "pinchpenny."

(2) lexically it consists of two words

(a) 侍 "officiate, office, official (or something like that)"

(b) 中 "center, central; penetralian, penetralia (or something like that)."⁶

The whole construction might be barbarously interpreted as "he who officiates in the (sacred) inner-parts (of the imperial palace)." This will hardly serve as a usable rendition. An alternative is to attempt a construction *syntactically* identical with the original, but I am personally not satisfied with anything like "Servemiddle" as an official title. My present preference is "Officiant Penetralian," which has a nice bureaucratic ring to it, as do all constructions similar to "President Elect," "Consul General," "Mother Superior" and "Lord Paramount." In this and other instances, then, I sacrifice syntactical fidelity for the purpose of conveying a measure of the connotations of the original Chinese expression. No doubt improvements on this version can readily be imagined. To object to "officiant" or "penetralian" on the grounds that they are separately uncommon words, and together resemble no well-known English title, is, I believe, irrelevant. I do not personally like to go beyond

⁵ The question of the translatability of these epithets has already been raised in my "Chinese Reign-names—Words or Nonsense Syllables?" in *Wennti* No. 3, July 1952, Far Eastern Publications, Yale. Their semantic characteristics were discussed even earlier by Arthur F. Wright and Edward Fagan in "Era Names and Zeitgeist," in *Asiatische Studien* 5.113-121 (1951).

⁶ See *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (Fifth Edition) for *penetralia*: "the innermost parts esp. of a temple or palace."

the limits of a good abridged dictionary (*Webster's Collegiate*), but I do not think it unlikely that I may, like other academics, be obliged to do so from time to time in search of just the right word for my purposes. As for the combination, it is indeed exotic-sounding. I should find it regrettable if anyone found in this evidence that I advocate any doctrine classifiable under the old "Mystery and Wisdom of the East" school-of-thought. But I cannot help myself: if the Chinese officially described one of the officers of the central government as "(invested with) the Gold and the Purple," I will not hesitate very long to use the exotic and resounding adjective "Auriporphyrian." It is not for me to decide that the Western world cannot safely be entrusted with this information, or that most of the readers of my translation are ill-prepared to acquire a few special terms of a semi-technical nature. But even if "Pene-tralian" and "Auriporphyrian" are rejected, let us somehow keep "Center" and hold fast to "Gold and Purple." Let us not pretend that either "Shih-chung" on the one hand or "Secretary" on the other is a *translation*. In other words, we may properly discuss possible alternatives for translating into English the *connotations* of the words we encounter, but let us not abandon the problem because it is difficult and take the easy method of stating their explicit denotations instead.

Here, in conclusion, as illustrative challenges, are a few gauntlets flung down into the arena of the logomachy over the old Chinese bureaucracy:

刺史	"Protonotary Stimulant"
牧	"Pastor"
史館	"Hospice of the Protonotaries"
散騎常侍	"Officiant-in-Ordinary of Irregular Cavalry"
太常卿	"Steward of the Grand Ordinaries"
皇帝	"Illustrious Theocrat"

I may some day be persuaded to give up the "illustrious" and the "theocrat" in favor of better English equivalents of 皇 and 帝 respectively. Indeed, I hope that there will be those who are interested enough to attempt to convince me of the linguistic follies I have committed in selecting them. But I abjure absolutely, unconditionally, and forever that bad old word "emperor" as an equivalent of the construction 皇帝. I hope that there are others who will join me in this and similar renunciations, lonely and cold as they may be.



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NOTES ON MICA IN MEDIEVAL CHINA *)

BY

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The common Chinese name for the class of hydrous silicates styled "mica" in English is "cloud-mother" (*yün-mu* 雲母). This expression, with its overtones suggestive of the unity of the most diverse aspects of nature and of the fertility of the very rocks themselves, cannot be traced back earlier than the Han dynasty. What quality observed or imagined in the lustrous plates found glistening in granites or schists originally motivated the choice of this word can now only be guessed at, but in historical times, at least, the mineral was thought to be the veritable womb

*) The following abbreviated bibliographical references appear in the footnotes to this paper.

PPT Ko Hung, *Pao-p'u-tzu* 葛洪, 抱朴子 (Chin), edition of *Tzu-shu po-chia* 子書百家 2.27b-28a.

TS Wang Chien-p'ing, *Tien shu* 王建平, 典術 (Southern Sung), in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 太平御覽 808.8a. This text is a confused pastiche. Evidently it contains data on mica from several prior sources which are not mutually consistent.

HC *Hsien ching* 仙經 (Liang or earlier), quoted by T'ao Hung-ching (see next item).

MIPL T'ao Hung-ching, *Ming-i pieh-lu* 陶弘景, 名醫別錄 (Liang), extensively cited in *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*.

SS Su Sung 蘇頌 (Sung, eleventh century), quoted in *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*.

PTKM Li Shih-chen, *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* 李時珍, 本草綱目, edition of *Shang-hai Hung-pao-chai* 上海 8.36a-b. Part of this section on mica has been translated in F. de Mély, *Les Lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen âge*, Vol. I, "Les Lapidaires Chinois" (Paris, 1896), pp. 64-65, in particular the parts dealing with its medicinal uses. Note the translation of *yün-mu* by "le talc", strictly speaking an error, though some kinds of talc are and have been readily confused with mica.

from which clouds were born. This being its essential nature, a clue to its whereabouts was given to prospectors, who might dig, with reasonable hope of success, at some craggy spot above which clouds were seen to rise ¹⁾. Is the association strange? In Sanskrit the word for mica is *abhra*, or the derivative form *abhraka*, normally meaning "cloud" ²⁾. It was believed in India that the mineral formed from sparks left in the ground by bolts of lightning ³⁾. Knowing nothing of the origins of this usage, I can do no more than express the rather romantic hope that a link may one day be found between the Chinese and Sanskrit names, which are at once so similar to each other and equally indifferent to the observable qualities of mica.

For the Chinese, the cloud-bearing substance had its own origin in yet another mineral, metaphysically named "stone whence Solarity arises" (*yang-ch-'i-shih* 陽起石) ⁴⁾. This substance—whether mineral or rock—has been characterized as reddish, varying to yellow or white, and "heavy and thick" ⁵⁾. This is a fair description of the common potash feldspars, orthoclase and microcline, which are abundant in granitic rocks, and frequently constitute the matrix of the flat mica crystals ⁶⁾. Su Sung describes the latter simply and plainly :

"They come to life amidst earth and stone, shaped into flakes

1) A practice attributed to the natives of "Square Terrace Mountain" in Hupei. *Ching-nan chih* 荆南志, quoted in PTKM.

2) Ramani Ranjan Chowdhury, *Handbook of Mica* (Brooklyn, 1941) 96.

3) Ibid. 97.

4) PTKM and TS, which describe the stone as "root of cloud-mother".

5) TS.

6) The term *yang-ch-'i-shih* means "actinolite" in modern mineralogical language. This is a bright green amphibole, sometimes associated with mica, but hardly the mineral described by TS. It must be admitted that some early descriptions of *yang-ch-'i-shih* do not square with the meaning "feldspar". Doubtless the term was applied to some other rock-forming minerals.

and formed into layers which may be split off. The kind which is luminous, glossy and clear white is superior”¹⁾).

Beginning with the Chin 晉 dynasty, a number of words for mica other than “cloud-mother” appear in the literature. Some are more or less poetic synonyms, and some are given to varieties with distinctive colors and lusters. Most of these names have been dealt with systematically by Taoist metaphysicians and pharmacologists, who have forced them, with varying degrees of success, into the five-fold pattern of the fundamental substances underlying the phenomena of the visible world. Since the proper use of each variety depends on accurate identification, the famous treatise on practical cosmology, the *Pao-p'u-tzu* “The Master who Embraces the Unhewn [Wood]”, outlines a rudimentary technique for specific determination: the mineral should be held up towards the sun, and its color determined by transmitted light²⁾. This done, the correct name may be applied and the proper usage arrived at. “Cloud-mother” remains the generic name for all the micas however, while at the same time it is used in a restricted sense for one of the common members of the group, as will appear presently.

Next to “cloud-mother”, the name for mica most popular in Chinese literature is that which I translate, with some hesitation, “cloud-nobility” (*yün-ying* 雲英)—but *ying* is not dealt justly with by “nobility”, a rather coldly abstract word. A noun connoting a noble being, the very flower of its kind, would be most appropriate³⁾. Possibly the name was suggested by the compound “stone-nobility” (*shih-ying* 石英), which means “quartz”, but

1) SS.

2) PPT.

3) Aug. Pfizmaier renders the expression as “*Wolkenblüte*” in his translation of the passage about mica and other precious stones which occur in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* (hereafter abbreviated as TPYL) in his “*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Edelsteine und des Goldes*”, *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Philosophisch-Historische Classe) Vol. 58 (Vienna, 1868) 181-256.

in any case we may be sure that occurrences of *yün-ying* in poetry, in preference to *yün-mu*, are accountable for in terms of the rhyme scheme. This was the word used in the romance of the Empress Flying Swallow to describe the micaceous decorations on a purple dancing-gown received by that lady as tribute from the Kingdom of Southern Yüeh ¹). “Cloud-nobility” occurs even as the personal name of a gle maiden, the friend of the ninth century poet Lo Yin 羅隱. It can be imagined that this glittering, lustrous, many-colored substance would have much in common with the beloved courtesan ²). Another lady of the same period is the heroine of a Taoist tale, also named Cloud Nobility. She and her lover attain the status of immortals by the ingestion of magical food, perhaps including the mineral for which she was named. Curiously, a wonderful house, described in this story, the abode of fairy people, has doors adorned splendidly with mica under its other poetic name of “cloud-pearl” 雲珠 ³). These circumstances make it quite certain that the maiden Yün-ying was in fact an incarnation of Mica, and not simply a prettily named but very human person like the mistress of Lo Yin. In the taxonomy of the Taoists and medicine-makers, “cloud-nobility” is mica of verdurous color, and the term was doubtlessly applied to some occurrence of biotite ⁴), sometimes to green muscovite, and possibly on occasion to chlorite ⁵), which is ordinarily dark green, though not a true mica ⁶).

1) Ling Hsüan, *Fei-yen wai-chuan* 伶玄, 飛燕外傳, (edition of *Han Wei ts'ung-shu* 漢魏叢書) 5a.

2) “Ou-t'i”, in *Chia-i chi* 偶題, 甲乙集 (edition of *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊) 8.9b. Compare also the tale of the poet and his girl in *T'ang-shih chi-shih* 唐詩紀事 (*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*) 69.13a.

3) *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 太平廣記 50.5a-7b.

4) In modern Chinese, “black mica” (*hei yün-mu* 黑雲母).

5) In modern Chinese, “green mud-stone” (*lù ni-shih* 綠泥石). The green nickeliferous mica mariposite (modern *lù yün-mu* 綠雲母) is very rare.

6) PPT, TS, HC, MIPL.

“Cloud-pearl” is not a common word. Probably the name was suggested by the familiar pearly luster of mica which is the result of the perfection of its cleavage. For the pharmacologists it is the reddish variety ¹⁾, which may well have included the bronzy species phlogopite ²⁾ in many cases, though the less common lepidolite ³⁾ and margarite might have been aptly so classified, as they are ordinarily violet and pink respectively. But even the common muscovite sometimes takes on a reddish tinge, as in the case of the mica named “Bengal Ruby” which is found associate. with garnets, tourmalines and beryls in the great mines of Bihar ⁴⁾. It is noteworthy that the pearl has furnished a name both to the reddish mica of China and to the reddish mica of the West, margarite ⁵⁾. This is doubtless a tribute to the favored tint of the seaborne gem. Margarite is now known to Chinese mineralogists as “pearl mica” (*chen-chu yün-mu* 真珠雲母), translating the scientific neo-Hellenism, rather than descending from the ancient “cloud-pearl”.

The other Chinese names for mica are seldom to be seen. “Cloud-liquor” (*yün-i* 雲液), technically reserved for white specimens, would ordinarily correspond to clear varieties of muscovite ⁶⁾. The Chinese expression suggests, perhaps, the shining and watery translucency of the species.

To maintain proper order in this presentation of the metaphysical micaceous hierarchy, “cloud-mother” must be referred to again at

1) PPT, TS, HC, MIPL.

2) Modern “golden mica” (*chin yün-mu* 金雲母).

3) Modern “scale mica” (*lin yün-mu* 鱗雲母).

4) See J. Coggin Brown, *India's Mineral Wealth* (Oxford University Press, 1936) 263-6, and Chowdhury, *op. cit.* 120.

5) Properly speaking a “brittle mica”, a class distinguished from the true micas, whose folia are flexible, by mineralogists.

6) Modern “white mica” (*po yün-mu* 白雲母). See PPT, HC, MIPL.

this point. In its narrow sense, the name is applicable only to those micas which are black, that is, to ordinary granite-born biotite—perhaps occasionally to phlogopite and other dark relatives ¹⁾. The common word, then, is specifically assigned to the commonest mineral, which anyone may find glittering in outcrops of massive plutonic rock. Chinese mica is, after all, the congener of winter, the North, and above all, of water: “Mother of Clouds”. Black is its fitting color.

The last of the central five is “cloud-sand” (*yün-sha* 雲沙 (砂), the yellow member of the group ²⁾). The name must stand for the color, though the parallel of our own English “mica”, from Latin *mica* “crumb, grain”, hints at the possibility that the arenaceous character of the substance may lie in its form as well as in its hue. Unfortunately this etymology, though linguistically correct, is historically suspect, as I shall note presently. At any rate, the epithet must refer mostly to muscovite, and to some occurrences of phlogopite.

Other names for mica cannot be fitted into the pattern of the five ontological principles, and are linguistic rarities, some perhaps even instances of *hapax legomenon*. The designation “flake-stone” (*lin-shih* 磷石), which is the most common of these uncommon names ³⁾, has been reserved for micas of the purest white color, uncontaminated by the iridescence typical of the five standard species. The word *lin* 磷 is seldom seen. Pfizmaier, with his curious “Stein des Felsenwassers”, has apparently relied on the dictionary definition: *shui tsai shih chien yeh* 水在石間也. But *lin* in the sense of “thin [stone]” is attested in *Lun yü*: “when it is ground it does not become thin” (*mo erh pu lin* 磨而不磷) ⁴⁾

1) PPT, TS, HC.

2) PPT, TS, HC, MIPL.

3) PPT, HC, MIPL.

4) *Yang Huo* 7.

Moreover, *lin* 鱗 “[fish] scale” is a clear cognate, parallel to Pliny’s stone *lepidotis*. The substantial meaning of *lin* 磷 must be “thin piece of stone”. The neologism “scale mica” (*lin yün-mu* 鱗雲母), a calque on “lepidolite”, is linguistically coincidental, though descriptively congeneric.

“Cloud-gall” (*yün-tan* 雲膽)¹⁾, applied to maculated black mica, surely biotite in most cases, may be meant as a metaphor from the darkness of bile, but this is uncertain.

The elegant name “cloud-flower” (*yün-hua* 雲華)²⁾, where “flower” inadequately represents a word connoting “gorgeous” and “polychromatic” as well as “floral”, stands for a supposed “five-colored” mica, doubtless of great spiritual efficacy. Its physical identity can hardly be guessed.

A black, mottled variety, whose description matches that of “cloud-gall” closely, is named “ground-drip” (*ti-cho* 地涿)³⁾. I cannot surmise the reason for the name.

The “River Rhapsody” (*Chiang fu* 江賦) of Kuo P’u 郭璞⁴⁾ tells of “cloud-sperm” (*yün-ching* 雲精), an excellent mineral found in stream gravels. The T’ang commentator, Li Shan 李善, taking the *I-wu chih* 異物志 as his authority, states that this is only an alternate name for “cloud-mother”. Doubtless it can be regarded simply as a poetic variant, but carefully chosen, since the connotation “essential liquid of clouds” classes the term with the “noumenal” group of mica-names, along with “cloud-nobility”, “cloud-liquor”, and possibly “ground-drip”, as opposed to the “phenomenal” group, “cloud-pearl”, “cloud-sand”, “flake-stone”, and possibly “cloud-gall”.

No description of “cloud-light” (*yün-kuang* 雲光) has been

1) TS, HC.

2) MIPL.

3) HC.

4) *Wen hsüan* 文選 (*Ssu-pu-ts’ung-k’an*) 12.20b.

forthcoming¹). But this name, so rare and untypical in China, represents the exemplar of mica-names in other parts of the world. One has only to think of German *Glimmer*, of Japanese *kirara* (related to *kira-kira* "glistening"), and above all to English *mica*, from Latin *mica* "crumb", apparently because of a former belief that this noun was related to the verb *micare* "to glitter"²).

It is entirely fitting that the mica-collecting localities most noted in fact and fable were in what is nowadays the Province of Shantung, the old refuge of alchemists and wonderworkers, facing the mysterious ocean and the islands of the immortals. The region has been famed since misty antiquity for its holy mountains and streams, hundreds of which still bear hoary names encrusted with traditions of the gods. So Mount Li 歷山 was also the "Mountain where Shun plowed" (*Shun-keng shan* 舜耕山), and that potent deity was worshipped on its slopes. Later, the mountain became the "Mountain of the Thousand Buddhas" (*Ch'ien-fo shan* 千佛山), though some say that "the thousand Buddhas" (**ts'ien-b'jūət*) is the work of pious pencils in redeeming an earlier "Demigods' Apotropaion" (*Hsien-fu* 仙祓, **siän-p'jūət*). Here too was Mount Hsien-t'ai 仙臺山, "Mountain of the Terrace of the Demigods", a source of such remarkable stones as "sheep-liver" (*yang-kan* 羊肝石), apparently used for whetstones, and "flower-slab" (*hua-pa-shih* 花板石), probably an ornamental rock; and here emperor Wu of Han (*Han Wu-ti* 漢武帝) sacrificed to the glorified beings of distant P'eng-lai. And here was "An Ch'i's Mountain" 安期山, named for the prodigious Master An Ch'i, a devourer of mica, who brewed his elixirs on its summit. And

1) TS.

2) I am grateful to Professor Yakov Malkiel for elucidating the rather complex etymology of this word. The "false" or "popular" etymology appears to be "truer" than the "true" etymology.

here was Mount Ch'eng-chu 承注山 ("which receives the Concentrate"?), the birthplace and sanctuary of Nü-kua 女媧, the dragon-slayer and sky-builder ¹).

Most noble of all was Mount T'ai 泰山, the Majestic Mountain, the Sacred Mountain of the East—"Proto-ancestor Tai" (*tai-tsung* 岱宗), facing the Kingdom of Lu on its sunny side, and the Kingdom of Ch'i on its shady side, its approaches gnarled and furrowed with gorges and grottoes, and dotted everywhere with altars and shrines. The names of its peaks and summits read like a catalogue of scenic wonders and sacred associations: Stone Wall (*shih-pi* 石壁), Peach Flower (*t'ao-hua* 桃花), Ghost Boy (*kuei-erh* 鬼兒), White Cloud (*po-yün* 白雲), Distant View (*yao-kuan* 遙觀), Jade Woman (*yü-nü* 玉女), Luminous Moon (*ming-yüeh* 明月). Here the First Emperor of Ch'in (*Ch'in shih Huang-ti* 秦始皇帝) sought the blessing of T'ien 天, the sky-god whose royal descendants of the House of Chou he himself had humbled. Even here was the life-preserving mica dug from its rocky matrix ²).

Mount Ch'i 齊山 is no single place. It is not surprising that the name should be common in Shantung. Which of the various mountains of this name is referred to as a source of mica by the *Ming-i pieh-lu* cannot be definitely determined. Yet it seems probable that it was the multi-named mountain sometimes called Lu 廬, sometimes Ch'i, sometimes Yün 雲, and sometimes Yang-ch'i 陽起. The last of these epithets—the gazeteer says that it was the one preferred by the indigenes—seems crucial: the stone called *yang-ch'i*, which is to say "Solarity arising", is the ordinary incubator of mica.

1) For the picturesque embellishments in this paragraph and in other descriptions of the mountainous parts of Shantung, I have relied chiefly on the *Shan-tung t'ung-chih* (Commercial Press edition of 1915).

2) MIPL.

One mountain in Shantung commemorates the name of mica itself: "Cloud-mother Mountain", another of the haunts of the ubiquitous sage An Ch'i, and the source, so it is said, of the mica which he himself ate to increase the length of his days¹).

In at least one period, mica was a sufficiently important mineral to warrant its mining and submission to the court as "tribute of the earth". The *T'ang History* designates three prefectures (*chou* 州) „South of the Ho" (*Ho-nan* 河南²), viz. those of Ch'i 齊, Yen 兗 and Hao 濠, as appointed reservoirs of the useful flakes³). Each of these regions is the site of old and glorious events, and two of them bear names which go back into the mists before history. Ch'i perpetuates the name of one of the most powerful feudatories of the age of Confucius, and was the home of the Chiang 姜 clan so important in tradition and early history, which traced its ancestry back to the time of Yü, creator of landscapes. Yen was first one of the great tracts—"isle-lands⁴)"—marked out and named by Yü himself, and later the site of the fief of the

1) *San Ch'i chi* 三齊記, quoted in TPYL 808.7b. This may be the *San Ch'i lüeh-chi* 三齊略記 of Fu Ch'en 伏琛 of Chin. Compare also the entry on this mountain in *Shan-tung t'ung-chih* 26.1184a. Another mica-producing mountain in the same general region was Mt. Po-ting 北定山, but I have not been able to locate it precisely (MIPL).

2) Two of these are in modern Shantung Province, but one (Hao) is now in Anhui.

3) *T'ang shu* 38.3722a, 3722b, 3722c (page references for the dynastic histories are according to the *K'ai-ming* edition). These regions correspond approximately to present-day Li-ch'eng 歷城, Tzu-yang 滋陽, and Feng-yang 鳳陽 respectively. They are the *only* places listed in *T'ang shu* as sending mica as tribute to the court.

4) *Chou*. I have tried to preserve the semantic content of the word and to avoid the confusion which has resulted from various attempts to equate it with words taken from the lexicon of political geography in the western world. *Shuo wen* has "What is inhabitable amidst the waters is called *chou* ["island"] . . . Long ago [when] Yao encountered inundating waters, the people inhabited the high ground amidst the waters, and therefore we speak of the Nine Islands." This refers of course to the nine great divisions of China supposed to have been made in pre-dynastic times.

feudal lords of Lu, which Confucius made venerable ¹⁾. As for Hao, further south in the valley of the Huai, it belongs to a different tradition, being on the old frontier between the “barbarous” kingdoms of Ch’u and Wu, though here, at Mount T’u 塗山, the classical figure of Yü appears in the guise of a bear, the ravisher of an oread.

The *T’ang History* does not list the of Ch’ing 青 prefecture as a place whence mica was sent as tribute, but the mineral was found in its rocks ²⁾. This too was one of the geo-cosmic demarcations of the Great Yü, and in historic times fell within the borders of the Dukedom of Ch’i. It is entirely appropriate that these uplands between the Huai and the Ho, impressed with the footprints of gods and heroes, haunted by thaumaturgists and theurgists, should have been the source *par excellence* of the wonderful mineral.

Yet after the collapse of the T’ang dynasty, Shantung was no longer remembered as a region to search for the life-giving flakes. One of the great gazetteers of the Sung empire, the *T’ai-p’ing huan-yü chi* 太平寰宇記, lists no mica among the important and useful products of the area. Yet mineral products were still forthcoming there: Ch’i is said to have produced and forwarded as tribute the “solarity-arising” stone, in which mica ought to be found; in the rocks of Yen amethyst occurred; and at Lai-wu 萊蕪 there were three iron mines ³⁾. Were the old mines, fertile since the dawn of history, quite exhausted? We cannot now tell. In the same age, Hao further south continued to produce mica, and had also a “Cloud-mother Mountain”, where the glistening stuff had been gathered and eaten by Patriarch P’eng 彭祖, a

1) Su Sung gives Mt. Yün-meng 雲夢山 in Yen as a source of mica, but I have not found other references to this place.

2) MIPL.

3) *T’ai-p’ing huan-yü chi* 19.10b, 21.4b, 21.16b.

Chinese Methusaleh (although only 800 years are claimed for him), whose longevity may have been in large part creditable to the mica of Hao ¹).

Outside of the environs of T'ai, Holy Mountain of the East, references to localities where mica may be found are few and scattered. One such was the "Isle-land" of Chiang 江州, near modern Kiukiang 九江, and Nan-k'ang 南康 hard by it ²), both of which produced that mineral in Sung times. Near here too was the local sacred mountain Lu 廬, with its private host of Taoist demigods, and mica was dug from its sides as well ³). Mica was also excavated from the rocks of "Square Terrace Mountain" (*Fang-t'ai shan* 方臺山) in the old sacred heartland of the State of Ch'u, Yün-meng ⁴), but no great names are now associated with the mountain. The mineral was known during the Chin 晉 dynasty at Tseng-ch'eng 增城 near the rising emporium of Kuang 廣 in the remote South ⁵), and at Ch'un 淳, almost a millenium later, in the jungle wilderness of Kuangsi ⁶). Finally, it is vaguely said to occur in the region of Hang and Yüeh 杭越—that is to say, on Hang-chou Bay ⁷).

It is probably unnecessary to argue the operation of the pro-

1) Ibid. 128.8b.

2) Ibid. 111.4a, 111.15b, and SS.

3) MIPL. The name of Mt. Lu appears in Shantung as well. This is the more famous one, however, and I have preferred to identify it thus.

4) *Ching-nan chih* quoted in PTKM.

5) *Kuang-chou chi* 廣州記 quoted in TPYL 808.8a.

6) SS.

7) Ibid. Both of these references are for the Sung dynasty. As for modern China: "... mica occurs, in inconsiderable quantities, in the following five provinces: Szechuan, Shantung, Kweichow, Kwangtung and Kwangsi. It has been worked in China since ancient times in three provinces, Szechuan, Shantung and Kweichow; in the latter in particular, where it is mined to the extent of several hundred tons a year. Kweichow mica is considered to be the best on the market, the sheets occasionally reaching 15 centimeters in size." Boris P. Torgasheff, *The Mineral Industry of the Far East* (Shanghai, 1930) 401. I have been unable to find any *ancient* references to mica in Szechuan and Kweichow.

cesses of cultural diffusion in order to explain the presence of mica-windows in the houses of Muscovy and of Cathay, or of mica-spangles on the clothing of the "Indians" of North Carolina and of the Indians of Delhi. When discovered in large enough crystals in reasonably accessible places, the mineral suggests its own uses, which derive from its three paramount qualities, to wit: its fissibility, its translucence, and its luster. The magical and medicinal applications of mica are not so obviously related to its physical qualities, although these hidden virtues were apparent to other peoples than the Chinese.

The "practical" uses of mica have been briefly summed up by Su Sung in the eleventh century:

"Flakes of it may be both surpassingly large and hyaline-pure. That men nowadays use them to ornament lamp-baskets¹⁾ is itself an idea bequeathed by the fans and screens of antiquity"²⁾. I have not elsewhere observed notices of mica-windowed lanterns in medieval China, but the application is natural, and known elsewhere—such as the mica-lanterns vended formerly in the bazaars of Patna and Delhi³⁾, and more remotely the mica-windows in the once familiar iron stoves of our own land. The earliest "fan of antiquity" made with mica which has come to my attention was constructed at the command of Wang Mang in the first century of the Christian era. When news reached that autocrat that his face had been described as bestial by one of his courtiers, he became habituated to the use of a "face-screen"⁴⁾ to mask his

1) i.e. lanterns.

2) SS.

3) H. Mohr, *Der Nutzglimmer* (Berlin, 1930) 2.

4) *P'ing-mien* 屏面. Pfizmaier translates "Windschirm", but the scholiast Yen Shih-ku (early 7th century) describes this as a kind of fan whose purpose is to conceal the face when one wishes to avoid revealing one's identity. A synonym is *pien-mien* 便面, possibly "face-convenience". See commentary on *Han shu* 99b.0626b and on 76.0552b.

countenance on public occasions ¹). If any reliance can be placed on the text of the *Hsi-ching tsa-chi*, mica fans were to be found even earlier among such expensive baubles as the agate bangles, the amber pillow, and the coral thumb-ring in the apartments of the volatile Empress Flying Swallow ²). Shih Hu, that strangely gifted Hun, who surrounded himself with every kind of bizarre contrivance in his palace at Yeh, who rejoiced in a train of a thousand lady equestrians gorgeous in purple turbans, gold and silver girdles and multi-colored boots, who moved the bronze images of camels from Loyang to the gates of his own capital, who collected rare fruit trees in his private garden, and who constructed an automatic mill geared to the wheels of a carriage—this imperial epicure possessed a fan of elegant and complicated design decorated with mica-plates and gold-leaf ³).

Li Shih-chen tells us that sheets of mica five or six feet long are suitable for the construction of screens ⁴). Crystals of such diameter and even larger, although not common, occur in pegmatites, and are everywhere cherished primarily for their optical qualities. It is by no means certain, however, whether the earliest mica screens in China were made of such large sheets, or whether smaller flakes were applied as ornamentation. At any rate, my earliest record of a “cloud-mother wind-screen” dates from the latter part of the first century A.D., and no details of its construction appear ⁵). As in the case of mica fans, however, there is a probably apocryphal reference to such a screen in the possession

1) *Han shu* 99b.0626b.

2) *Hsi-ching tsa-chi* 西京雜記 (edition of Hsiueh-hsin t'ao-yüan 學津討源) 1.7b.

3) *Yeh-chung chi* 鄴中記 (edition of Wu-ying-tien 武英殿) 8a.

4) *P'ing-feng* 屏風. PTKM.

5) *Hou Han shu* 63.0770d.

of Flying Swallow under the Earlier Han dynasty ¹⁾. "The Record of Miscellanies of the Western Capital" also seems to tell of a mica-canopy at the palace of Emperor Ch'eng (*Ch'eng-ti* 成帝), but the text is garbled and its meaning uncertain ²⁾.

The use of mica for window-panes seems to have begun in about the third or fourth century, and was doubtless suggested by the transparency of screens. The Emperors of Chin had windows of mica in "watch-towers" (*kuan* 觀) at their capital of Lo-yang ³⁾. Possibly it was in imitation of these that Shih Hu made his "Bronze Phoenix Windows" (*t'ung-feng ch'uang* 銅鳳窗) in the Western Estrade (*hsi-t'ai* 西臺) at Yeh. These were "curtains" (*huang* 幌) of mica stretched on bronze frames, oriented to catch the first light of the rising sun ⁴⁾. Moreover it is likely that the so-called "mica basilica" of Toba Tao at P'ing-ch'eng 平城 was a building with windows of mica ⁵⁾. This use of the mineral, as is well-known, also developed very early in the western world. The Romans, according to Pliny, used mica as an alternative to selenite gypsum in their windows, calling both substances indifferently *lapis specularis* ⁶⁾. And the custom was so solidly established in Russia more recently as to result in the international

1) *Hsi-ching tsa-chi* loc. cit.

2) Ibid. 1.4b. Here the text has only *yün-chang* 雲帳, but the TPYL 808.7b quotation of the same passage gives *yün-mu chang* 雲母帳.

3) *Lo-yang kung-tien chi* 洛陽宮殿記 cited in TPYL 808.7b. I am unable to fix the date of this work. Possibly it is the same as the *Lo-yang kung-tien pu* 洛陽宮殿簿 given in *Sui shu* 33.2448a as the work of Yang Ch'üan-ch'i 楊全期 of Chin.

4) *Yeh-chung chi* 4a.

5) *Nan Ch'i shu* 57.1755d.

6) Mohr, op. cit. 3, and Sydney H. Ball, *A Roman Book on Precious Stones, including an English modernization of the 37th book of the History of the World by E. Plinius Secundus* (Los Angeles, 1950) 89.

adoption of the name "muscovite", that is "[glass] of Muscovy", for the pale-colored translucent potassium micas.

Texts of the third, fourth and fifth centuries abound in references to mica-cars. One of the earliest of these texts, *Fu-tzu* 傅子, states that such vehicles get their name from the fact that they were decorated with the mineral. Moreover, it is asserted that the cars were not the portion of mankind in general, but were only occasionally awarded, presumably by the sovereign, to lords of the highest degree and the most exceptional merit¹⁾. Nothing would be gained by a repititious listing here of the recorded instances of these sumptuous guerdons. Suffice it to note that carriages ornamented with mica-flakes were owned by the barbaric shepherd princes north of the Yellow River as well as by the decadent Chinese lords of the southland²⁾. There is also one reference, belonging to the Chin era, to a boat decorated with mica³⁾.

After the final disintegration of the Chin dynasty, further references to "cloud-mother carriages" are not to be found. Indeed, notices of the use of mica for fans, screens and windows after that era are very rare and usually poetical. It would appear that the history of the use of mica as a preferred kind of embellishment and as a glass-equivalent began in the Early Han, reached its climax in the Chin, and thereafter rapidly waned.

But this is not to say that the Chinese lost interest in mica. That

1) Cited in TPYL 778.3a.

2) References: *Wu po-kuan ming* 吳百官名 cited in TPYL 775.3a; *Chin T'al-k'ang ch'i-chü chu* 晉太康起居注 cited in TPYL 775.3a; *Chin shu* 9.1098a; *Chin shu* cited in TPYL 775.3a (a passage not found in the present *Chin shu*); *Chin yang-ch'iu* 晉陽秋 cited in TPYL 808.6b.

3) *Chin kung-ch'üeh ming* 晉宮闕名 cited in TPYL 808.7b. This is apparently a Chin work. I cannot locate the title elsewhere in precisely this form. It may be either the *Chin kung-ko ming* 晉宮閣名 or the *Chin kung-ch'üeh pu* 晉宮闕簿, or both.

mineral, like every natural substance which attracted the attention of the ancient Cathayans, had its own set of supernatural allies and magical powers, which gave it a value far beyond that which it owed to crass material applications. It was early associated with the pole-star ¹⁾; it mysteriously attracted water ²⁾; it protected the soles of the feet against thorns ³⁾. Above all, it was mined—in utter silence, since something in the nature of the mineral required that noise be taboo when it was removed from the ground—in order to be eaten ⁴⁾. Habitual mica-eaters, persisting in the diet for ten years, gained a permanent cloud halo: “they swallow the mother, thereby bringing the child” ⁵⁾. It was not the cloudy crown, however, which induced initiates into the secret virtues of natural substances to swallow mica. The peculiar virtue of the mineral, which has seemed to deserve much more attention in the early centuries of Chinese history than has its applicability to various kinds of practical crafts, is its ability, shared with such other minerals as gold and cinnabar, to increase the life-span of the person who eats it—properly prepared of course. It is this important quality that has been emphasized exclusively in Taoist writings and books of medical lore since the Han dynasty.

Unfortunately, the “earliest” references to this practice occur in texts of apocryphal aspect and of doubtful age. None the less, the

1) *Ch'un-ch'iu wei*, “Yün-tou shu” 運斗樞, quoted in TPYL 8o8.6b: “The pivotal star disperses to become cloud-mother” 樞星散爲雲母. The *Chi wei* 七緯 are collections of portents and omens attached to the seven classics in Han times, when they enjoyed great prestige. Parts of the *Ch'un-ch'iu wei* have been reconstructed in various collectanea, e.g. in *Yü-han-shan-fang chi-i-shu* 玉函山房輯佚書.

2) *Huai-nan hung-lieh chieh* 淮南鴻烈解 (edition of *Tzu-shu po-chia*) 4.3b.

3) *Wan pi shu* 萬畢術 (a lost work of Huai-nan Wang) in TPYL 8o8.7a.

4) PTKM.

5) PPT quoted in PTKM.

Eastern Han may reasonably be designated as the latest period when the doctrine of the life-increasing value of mica could have become current. It is to this epoch that the authorship of the *Lieh-hsien chuan* has been referred, despite its traditional ascription to the famous pen of Liu Hsiang. Among the demigods whose fame is celebrated in that text is one Fang Hui 方回, who enjoyed the favor of the Divine Yao, and who was a refiner and eater of mica ¹). Of somewhat later date, the *Pao-p'u-tzu* of Ko Hung prescribes in systematic fashion, congenial to the dogma of the "Five Activities", the proper season for swallowing each of the several varieties of mica recognized by that Immortal:

Cloud-nobility, which is green, in spring.

Cloud-pearl, which is red, in summer.

Cloud-liquor, which is white, in autumn.

Cloud-mother, which is black, in winter.

Cloud-sand, which is green-yellow, in late summer.

Flake-stone, which is pure white, in any season ²).

To other parallels between Chinese and Indian mica-customs already noted may here be added the former Hindu practice of classifying varieties of mica according to their color, to wit: white, red, yellow and black; and also the use of these varieties as medicinal specifics in that land ³).

Possibly also of the period in which Ko Hung was active is a textual reference to Master An Ch'i. An Ch'i was the original Pao-p'u-tzu, Embracer of the Unhewn, and is said to have worked his wonders during the reign of the Inaugural Illustrious Theocrat of Ch'in, and to have been seen by an adept on the mysterious island of P'eng-lai during the reign of the Pyrrhic Theocrat of

1) *Lieh-hsien chuan* 列仙傳 (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* edition) a.6.

2) PPT.

3) Brown, op. cit. 263-6; Chowdhury, op. cit. 96.

Han. Our source tells us that he was accustomed to ingest the mica of Cloud-mother Mountain, in itself sufficient reason to explain his remarkable longevity ¹⁾. From the Liu Sung period is an exact account of the age one might expect to attain from doses of the more important kinds of mica:

Cloud-mother, 300 years.

Cloud-nobility, 1,000 years.

Flake-stone, 5,000 years.

Cloud-light, as long as Heaven and Earth ²⁾.

Other alchemistical personages who sought to put off senility by eating the wonder-working mineral were the hermit Teng Yü 鄧郁 of the Liang dynasty ³⁾, Tu, Prince of Wu 吳王杜 ⁴⁾, and Yü-ch'ih Ching-te 尉遲敬德 ⁵⁾, both the latter of the T'ang era. Certainly there were others besides these, and probably the arts of distinguishing the relative merits of the varieties of mica, and of properly and seasonably devouring them, were much more highly developed among adepts of Taoism than is indicated by the simple formulae of the *Pao-p'u-tzu*. Unhappily the book of Ts'ui Yüan-chen 崔元真 entitled *Yün-mu lun* 雲母論, "Discourses on Cloud-mother", which existed in the T'ang period ⁶⁾, is now lost, but it must have contained much material on this esoteric subject. Some hints of the special lore of edible micas may be found, however, in quotations from early medical writings in the *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*. Here we learn, for instance, that the scriptures of the alchemists unanimously favor the pure white, lustrous and especially the transparent kinds, as

1) *San Ch'i chi* quoted in TPYL 808.7b.

2) TS.

3) *Nan shih* 76.2724d.

4) *T'ang shu* 92.3899c.

5) *T'ang shu* 89.3895a.

6) Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series No. 25, *Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature* (July 1935).

best suited for eating; that other chromatic hues have their uses; but that the black varieties are dangerously toxic, and cause running sores on the bodies of the uninitiated who are so misguided as to swallow them ¹⁾).

Closely related to the notion that mica used as a medicine will lengthen human life was the belief that the mineral, packed about the body of a dead person, would preserve the flesh indefinitely. This concept appears to be grounded on the observation that the mineral itself is virtually immune from decomposition, as minerals go. So the visionary naturalist, the Prince of Huai-nan, tells us that mica lying in the ground will not suffer corruption in a thousand years ²⁾. The treatise of Ko Hung intimates that it is the subtle cloud-essence lying within the mineral which is the cause of its imperishability and the source of longevity in the person who eats it ³⁾).

Exemplifying this virtue are many early tales of exhumed bodies found encased in glistening plates of mica, left untouched by the ordinary processes of decay. Perhaps unfortunately, the most circumstantial of these tales appear in unorthodox sources and uncanonical anecdotes, but there seems to be no reason to doubt the currency, in the early centuries of the Christian era, of a belief in the efficacy of mica for this purpose, or to deny the actual practice of embalming in this fashion. The least reliable of these stories tells of the excavation (supposedly during Early Han) of the barrow of Duke Yu of Chin 晉幽公. After penetrating the gate of the ancient tumulus, the diggers cleared away ten feet of stones and clay, and came to a layer of mica more than a foot in

1) There follow in PTKM various data on mica as used in treating diseases, none of it of great interest.

2) *Wan pi shu*, quoted in TPYL 808.7a.

3) PPT.

thickness. Beneath this they discovered, in all the freshness of life, the bodies of a man and some hundred women, who, we may guess, were the lord himself and his attendant wives, concubines and maidservants ¹).

A compendium of the grisly secrets of the Eastern Han officials in charge of coffins and allied funerary matters, now lost, but in part preserved in quotations, tells a horrible story of post-mortem rape, made possible by the singular preservative qualities of mica. A lady of surpassing beauty, surnamed Feng 馮, the favorite of an emperor and the paragon of the nation, died in the bloom of her loveliness, and was buried. Some ten years later her tomb was vandalized by robbers, who found her face and figure still vividly attractive—but “cold”, as our text is careful to point out—.The brigands did with her as they would have done with the living woman had they found her similarly alone and unprotected. Subsequently they were apprehended by the civil authorities, and, under interrogation, they stated that the coffin of the Precious Person (for such was the title of the beautiful deceased) had contained several bushels of “mother-of-cloud” ²).

Finally, in the time of Emperor Ching (*Ching-ti* 景帝) of the southern state of Wu—a reign noted for many prodigious apparitions and portents—a number of old tombs at Kuang-ling 廣陵 were broken into to furnish slabs of stone for repairing the walls of the city. In one of these barrows, of unknown date, surrounded by bronze figures armed with swords, was found a coffin con-

1) *Hsi-ching tsa-chi* 6.3a. I follow the TPYL 808.7b version of this tale in attributing the tomb to Duke Yu of Chin, the unfortunate lord who saw his domain divided among his great vassals, and was murdered by robbers when on a romantic and nocturnal assignation. The text as reproduced in *Hsüeh-hsin t'ao-yüan* has “King Yu”—which could be taken to refer to the last of the monarchs of Western Chou, who also came to an untimely end.

2) *Tung-yüan pi-chi* 東園祕記, quoted in TPYL 808.8a.

taining the undecomposed corpse of an ancient prince, covered with mica a foot thick ¹⁾).

After this time, the third century of our era, I have not discovered any notice of mica-embalming in the literature of China. But what must be only a glamorous coincidence deserves to be pointed out. In pre-Columbian Indian graves of the Eastern United States, corpses have been discovered covered with plates of mica so abundantly as to completely conceal them ²⁾. It is at least probable that this material was regarded as the accumulated wealth of the deceased, but it is hard to resist speculating on the possibility of the independent development of the same belief about the life-giving or body-preserving qualities of mica in Eastern Asia and Eastern America.

1) *San kuo chih* "Wu chih" 3.1038d, in the commentary, quoted as from *Pao-p'u-tzu*.

2) Mohr, op. cit. 1.



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ORPIMENT AND REALGAR IN CHINESE TECHNOLOGY AND TRADITION

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AMONG THE MINERAL PIGMENTS known to the Chinese since classical times the most important are the yellows,^a the verditers,^b ochre^c and vermilion.^d The present paper is devoted to the members of the class of mineral yellows in their material and spiritual relations throughout Chinese history. More particularly, it is concerned with the "stony yellows,"^e that is, the natural sulphides of arsenic.¹

ORPIMENT — INTRODUCTORY

Orpiment (As_2S_3) is a beautiful yellow mineral, frequently with a lustrous golden color. Sometimes it is found in association with other ores of arsenic and antimony. It is soft, sectile, and markedly cleavable.²

The English name is of Latin origin, and means "gold paint." So Celsus says, "... auripigmentum, quod arsenicon a Graecis nominatur."³ The Greek is *ἀρρενικόν*⁴ or *ἀρσενικόν*,⁵ for which etymologies related to Old Persian *zaranya* and Syriac *zarnîkî* "golden" have been suggested.⁶ This is, of course, the original of our word "arsenic," naming the metallic derivative for the sulphuretted source. In ancient Mesopotamia, orpiment seems to be the substance lying behind the Sumerian graphs SIG_7 and $\text{SIG}_7.\text{SIG}_7$, possibly "yellow," with Semitic readings such as *šîpu*, *damatu*, and *šindu hurašu* "gold paint." These expressions, however, may have also been used for realgar.⁷

¹ The stories of "fluid yellow," ^{dp} i. e. sulphur, and the vegetable yellows must be told elsewhere.

² Charles Palache, Harry Berman and Clifford Frondel, *The System of Mineralogy of James Dwight Dana and Edward Salisbury Dana, Yale University 1837-1892*, Vol. I (7th ed., New York, 1946), 266-8.

³ Celsus, *De Medicina* 5. 5.

⁴ John Hill, *Theophrastus's History of Stones; With an English Version, and Critical and Philosophical Notes* (London, 1756), 103, lxxi.

⁵ Horace Leonard Jones, *The Geography of Strabo* (London, 1928), Vol. V, 15. 2. 14.

⁶ R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity; A Notebook for Archaeologists and Technologists* (Leiden, 1950), 267.

⁷ R. Campbell Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian*

The ancient Indians had as many as seventeen names for orpiment, most of them containing roots for "yellow" and "gold."⁸ The most prominent of these was *haritāla*, whence the familiar name for commercial orpiment in Oriental trade jargon, "hartall."⁹

Orpiment was probably not mined in ancient Egypt, though it was used there. Possibly it was imported from Persia.¹⁰ It was brought into the classical Mediterranean world from Syria,¹¹ Cappadocia,¹² Mysia (Hellespont),¹³ Pontus,¹⁴ and Carmania (Kirman).¹⁵ Other sources available to the ancients were in Hungary, Macedonia, Western Georgia, Julamerk (Kurdistan), Shiraz, Takht-i Sulaiman, and Mt. Demawand in Persia.¹⁶

Medieval European painters obtained their orpiment chiefly from Asia Minor.¹⁷ As for the Far East outside of China, the presence of the mineral

Chemistry and Geology (Oxford, 1936), 46, 47, 48, 51, 57.

⁸ Richard Garbe, *Die Indischen Mineralien, Ihre Namen und die ihnen zugeschriebenen Kräfte; Nārāhari's Rāgarighaṇṭu varga viii mit kritischen und erläuternden Anmerkungen* (Leipzig, 1882), 48.

⁹ Ernest Watson, *The Principal Articles of Chinese Commerce* (China, The Maritime Customs, Shanghai, 1923), 207.

¹⁰ A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (3rd ed., London, 1948), 400.

¹¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 32. 22.

¹² *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides, Illustrated by a Byzantine A. D. 512*, Englished by John Goodyer, A. D. 1655, Edited and first printed A. D. 1933 by Robert T. Gunther (Oxford, 1934), 642.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Vitruvius, *De architectura* 7. 7.

¹⁵ Jones, *Strabo loc. cit.*

¹⁶ See Thompson, *op. cit.* 45; Forbes, *op. cit.* 267-8; Palache, *op. cit.* 268; Rutherford J. Gettens and George L. Stout, *Painting Materials; A Short Encyclopaedia* (New York, 1942), 135.

¹⁷ Daniel V. Thompson, *The Materials of Medieval Painting* (New Haven, 1936), 176-7. Compare *San Kuo chih* (*Wei chih*) 30. 1006c, quoting *Wei lüeh*, for orpiment in Ta-ch'in. Page references to the dynastic histories in this essay are for the K'ai-ming edition. The following abbreviations will be used in Chinese bibliographical notices: SPTK: *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*^{dp}; TSCC: *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng*^{dr}; PTKM: *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*^{ds}.

has been registered for Burma,¹⁸ Khotan,¹⁹ Kucha,²⁰ Aqsu,²¹ Malaya and Champa,²² and Japan.²³

Orpiment has a long and respectable history as a pigment. In modern times it has been known under the name of "King's Yellow," but this was little used after the Renaissance, and had wholly disappeared from the painter's palette by the end of the nineteenth century.²⁴ Philological evidence indicates that it was employed as a pigment by the Mesopotamians at least as early as the seventh century B. C., perhaps as a face paint.²⁵ The Egyptians used yellow ochre until the Eighteenth Dynasty: then orpiment enjoyed a brief popularity, especially for the representation of royal flesh. The skin of Akhnaton and the members of his family shown in paintings at Tell al-Amarna are done in orpiment.²⁶ Sometimes the pigment was applied to stone and to ceramics.²⁷ A bag of the raw mineral was found in the tomb of Tutankhamen,²⁸ but after this era it was little used.²⁹

There is little direct evidence of the use of orpiment by Hellenic artists, though Theophrastus tells of it as a paint,³⁰ and pieces of the mineral have been found in a grave of the fifth or fourth

century B. C.³¹ On the other hand, it is said (as of 1910) that no orpiment has been detected on any painting of Greek or Roman times.³² Be this as it may, the pigment was familiar to Roman writers on technical subjects. Vitruvius refers to it in connection with the decoration of houses,³³ and Dioscorides has left us an excellent description of the mineral, although his interest was entirely pharmaceutical:

Arsenicum grows in ye same mines that Sandarach doth. That is reckoned ye best, which is crusty & gold-like in ye colour, and having fish-scale-like crusts, as it were, always lying one upon another & it is not mixed with any other matter.³⁴

Pliny observes that painters of his time employed orpiment,³⁵ and remarks that it could not well be used on wet plaster, though suitable for depictions on dry chalk walls.³⁶

The manuscript illuminators of the Middle Ages, however, made abundant use of orpiment, especially in imitation of gold.³⁷ A striking instance is *The Book of Kells* (probably ninth century), one of the most beautiful books of all time, in which both orpiment and realgar appear, although these minerals are not native to Ireland.³⁸ King's Yellow was the yellow of Byzantine MSS. from the seventh century,³⁹ but late in medieval times substitutes were being found for this lovely color, because of its deleterious effect on binding

¹⁸ B. E. Read and C. Pak, "A Compendium of Minerals and Stones used in Chinese Medicine from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu, Li Shih Chen 1597 A. D.," *Peking Society of Natural History Bulletin*, 3.2 (December, 1938), 38.

¹⁹ Li Tao-yüan dt (?-527), *Shui-ching chu du* (SPTK) 2.9b.

²⁰ *Pei shih* 97.3042b.

²¹ *Han shu* 96b.0609a.

²² T'ao Hung-ching (Liang dyn.), quoted in PTKM. This orpiment was called "Malayan Yellow." ²³ Li Shih-chen (sixteenth century) states that the best orpiment was imported into China by sea-going ships.

²⁴ Palache, *op. cit.* 268. It was obtained in the late seventh century from Shimotsuke-no-kuni. ²⁵ See Rokurō Uemura, *dx* "Studies on the Ancient Japanese Pigments," *Bukkyō bijutsu* *dx* 4 (Sept. 1925), 27. For modern occurrences of orpiment in Japan, see A. J. C. Goerts, *Les Produits de la Nature Japonaise et Chinoise* (Partie inorganique et minéralogique, Yokohama, 1878), 176.

²⁶ Daniel V. Thompson, *op. cit.* 178; A. P. Laurie, *Greek and Roman Methods of Painting; Some Comments on the Statements made by Pliny and Vitruvius about Wall and Panel Painting* (Cambridge, 1913), 11.

²⁷ R. Campbell Thompson, *op. cit.* 46-7, 51.

²⁸ F. C. J. Spurrell, "Notes on Egyptian Colors," *Archaeological Journal* 52 (1895) 231-2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Lucas, *op. cit.* 400-1, 414.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Hill, *loc. cit.*

³³ Earle R. Caley, "Ancient Greek Pigments," *Journal of Chemical Education*, 23.7 (July, 1946), 316.

³⁴ A. P. Laurie, *The Materials of the Painter's Craft in Europe and Egypt from earliest times to the end of the XVIIIth century, with some account of their preparation and use* (London and Edinburgh, 1910), 219.

³⁵ *De architectura* 7.7.

³⁶ *Greek Herbal* 642.

³⁷ *Nat. Hist.* 33.22.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 35.49. Orpiment loses its color by interaction with fresh lime, forming white calcium arsenite and sulph-arsenite. See Kenneth C. Bailey, *The Elder Pliny's chapters on chemical subjects*, Pt. II (London, 1932), 222. The same reason is given for its non-desirability in fresco painting by a Greek compendium of the fifteenth or sixteenth century; see J. R. Partington, "Chemical Arts in the Mount Athos Manual of Christian Iconography," *Isis* 22 (1934), 144. Cennino Cennini (fifteenth century) also gives this cause for its rejection. See A. P. Laurie, *Materials* 124.

³⁹ Daniel V. Thompson, *op. cit.* 176-7.

⁴⁰ Edward Sullivan, *The Book of Kells* (5th ed., London, 1952), 60.

⁴¹ A. P. Laurie, "Materials in Persian Miniatures," *Technical Studies in the Field of the Fine Arts*, 3.3 (Jan., 1935), 146.

media, its reaction with pigments containing lead and copper, and its instability in oil, which was then beginning to be used as a medium.⁴⁰ The painters of the Renaissance did not like orpiment, though it was occasionally used, as by Vandyck.⁴¹

A text of twelfth century Southern India shows that the artists of that land used orpiment for its fine yellow effect, and also, mixed with indigo, to obtain a green paint.⁴² The illuminations of the Persian miniaturists, whose palette derived from that of the Byzantines, shows the use of orpiment as a pigment in the Near East from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.⁴³

In former times, orpiment held a significant place in the Western *materia medica*, though now it has largely been replaced by more active (and poisonous) arsenic compounds, such as the oxide (As_2O_3) "white arsenic," the arsenolite of the mineralogists.⁴⁴ The physicians of Rome prescribed orpiment mainly as a caustic, an erodent, and a counter-irritant, and more particularly for haemorrhoids, nasal polypi, and all excrescences and ulcerations of the skin.⁴⁵ Orpiment also played an important part in Indian medicine, primarily for skin affections both primary and secondary, such as eczema, leprosy, syphilis, piles and so forth. It was also regarded as having apotropaic properties, and prescribed against the unwholesome influences of ghosts and demons.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Daniel V. Thompson, *op. cit.* 178; Arthur H. Church, *The Chemistry of Paints and Painting* (4th ed., London, 1915), 184; Gettens and Stout, *op. cit.* 135; Laurie, *Greek and Roman Methods* 11.

⁴¹ Laurie, *Materials of the Painter's Craft* 219.

⁴² Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "The Technique and Theory of Indian Painting," *Technical Studies in the Field of the Fine Arts*, 3.2 (October 1934), 59-89.

⁴³ Laurie, in *Technical Studies* 3.146.

⁴⁴ Bailey, *op. cit.* 206 reports tests which show the comparatively slow action of the sulphides on living tissues, as compared with the virulent oxide. In fact, the sulphides, when pure, are virtually insoluble. For the comparative toxic qualities of the various arsenic salts see Arthur Grollman and Donald Slaught, *Pharmacology and Therapeutics Originally Written by Arthur R. Cushny* (13th ed., Philadelphia, 1947), 165-6, 174-5.

⁴⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 34.56; *Greek Herbal loc. cit.*; Celsus, books 5 and 6 *passim*.

⁴⁶ Elizabeth Sharpe, *An Eight-hundred year old book of Indian Medicine and formulas, translated from the original very old Hindi into Gujarati character and thence into English* (London, 1937), 21, 34, 44, 103-4; Garbe, *op. cit.* 48; Bhudeb Mookerji, *Rasa-pala-nidhi or*

Orpiment played a small role in early European chemistry (under which I include alchemy, metallurgy, and similar arts). But it has been chiefly known as a pigment, hardly as a reagent. Nevertheless, Pliny tells that the Emperor Caligula had an immense amount of orpiment refined for the production of gold, but the results obtained did not warrant the expense.⁴⁷ This cannot be regarded as an attempt at transmuting elements, for arsenic minerals frequently occur in gold ores, and orpiment may contain a small amount of the yellow metal. Orpiment has also been used, though rarely, as an ingredient of pyrotechnical devices.⁴⁸

ORPIMENT IN CHINA.

It cannot be told whether orpiment was clearly distinguished by name from other yellow pigments before the beginning of the Han dynasty. At least, no such early name has been certainly identified. In the second century B. C., the name which became standard for all time first appears in the literature of China. In his *Tzu-hsü fu*,ⁱ Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju^s tells of the land of Yün-meng in the South in these terms: "... the soil there is Cinabar, Verditer, Ochre, Chalk, Female Yellow and White Quartz."⁴⁹ "Female Yellow"^h is the mate of "Male Yellow."ⁱ These are orpiment and realgar respectively, and their names symbolize their affinity and regular occurrence in close natural conjunction. Orpiment was readily distinguished by its brilliant golden-yellow color, while realgar, on the other hand, normally has an orange or somewhat reddish hue. Indeed the outward aspect of orpiment suggested an inner connection with gold, and T'ao Hung-ching^j wrote, early in the sixth century, that orpiment was the "essence" or sperm of gold,^k just as azurite^l was the sperm of copper.^m⁵⁰ The lamellar or micaceous cleavage of orpiment was also distinctive. So a fifth century text states, "... one lump of orpiment weighing

Ocean of Indian Chemistry and Alchemy (Calcutta, 1927), 155-7.

⁴⁷ *Nat. Hist.* 33.22; and cf. Bailey, *op. cit.* I (London, 1929), 101.

⁴⁸ Tenney L. Davis, *The Chemistry of Powder and Explosives* Vol. I (New York and London, 1941), 55 tells of a sixteenth century fireball containing orpiment and verdigris.

⁴⁹ *Han shu* 572.0498b. The language is *dz*.

⁵⁰ Citation in PTKM.

four taels can be split into a thousand pieces.”⁵¹ In his famous *Materia Medica* written near the close of the sixteenth century, Li Shih-chen^a tells how to apply the “streak test,” still used by modern mineralogists as an aid to the identification of many minerals, to orpiment: material of the best quality will leave an attractively colored mark if rubbed on the finger nail.⁵²

The Chinese alchemists, even before their European brethren, had secret names for their reagents, designed to conceal their procedures from the uninitiated, and also to reflect the metaphysical presuppositions underlying their experiments. We have a list of such esoteric names for orpiment, dating from the T'ang dynasty:

“Blood of the Divine Woman”^o
 “Mid-month Moon at the Mystic Platform”^p
 “Blood of the Yellow Dragon”^q
 “Yellow Security (?)”^{r 53}

Before leaving the Chinese names of orpiment, a metaphorical application of the term “Female Yellow” deserves mention. An eloquent person was said to have orpiment in his mouth.⁵⁴ Whether this figure is based on the handsome color of the mineral, analogously to our expression “golden-throated,” or derives from a belief in the medical properties of orpiment, cannot be determined.

Orpiment has been mined in a few localities in China, mostly in association with realgar. The traditional theory which purports to explain the relative distribution of the two minerals holds that the “female” member of the pair, orpiment, is found where the solar energy (*yang*) is received in insufficient quantities, and therefore should be discovered on the shady sides of mountains. However, the male and female occur regularly together. This is explained by Li Shih-chen as due to the fact that while both sides of a mountain receive *some* of the vital male principle, this is more abundant on sunny slopes, where realgar is likely

to be discovered (he thought) in greater quantity than orpiment.⁵⁵

Since realgar has generally been regarded in China as a more valuable product than orpiment, mines where both of these minerals occurred are usually first referred to as sources of realgar. Therefore the orpiment localities about to be mentioned were in many cases known long before the dates of the first texts which mention the secondary mineral. One of the best known of these localities was a deposit in the far southeastern part of what is now Kansu province. This region has been variously known as Wu-tu,^s Ch'ou-ch'ih,^{t 56} Chieh,^{u 57} and Ch'eng.^{v 58} Orpiment is also a product, at least in more recent times, of the Su-chou^w region, far to the northwest in the same province.⁵⁹ Hunan province is also an important source: the pigment is found in the vicinity of Tz'u-li.^{x 60} Also well-known are the deposits in the region of Meng-hua,^{y 61} and Ta-li,^{z 62} in modern Yunnan. Less famous sources are Yeh-lang^{aa} in Tsang-ko^{ab} (modern Kweichow),⁶³ Tzu^{ac} (modern Shantung),⁶⁴ Hsi^{ad} in Shu (modern Szechwan),⁶⁵ and a place of uncertain identity, Pei-yin.^{ae 66} Later in the present paper, when the Chinese realgar mines are discussed, more attention will be paid to the dates of the earliest notices of these places, though the antiquity of the deposits in Kansu, Kweichow, and Szechwan is here sufficiently attested for orpiment. To these may be added the poetical reference to Yün-meng by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju.

It seems likely that the Chinese would have used orpiment as a pigment in prehistoric times, but the presence of the mineral has not been verified on any object made before the beginning of the

⁵⁵ PTKM.

⁵⁶ T'ao Hung-ching, quoted in PTKM.

⁵⁷ Chang Shih-nan,^{ea} *Yu-huan chi-wen*^{eb} (Sung dyn., in TSCC) 2.12

⁵⁸ PTKM.

⁵⁹ *Kan-su t'ung-chih*^{el} (MS. copy in library of University of Washington) 20.6b.

⁶⁰ PTKM; Weng Wen-hao,^{ej} *Chung-kuo k'uang-ch'ian chih-lüeh*,^{ek} *Ti-chih chuan-pao*^{el} B. 1 (1919) 195.

⁶¹ *Yün-nan t'ung-chih*^{em} (1835 ed.) 70.47a; Weng Wen-hao, *loc. cit.*

⁶² Weng Wen-hao, *loc. cit.*

⁶³ *Hou Han shu* 33.0709a.

⁶⁴ PTKM.

⁶⁵ *Hou Han shu* 33.0709b, quoting *Hua-yang kuo-chih*.^{en}

⁶⁶ PTKM.

⁵¹ Lei Hsiao, quoted in PTKM.

⁵² PTKM chapter 9. The sections on realgar and orpiment both occur in this chapter of the book; therefore the chapter will not be identified in subsequent citations.

⁵³ Mei Piao,^{ea} *Yao-shih Erh-ya*,^{eb} in *Tao Tsang*,^{ec} *Tung-shen Sections*,^{ed} “Assembled Arts,”^{ee} *Ssu*, Upper Scroll (*i. e.* vol. 588). See below, note 143, for another Taoist name for orpiment, which I have not been able to decipher.

⁵⁴ Said of Wang Yen.^{ef} See *Chin shu* 43.1201b.

Christian era. The earliest attribution of such use in a literary source refers to the State of Ch'ü in the latter part of the Chou dynasty, but the source is not contemporary. Moreover one version of this text has realgar while another has orpiment.⁶⁷ At any rate, the story tells of a man who painted his house with arsenic sulphide, whence it acquired the name "Yellow Hall." This together with Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju's reference to orpiment along with other mineral pigments in that region may point to very early working of the arsenic deposit at Tz'u-li, already referred to.

Orpiment was certainly in use as a pigment in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era, for T'ao Hung-ching states that the golden scaly material imported from Champa and Transgangetic India was much prized by the painters of his day,⁶⁸ though he does not tell us the kind of surface painted. Paintings of a slightly later age, lately brought back from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein, prove to have been executed entirely in mineral pigments, to the exclusion of the vegetable, and natural orpiment is one of them.⁶⁹ The unhappy effects of using orpiment in close proximity to pigments derived from lead were known at least by the time of the Sung.⁷⁰ It should be mentioned that the "forehead yellow,"^{af} a cosmetic ornament popular among ladies of the T'ang dynasty,⁷¹ was apparently in most cases "lead yellow"^{ag} (i. e.

massicot), which had been prepared in China since ancient times by the oxidation of lead. Orpiment continues to be used as a pigment in modern China, most of it coming from Talifu in Yunnan.⁷²

In the Tempyō period, when the arts of Japan were still under strong Chinese influence, orpiment was an important pigment. It is also included in the list in *Wamyō-ruiju-shō*^{ah} of the tenth century, but it does not appear at all on the twelfth century Fujiwara scrolls, where its place is taken by gambodge and ochre. This substitution is doubtless due to the presence of lead compounds in these pictures.⁷³ Orpiment is still used in modern Japan.⁷⁴

The earliest notice of the medical application of orpiment is, not unexpectedly, the *Shen-nung pen-ts'ao ching*,^{ai} a work of uncertain authorship, sometimes said to have been compiled in the second century A. D., although it might easily be earlier or later. This source notes the usefulness of orpiment for ulcerations, and surprisingly, for baldness. A virtue it shares in common with realgar, and for which the latter drug is much more noted, is its effectiveness as an antidote to the bites of poisonous reptiles and insects, and for various other noxious substances and evil humors. The dreams of the Taoist researchers appear in the prescription of orpiment for lightening the corporeal body and averting senility, again a reflection of the important use of its brother mineral, realgar, in alchemy.⁷⁵ Lei Hsiao,^{aj} of the fifth century, tells how the raw mineral should be prepared for use by the physician: it must be mixed with various potent herbs, washed, dried, ground, and so forth. But most importantly, the pharmacists must take care to avoid the presence of women, children, dogs, recent fornicators, accursed people, effeminate men, convicts, and filthy persons, lest the orpiment become black and deleterious.⁷⁶

Ko Hung,^{ak} the great fourth century apologist

⁶⁷ Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang,^{eo} *Yen-fan lu*^{ev} (A. D. 1175; ed. of Hsüeh-hsin t'ao-yüan; ^{eq} citing *Chün-kuo chih*) 3.15b has the former, while *Wu-yüeh ch'un-ch'in*,^{er} as quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*^{es} 988.2b, has the latter.

⁶⁸ Quoted in PTKM.

⁶⁹ Arthur Waley, *A Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein, K. C. I. E., preserved in the Sub-department of Oriental prints and drawings in the British Museum, and in the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities, Delhi* (London, 1931), xlv. On the other hand; orpiment was not used in the mural paintings in the Tun-huang caves, being there replaced by a vegetable dye. This was doubtless due to the presence of lead paints in the same pictures. See the study of R. J. Gettens on Tun-huang pigments cited by Langdon Warner, *Buddhist wall-paintings, A Study of a Ninth-century Grotto at Wan Fo Hsia* (Cambridge, 1938), 9.

⁷⁰ Chang Shih-nan, *loc. cit.* PTKM also quotes a Taoist pharmacologist of unknown date, known by the epithet of T'u-su chen-chün,^{et} to the same effect. The former authority warns against *shao fen*^{eu} (i. e. *ch'ien shao*^{ev}), namely massicot and other pigments produced by roasting metallic lead, while the latter authority mentions lead and ceruse (*hu fen*^{ew}).

⁷¹ See Yoshito Harada,^{ex} *Tō-a ko-bunka kenkyū*^{ey} (Tokyo, 1944) 5-6.

⁷² Ernest Watson, *op. cit.* 207.

⁷³ Rokurō Uemura, *op. cit.* 27-29, and Uemura, Old Japanese Pigments Used in the Scroll Paintings of Takayosi-Genji," *Tōyō bijutsu*^{ez} 24 (May, 1937) 66.

⁷⁴ F. de Mély, *Les Lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen âge* Tome I, *Les lapidaires chinois* (Paris, 1896), 81; A. J. C. Geerts, *op. cit.* 176. Geerts also mentions its use to color papers, as an ink, as a size to prevent absorption of ink, and, mixed with indigo, by draughtsmen for a green color.

⁷⁵ *Pen ching*, as cited in PTKM.

⁷⁶ Quoted in PTKM.

for alchemy, pays little attention to orpiment, as compared with realgar, but he prescribes "female pills" made of orpiment, azurite, alum and magnetite (representing the cardinal colors yellow, blue, white and black), to be taken only in conjunction with "male pills," in which realgar appears along with the red mineral, cinnabar, and blue vitriol, as an antidote for the chills of winter.⁷⁷ T'ao Hung-ching recommends orpiment for nasal polypi,⁷⁸ while Han Pao-sheng,⁸¹ who wrote the *Shu pen-ts'ao*⁸² in the tenth century, advocates its application to diseases of the spleen, on the traditional grounds that that organ is governed by the Earth Element, and therefore by the color Yellow.⁷⁹ Li Shih-chen himself adds to these epilepsy, abdominal pains, disorders of the blood, difficult coughing, and chills and fever, and gives a recipe for the cure of incontinence of urine, in which orpiment is prepared with ginger and salt.⁸⁰ Orpiment continues to be used in modern China for these purposes.⁸¹

Although the role of orpiment in alchemy and gold-making is very slight, there are occasional references to its relation with gold. So T'ao Hung-ching says, "If gold-sperm is fumigated, it gives birth to Female Yellow."⁸² Li Shih-chen states that it can be used to manufacture gold, and that it will soften the five metals, dry quicksilver, convert sulphur, and subdue calomel.⁸³ No technical details of these processes are related by the author, while Ko Hung passes them over in silence.

An eleventh century text gives a special technical application of orpiment: it should be painted on paper when a mistake in writing has been made. The result is a permanent erasure which does not damage the paper.⁸⁴ In recent times, orpiment has been used in dyeing, calico printing, pyrotechnics and depilatories.⁸⁵

REALGAR — INTRODUCTORY

Realgar (AsS) is a soft, sectile mineral, often powdery. It has a resinous luster, and varies in color from aurora-red to orange-yellow. It occurs commonly in association with orpiment and other arsenic minerals, with stibnite, and with lead, silver and gold ores. It is frequently encountered as a sublimation from volcanoes and hot springs.⁸⁶ Aristotle classed realgar among the colored stones which are produced by a dry exhalation from the earth, along with sulphur, cinnabar and ochre, in contrast to the metals, which are the product of a vaporous exhalation.⁸⁷ Theophrastus groups it with orpiment in an "ashy" subdivision of fossile substances, in contrast to the argillaceous, like ochre and redde, and the sandy, such as the verditers.⁸⁸ The description of Dioscorides is classic: "But that Sandaraca is best esteemed that is fully red, brittle, easy to be beaten small, and pure, looking like Cinnabaris in the colour, & also having a brimstone-like smell."⁸⁹

In classical antiquity, realgar was uniformly known by its Greek name, *σανδαράκη* in Aristotle and Theophrastus, *σανδαράχη* in Dioscorides. The Latin reflex of this form was used in Roman times: *sandaraca/sandaracha*; so Pliny and Vitruvius. This word continued to appear in European languages until quite recently, especially as a translation-word, as the *sandarach* of John Hill's translation of Theophrastus. It has been suggested that this word derives from a root **sand-/sard* "red."⁹⁰ Our modern English word "realgar" comes, by way of Spanish, from Arabic *رَهِج القَار* "powder of the mine." This term, of course, did not appear in Europe until medieval times. Modern German has its own expressive terms for realgar, such as the Reuschgeel of Agricola (sixteenth century), the Rauschgelb of Wallerius (seventeenth century), and the Rauschrot of Haiiy (nineteenth century).⁹¹

Turning to Asia, a term used during the Third

⁷⁷ Pao-p'u-tzu^{1a} (ed. of Tzu-shu po-chia^{1b}) 3.21b.

⁷⁸ Ming-i pieh-lu,^{1c} quoted in PTKM.

⁷⁹ PTKM.

⁸⁰ PTKM.

⁸¹ Weng Wen-hao, *loc. cit.*; Ernest Watson, *loc. cit.*

⁸² Quoted in PTKM.

⁸³ PTKM.

⁸⁴ Shen Kua,^{1d} *Meng-ch'i pi-t'an*^{1e} (TSCC) 1.4. This source states that the "female yellow" used for this purpose was called "lead yellow" in antiquity. The author has confused orpiment with massicot.

⁸⁵ Ernest Watson, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁶ Palache, *op. cit.* 255.

⁸⁷ *Meteorologica* 3.6.

⁸⁸ John Hill, *op. cit.* 103.

⁸⁹ *Greek Herbal* 642.

⁹⁰ R. J. Forbes, *op. cit.* 267. Pliny also refers to a pigment called *sandys*. This appears to have been a red lead made by roasting ceruse, and used to adulterate realgar. See *Nat. Hist.* 35.22, and Bailey, *op. cit.* II. 215.

⁹¹ Palache, *loc. cit.*

Dynasty of Ur, *im guškin* "red paste" or "golden paste," may well have referred to realgar.⁹² Other ancient Mesopotamian expressions, both Sumerian and Semitic, connoting "gold paint," "rouge," "face bloom" etc. may refer to the same mineral, but it is not easy to distinguish realgar from orpiment among them.⁹³

In India, the Sanskrit word *manahçilâ* "spirit-stone," and various other words containing *manas*, stand for realgar,⁹⁴ the first and most common of these being the original of the common Indic term *mansil*.⁹⁵

As to the locations of realgar mines outside of China, Pliny tells of one on the island of Topazus in the Red Sea, but he says that the mineral was not imported thence.⁹⁶ He adds elsewhere that it could be found in gold and silver mines.⁹⁷ Another locality known to the classical Mediterranean world was on the Hypanis River in Pontus.⁹⁸ Also in Pontus was a mountain named *Σανδακούριον* "Realgar Mine," near Pompeiopolis, which was already much undermined by the beginning of the Christian era, and had been abandoned because of the death of workmen from the fumes.⁹⁹ There was also a place in Bithynia called *Σανδαράκη*, presumably because of the mineral found there.¹⁰⁰ Realgar was also found in Mysia and Cappadocia.¹⁰¹ This realgar of the Roman East was also known to the Chinese by the third century.¹⁰² The sulphide could be dug along with its yellow sister in the Caucasus area, and at Mt. Demawand in Persia.¹⁰³ This Persian realgar was regarded by the medieval Chinese alchemists as inferior to other varieties.¹⁰⁴ Realgar from the province of

Ise was used in Japan in the seventh century.¹⁰⁵ It can still be found there,¹⁰⁶ as well as in other localities, particularly in the hot-springs region of southern Hokkaido.¹⁰⁷ Other deposits of realgar are known in Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Saxony, Switzerland, Naples, Corsica and the United States.¹⁰⁸

Compared with orpiment, realgar has been little used as a pigment, because it lacks the brilliance of the formal mineral, and does not show the same thinly laminated structure. Moreover, realgar tends to disintegrate to a mixture of orpiment (As_2S_3) and arsenolite (As_2O_3), the poisonous oxide, on long exposure.¹⁰⁹ Nonetheless it occasionally appears in ancient and medieval paintings. Some was detected mixed with the orpiment in the Eighteenth Dynasty murals of Tell el-Amarna, but it is never found by itself there.¹¹⁰ Judging from the color lexicon of ancient Assyria, realgar was used as well as orpiment there.¹¹¹ A pot of realgar was found in the ruins of a theatre of Corinth which dates from the fourth century B. C.,¹¹² and the same pigment was in use by the Corinthians of the second century B. C.¹¹³ The Romans as well as the Greeks painted with it—its presence has been noted in Roman ruins at Silchester in England.¹¹⁴ Pliny's remarks about the substitution of burnt ceruse for realgar strongly suggest that he knew the latter as a pigment, though he is mainly concerned with its medicinal qualities.¹¹⁵

In the illuminated manuscripts of late medieval Europe, realgar appears primarily as a constituent

⁹² A. Leo Oppenheim, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets of the Wilberforce Eames Babylonian Collection in the New York Public Library; Tablets of the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur* (American Oriental Series, Vol. 32, New Haven, 1948), 240.

⁹³ R. Campbell Thompson, *op. cit.* 46-51, 57.

⁹⁴ Richard Garbe, *op. cit.* 44.

⁹⁵ Elizabeth Sharpe, *op. cit. passim*.

⁹⁶ *Nat. Hist.* 35. 22.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 33. 22.

⁹⁸ Vitruvius, *De architectura* 7. 7.

⁹⁹ Strabo, 12. 3. 40 (see trans. of H. L. Jones, Vol. 5).

¹⁰⁰ Georg Wissowa, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* Vol. 1A:2 (Stuttgart, 1920), 2262.

¹⁰¹ Wissowa, *op. cit.* Vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1896), 1274.

¹⁰² *San Kuo chih* (Wei chih) 30.1006c, quoting Wei lüeh, about the minerals of Ta-ch'in.

¹⁰³ R. J. Forbes, *op. cit.* 268.

¹⁰⁴ *Chih-shih-pu wu-chiu-shu-chieh*, in *Tao Tsang*,

Tung-shen Section, "Assembled Arts," *Ssu* (i. e. Vol. 589).

¹⁰⁵ Rokurō Uemura, "Studies," *Bukkyō bijutsu*, 4 (September 1925), 27-8.

¹⁰⁶ A. J. C. Geerts, *op. cit.* 179.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 176-7, 179. Geerts notes that Japanese realgar was regarded as inferior, so that Chinese merchants of Nagasaki imported it from their homeland.

¹⁰⁸ Palache, *op. cit.* 255.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 257. Cf. Arthur H. Church, *op. cit.* 184.

¹¹⁰ F. J. C. Spurrell, *op. cit.* 232.

¹¹¹ R. Campbell Thompson, *op. cit.* 51, 57.

¹¹² William Foster, "Chemistry and Grecian Archaeology," *Journal of Chemical Education*, 10.5 (May, 1933), 276; Earle R. Caley, *op. cit.* 316.

¹¹³ Marie Farnsworth, "Ancient Pigments—Particularly Second Century B. C. Pigments from Corinth," *Journal of Chemical Education*, 28.2 (February, 1951), 73.

¹¹⁴ Arthur H. Church, *op. cit.* 184.

¹¹⁵ *Nat. Hist.* 35. 20, 35. 22, 34. 55.

of glair, an illuminator's medium made of beaten white of egg, which it keeps from decomposing. This was standard practice from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.¹¹⁶ At the same time, it was sometimes employed as a pigment,¹¹⁷ as in the bright reds of the ninth century *Book of Kells*.¹¹⁸ Cennino Cennini lists it as a pigment in the fifteenth century, but the painters of the Renaissance tended to reject it, along with orpiment, and for the same reasons, though they knew how to make an artificial realgar by heating orpiment.¹¹⁹ I have not observed any reference to its presence in ancient Indian paintings, but it has been detected on the wall paintings of Kara Khoto in Central Asia (eleventh to thirteenth centuries).¹²⁰

Realgar has a role in the pharmacopoeia of the West very similar to that of orpiment. Its use as a medicine in ancient Assyria may be inferred;¹²¹ Aristotle regarded it as poisonous,¹²² and Galen prescribed it to kill scorpions.¹²³ Celsus lists it along with orpiment for most of the purposes for which he recommends the latter, but he gives realgar alone as a poison for lice.¹²⁴ Pliny and Dioscorides agree on its caustic properties, and also recommend it with honey for hoarseness, and to produce a clear and melodious voice.¹²⁵ In India, too, it was used for skin disorders and other affections for which orpiment is prescribed, and for cough and asthma, as with the Romans. It was also thought to be especially effective in spiritual disorders, and as an antidote to poisons.¹²⁶ The last of these beliefs seems not to occur in the Mediterranean world, but we shall see that it was very important in China.

Both realgar and orpiment played some role in primitive European alchemy. Those mysterious figures, Maria and Kleopatra, allude to them, and they appear in the pseudo-Democritus as "red

sand" and "yellow sand" respectively.¹²⁷ Nonetheless their roles are not nearly as significant as those of sulphur, mercury, and gold. We shall observe that in Chinese alchemy realgar (but not orpiment) is of great importance, but still in an inferior position as compared with cinnabar, the reagent par excellence in the Far East.

The history of arsenic chemistry in the West is obscure to the present writer, but it is said that the technique of separating the metal from its sulphides was known to the medieval Muslims, the process being referred to in the writings ascribed to the great Jābir (Geber).¹²⁸

REALGAR IN CHINA

The earliest surviving Chinese description of realgar is that of the third century pharmacologist, Wu P'u.¹²⁹ He regarded this mineral as a variety of cinnabar, which in fact it resembles somewhat, and states that whereas cinnabar is found on the shady (*i. e.* "feminine") side of a mountain, realgar is located on the sunny (*i. e.* "masculine") side, hence the usual Chinese name "Male Yellow," for realgar.¹²⁹ This is rather curious, since cinnabar is not elsewhere linked with realgar, and the matching name "Female Yellow" had already for several centuries been preempted for orpiment, while both cinnabar and orpiment are mentioned simultaneously in the rhapsody of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, already referred to several times. At any rate, the distinctive characteristic of realgar is its color, varying from orange to red, and the Chinese, though they classify it as a "yellow," have described the finest realgar as having the color of a coxcomb,¹³⁰ hence its modern name in both China and Japan, "chicken-cap stone."¹³¹ Lei Hsiao, in the fifth century of our era, gives as an appropriate analogy the color of a francolin's liver.¹³²

¹¹⁶ Daniel V. Thompson, *op. cit.* 55.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* 177.

¹¹⁸ Edward Sullivan, *op. cit.* 60.

¹¹⁹ A. P. Laurie, *Materials of the Painter's Craft* 208, 220.

¹²⁰ Gettens and Stout, *op. cit.* 135, 152.

¹²¹ R. Campbell Thompson, *op. cit.* 46-7.

¹²² The presence of the oxide in the sulphide would make it so.

¹²³ William Foster, *op. cit.* 276.

¹²⁴ Celsus, *De Medicina* 6. 6.

¹²⁵ *Nat. Hist.* 34. 55; *Greek Herbal loc. cit.*

¹²⁶ Elizabeth Sharpe, *op. cit.* 34-5, 103-4; Richard Garbe, *op. cit.* 44; Bhudeb Mookerji, *op. cit.* 196 ff.

¹²⁷ R. J. Forbes, *op. cit.* 269.

¹²⁸ W. T. Sedgwick and H. W. Tyler, *A Short History of Science* (revised by H. W. Tyler and R. P. Bigelow, New York, 1939), 192.

¹²⁹ As quoted in PTKM, and also in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 988. 2b.

¹³⁰ *Pao-p'u-tzu* 4. 5b; and T'ao Hung-ching, quoted in PTKM.

¹³¹ In modern Far Eastern literature the old name of realgar, *hsiung-huang*, is applied to orpiment, while the expression *tz'u-huang* has disappeared from ordinary use. For an example of the resulting confusion, see F. de Mély, *op. cit.* xxxv-xxxvi, 79-80, 202-205, or any modern mineralogical text.

¹³² Quoted in PTKM.

The translucency of fine realgar was correctly noted by writers of the Sung dynasty.¹³³ The most famous Chinese realgar, that of Mt. Wu-tu, is accurately described by Su Sung^{ap} in the eleventh century; he states that it comes in pods in a rocky river gorge. The matrix is sometimes called "White Fresh Rock" and sometimes "Glaucous Smoky Rock." The lumps vary in size from that of a pea to that of a walnut. The mineral is pitted with holes, and has a deep red, almost purple color.¹³⁴ Most of the Chinese pharmacologists, like the Greek and Roman physicians, regarded realgar as poisonous,¹³⁵ as impure varieties may be.

Various names other than *hsiung-huang* have sometimes been applied to realgar. The earliest of these seems to be "Yellow Metal Stone"^{aq} (i. e. "gold-stone"), found in the *Sheng-nung pen-ts'ao ching*.¹³⁶ "Stony Yellow,"^e properly a collective name for the sulphides of arsenic,¹³⁷ has sometimes been used as a varietal name for realgar.¹³⁸ "Fume Yellow"^{ar} is applied to an impure kind used to fumigate boils and other skin disorders.¹³⁹ The epithet "Fetid Yellow"^{as} also occurs, for a dark-colored variety with an evil arsenical odor.¹⁴⁰ In recent times, the term "Male Essence"^{at} has been applied to particularly fine specimens of the mineral.¹⁴¹ The following names have also been noted: "Luminous Yellow,"^{au} "Earthy Yellow,"^{av} and "Lumpy Yellow,"^{aw}¹⁴² In the T'ang dynasty, there was also a considerable number of fantastic names, the special property of the alchemists: "Vermeil Sparrow's Sinew";^{ax} "White Tumulus";^{ay} "Yellow Slave";^{az} "Man's

Sperm";^{ba} "Stone within the Great Decad's Head";^{bb} "Lunar Soul at Cinnabar Mountain";^{bc} "Deep Yellow Period (?)";^{bd} "Divine Man's Sperm";^{be} "Divine Man's Blood."^{bf}¹⁴³

Among the earliest texts to give definite localities where realgar had been found is the *Shan-hai ching*. This book lists the expression "Male Yellow" among the natural products of fourteen mountains, to wit: Kao,^{bs} Huang-jen,^{bh} Ch'ang-sha,^{bi} Huai-chiang,^{bj} Hsüan-yüan,^{bk} Yu,^{bl} Chung-ch'ü,^{bm} Ch'iao-ming,^{bn} Chien,^{bo} Po-pien,^{bp} Yang-hua,^{bq} Nü-chi,^{br} Kuei,^{bs} Ta-fu.^{bt}¹⁴⁴ A problem arises from the fact that in eleven of these places, the term "male yellow" is prefixed by the word *ch'ing*^{bu} "glaucous; verditer." Some scholiasts have asserted that this is an epithet "glaucous," and that "glaucous male-yellow" is a special name for orpiment. Others allege that this is a noun "verditer," and that the whole phrase means "verditer and realgar." The modern historian of minerals in China, H. T. Chang,¹⁴⁵ rejects both of these views, because (1) "glaucous male yellow" is self-contradictory: neither realgar nor orpiment ever has a green-blue color; and (2) *ch'ing* never appears alone in the *Shan-hai ching*, hence it cannot be a noun meaning verditer. His somewhat inconclusive solution is that the expression means "glaucous male-yellow," but that this term refers to a glaucous stone, somehow resembling realgar, but impossible of identification. I find this argument quite unconvincing, as well as any other explanation based upon the premise that *ch'ing* is here a qualifier in the sense of "glaucous." The word *ch'ing* appears often in early texts, leaving

¹³³ Su Sung, quoted in PTKM, and Chang Shih-nan, *loc. cit.*

¹³⁴ Su Sung, quoted in PTKM.

¹³⁵ See authorities cited in PTKM, e. g. Chen Ch'üan of the early seventh century.

¹³⁶ Quoted in PTKM.

¹³⁷ See Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i' (eighth century), quoted in PTKM.

¹³⁸ E. g. Su Kungth (seventh century), quoted in PTKM. The name "Stone Yellow" is also found in T'ao Hung-ching.

¹³⁹ Su Kung in PTKM.

¹⁴⁰ E. g. Su Sung in PTKM.

¹⁴¹ As in *Hsü-hsiu Shan-hsi-sheng t'ung-chih k'ao* (1934), 192.14a, to that from Mount Wu-tu, and in H. T. Chang,¹ "Lapidarium Sinicum, A Study of the Rocks, Fossils and Metals as known in Chinese Literature,"^{1k} *Memoir of the Geological Survey of China*,⁶¹ Ser. B, No. 2, (2nd ed., Peking, December, 1927), 213, to that from Kweichow.

¹⁴² Ernest Watson, *op. cit.* 509.

¹⁴³ Mei Piao, *loc. cit.* The common expression "stony yellow" also appears in this list. The first graph of another name¹ eludes certain identification. No doubt it is the same as the last graph of an esoteric name for orpiment^{fm} in the same book. Also there appears here **χῆτ-ἰ-ῖ-ῖ-ῖ-ῖ* (modern *ch'ü-li-chia*), obviously a foreign loan-word, and presumably Indic, but I have been unable to identify it. Another word for "realgar" has been suggested by Homer H. Dubs, in his "The Beginnings of Alchemy," *Isis* 38.1-2.71, where he takes the word^{fo} of *Huai-nan-tzu* to refer to that mineral. The evidence is rather slight.

¹⁴⁴ References in the SPTK edition: 1.17b, 1.19a, 1.20a, 1.22b, 1.25b, 1.27a-b, 1.30a, 1.32b-33a, 2.4a, 2.7a, 2.12b, 2.20b, 2.31b, 2.31b respectively. It is strange that the term "female yellow" does not appear anywhere, despite the fact that the *Shan-hai ching* seems particularly concerned with places where artists' pigments may be found.

¹⁴⁵ Chang, *op. cit.* 346-353.

the *Shan-hai ching* aside for the moment, as a self-sufficient substantive meaning "verditer." Even in the *Shan-hai ching* we have the parallel expression *ch'ing pi hsiung huang*,^{bv} which must be analysed as *ch'ing pi* and *hsiung huang*. The frequent occurrence of *ch'ing* in conjunction with *hsiung huang* in this text probably results from the pre-occupation of its compilers with the mineral pigments available in every locality. In any case, Mr. Chang places the three mountains for which the problem does not arise, namely, Mt. Kao, Mt. Chung-ch'ü, and Mt. Nü-chi, in the province of Szechwan, which according to independent sources, was an early source of realgar.

This Szechwan realgar, found at Hsi,^{ad} is mentioned along with orpiment, cinnabar and other colored rocks by the *Hou Han shu*.¹⁴⁶ Realgar was still extracted during the Ch'ing dynasty as a secondary product of the silver mines in the same district.¹⁴⁷

Realgar and orpiment were also brought in from the country of the Yeh-lang^{aa} people, in what is now Kweichow, during the Han period.¹⁴⁸ In modern times, realgar has been a product of Yung-feng-chou^{bw} in Nan-lung-fu^{bx} in the same region.¹⁴⁹ This has, according to one authority, recently become the most prized Chinese realgar.¹⁵⁰

Taking Chinese history as a whole, the best-known and most highly praised sources of the mineral were in the provinces of Kansu and Hunan, though there is no evidence that these mines were worked before the fourth century of the Christian era.¹⁵¹ The Hunan deposit was revealed by a landslide on a mountain in Nan-p'ing^{by} in A. D. 320.^{151a} This was the region later known as Shih-men,^{bz} which, according to T'ao Hung-ching, became an important source of realgar when the Kansu mines were made inaccessible to the Chinese in the fifth century.¹⁵² The *Shui-ching chu*^{ca} (sixth century) states that the natives dug the mineral out of the rocks in the bed of the Huang (Yellow) River at Ling-ling^{cb} in Hunan in the

wintertime in connection with special ceremonies.¹⁵³ According to Chang Yü-hsi^{cc} (eleventh century), the river got its name from the mineral.¹⁵⁴ Ling-ling, Shih-men, and Tz'u-li^x are names for the same area from different periods of history, and realgar was still excavated there during the Ch'ing period.¹⁵⁵ It is likely, too, that "Yellow-stone Mountain,"^{cd} in the vicinity of these same gorges, was named for the pigment.¹⁵⁶

Equally famous with the Hunan realgar mines are those of southeastern Kansu, at Wu-tu^s and Ch'ou-ch'ih,^t in the area later designated Chieh,^u and the neighboring region, which was inhabited in ancient times by the people called Tang-ch'ang.^{ce}¹⁵⁷ The earliest reference to these workings seems to be in *Pao-p'u-tzu*.¹⁵⁸ The mines were therefore operated in the fourth century, perhaps earlier. After this period they are referred to repeatedly by alchemists and pharmacologists. In general, the Wu-tu realgar was highly rated for its handsome color, while that of the adjacent Tang-ch'ang area was considered inferior.¹⁵⁹ During the early part of the seventh century, exceptionally large lumps of the mineral were found in the Tang-ch'ang deposit, but they were of very poor quality.¹⁶⁰ The writers of the Sung dynasty continued to praise the realgar of Wu-tu, and so it would appear that these mines were still being exploited in the eleventh century.¹⁶¹ They were worked in the Ming dynasty,¹⁶² not only for the pigment itself, but also because the realgar was used to adulterate cinnabar. These diggings were also active during the Ch'ing period.¹⁶⁴ Tun-huang, far to the northwest, also produced some realgar, at least in the sixth century, but this source seems not to have been used in later periods.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵³ *Shui-ching chu* 37. 16a.

¹⁵⁴ Quoted in PTKM.

¹⁵⁵ *Ch'ing shih k'ao* 5. 18a.

¹⁵⁶ *Hu-nan t'ung-chih* ^{tt} (1885 ed.) 61. 42a; Weng Wen-hao, *op. cit.* 195.

¹⁵⁷ Apparently the realgar of Kung-ch'ang-fu,^{tu} in *Kan-su t'ung-chih* 20. 2a, refers to these same deposits.

¹⁵⁸ *Pao-p'u-tzu* 2. 28a.

¹⁵⁹ So T'ao Hung-ching, quoted in PTKM.

¹⁶⁰ Su Kung, quoted in PTKM.

¹⁶¹ See Su Kung in PTKM, and Chang Shih-nan *loc. cit.*

¹⁶² *Ming i-t'ung chih* ^{tv} 35. 28a.

¹⁶³ Li Shih-chen, PTKM.

¹⁶⁴ *Hsiu-hsiu Shan-hsi-sheng t'ung-chih k'ao* 192. 14a; A. J. C. Geerts, *op. cit.* 179.

¹⁶⁵ T'ao Hung-ching, *Ming-i pieh-lu*, in PTKM. Possi-

¹⁴⁶ *Hou Han shu* 33. 0709b. Cf. quotation from *Hua-yang kuo-chih* in *Ssu-ch'uan t'ung-chih* ^{tp} (1816 ed.) 74. 28a, to the same effect.

¹⁴⁷ *Ch'ing shih k'ao* ^{ta} 5. 17b, for Hsi-yang.^{fr}

¹⁴⁸ *Hou Han shu* 33. 0709a.

¹⁴⁹ *Kuei-chou t'ung-chih* ^{ts} (1741 ed.) 15. 7a.

¹⁵⁰ H. T. Chang, *op. cit.* 213.

¹⁵¹ Unless we take Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju's reference to the orpiment of Yün-meng as pointing to them.

^{151a} *Chin shu* 29. 1166c.

¹⁵² Quoted in PTKM.

The realgar mines of Yunnan, important in modern times,¹⁶⁶ apparently came to the attention of the Chinese first in the T'ang dynasty, when that region was still controlled by the Thais of Nan-chao. The mineral was found on the river called Meng-she,^{cf} the district later entitled Meng-hua-fu,^{cs} south of Ta-li.¹⁶⁷ The realgar was excavated from a mountain called by the Chinese Shih-mu,^{ch} "Stone Mother," and alternately named Shih-huang, "Stony Yellow."¹⁶⁸

In addition to the better known localities, T'ao Hung-ching mentions realgar from Shih-hsing,^{ci} in modern Kwangtung,¹⁶⁹ and the mineral was also mined in Kuo-hua-t'u-chou^{ci} in Kwangsi during the Ch'ing dynasty, but this source was soon exhausted.¹⁷⁰

There is little to be said about the use of realgar as a pigment in China. Li Shih-chen mentions it, saying that it yields a yellow color when ground fine.¹⁷¹ So say also writings of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,¹⁷² but ancient references to such a use are lacking, and nowhere is there any indication that it was regarded as at all comparable to orpiment for painting, as indeed it is not.

On the other hand, realgar has been important in Chinese medicine since antiquity. Its virtues are basically of three sorts, and all three of these are mentioned in the *Shen-nung pen-ts'ao ching*. In short, they were probably well established in principle in the Han dynasty. They are: (1) as a general restorative and rejuvenator; for lightening the body to the condition of a deity or Taoist sylph; (2) for specific diseases, notably chills and fever, scrofula, ulcers, abscesses, and necrosis; (3) against insect and reptile poisons. These applications of the drug are mentioned again and again, with some variations, in all of the Chinese medical writings down to the time of Li Shih-chen himself.

Ko Hung, of course, makes much of the ability

of realgar to rejuvenate the human body; indeed he states that a preparation of the mineral with copper and mercury will restore the sight, darken the hair, and cause fallen teeth to grow again.¹⁷⁴ He states, however, that inferior realgar, which, lacking the red brilliance of the best Wu-tu material, is distinguished by its yellow color, is suitable only for ordinary medicines, and may not be applied to the divine purpose of bringing supernatural vitality.¹⁷⁵ These notions have maintained themselves wherever and whenever the doctrines of the early alchemists have continued in vogue.^{175a}

It was believed by Su Sung (eleventh century) that realgar was used by the physicians of the ancient Chou dynasty as specific against ulcers. He cites in evidence of this the statement of the Han scholiast Cheng Hsüan^{ck} to the effect that the "five poisons" used by the Chou experts in internal medicine for this purpose¹⁷⁶ were thought in his own day to be chalcantite (blue vitriol), cinnabar, realgar, alum, and magnetite, that is, the mineral representatives of the universal five-color doctrine. Whether or not this view was correct, it is very possible that arsenic salts were used on ulcerations by the pre-Han doctors. Lei Hsiao (fifth century) gives a complex recipe for preparing realgar for medicinal use. This includes mixing the mineral with a large amount of licorice, mallow, oil-beetle, and an unknown flower. The mixture is ground up, washed, heated, powdered and dried, before it can be put to use.¹⁷⁷ Sun Ssu-miao,^{cl} a seventh-century pharmacist, states on the other hand that realgar must always be boiled in oil over a period of nine days before it can be taken internally.¹⁷⁸ Li Shih-chen gives the alternate method of boiling with rice-vinegar and radish juice.¹⁷⁹ To the diseases for which arsenic sulphide had traditionally been prescribed, mostly skin diseases, Shih-chen adds alcoholism

bly this was the mine that produced the orpiment used in the paintings found by Stein at Tun-huang.

¹⁶⁶ See *Yün-nan t'ung-chih* ^{tw} (1835 ed.) 26. 34b-35a. 70. 47a; Weng Wen-hao, *loc. cit.*; Ernest Watson, *op. cit.* 509.

¹⁶⁷ Fan Ch'o,^{tx} *Man shu* ^{ty} (in *Chieh-hsi ts'un she ts'ung-k'an* ^{tz}) 32b. 33a.

¹⁶⁸ *Yün-nan t'ung-chih* *loc. cit.*

¹⁶⁹ In PTKM.

¹⁷⁰ *Kuang-hsi t'ung-chih* ^{za} (1891 reprint of 1800 ed.) 92. 23b.

¹⁷¹ PTKM.

¹⁷² *Hsü-hsiu Shan-hsi-sheng t'ung-chih k'ao* 192. 14a; Ernest Watson, *op. cit.* 509.

¹⁷³ *Pen ching* quoted in PTKM.

¹⁷⁴ *Pao-p'u-tzu* 1. 22a-b.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 2. 28a-b.

^{175a} I am strongly reminded of the peasants and mountaineers of Central Europe who ingest arsenic regularly for a sense of glowing health, great endurance, and a rosy complexion. See Carl Joseph Steiner, *Das Mineralreich nach seiner Stellung in Mythologie und Volksglauben, in Sitte und Sage, in Geschichte und Litteratur, im Sprichwort und Volksfest* (Gotha, 1895), 66-7.

¹⁷⁶ Chou li, T'ien kuan, Yang-i.^{sb}

¹⁷⁷ Quoted in PTKM.

¹⁷⁸ Quoted in PTKM.

¹⁷⁹ PTKM.

and vertigo.¹⁸⁰ Realgar continues to have a place in the Chinese pharmacopoeia of the twentieth century.¹⁸¹

The special virtue of realgar as an antidote to venoms has been emphasized by writers of every period. Ko Hung, for instance, states that snake-bite may be cured by the simple process of rubbing fragments of the drug into the wound.¹⁸² T'ao Hung-ching adds that it is also effective against the vegetable poison false-hellebore (*Veratrum*).¹⁸³ Chen Ch'üan^{cm} (seventh century) prescribes it against all poisons and malignancies.¹⁸⁴ The *T'aming jih-hua pen-ts'ao*,^{cm} a tenth century compilation, alleges that realgar can be effectively applied to any wound made by an insect, a reptile, or a wild beast.¹⁸⁵ Even the great Sung poet, Su Tung-p'o, is said to have prescribed swallowing a bolus compounded of realgar, alum and wax, as antidote for poisons.¹⁸⁶ These include the concoctions^{co} of professional poisoners, made from crushed centipedes, snakes, etc., a point which Li Shih-chen makes much of.¹⁸⁷

Connected with this potency against poisons on the one hand, and the effectiveness of arsenic as an insecticide on the other,¹⁸⁸ was the belief that realgar, taken internally, had the power to quell "serpents" lodged within the body itself. A T'ang dynasty wonder-worker gave a sick man a dose of realgar, saying that his illness was the result of swallowing a hair, and the patient forthwith vomited a snake.¹⁸⁹ Another tale of the same period tells of an official who had an immature dragon driven from his belly by a potion of niter and realgar.¹⁹⁰ We may surmise that some of these loathsome creatures were parasitical worms.

¹⁸⁰ PTKM.

¹⁸¹ Weng Wen-hao, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸² *Pao-p'u-tzu* 4. 5b.

¹⁸³ Quoted in PTKM.

¹⁸⁴ Quoted in PTKM.

¹⁸⁵ Quoted in PTKM.

¹⁸⁶ Quoted in PTKM.

¹⁸⁷ PTKM.

¹⁸⁸ This seems to be the sense of a passage in the *Wan pi shu*,^{sc} attributed to Huai-nan Wang,^{sd} cited in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 988. 2b: "Burn Male Yellow by night, and the water insects form ranks! The water insects detect the fetid odor of the Male Yellow, and all rush to the fire!" In modern China, realgar is sprinkled on hot coals to overcome mosquitoes; see A. J. C. Geerts, *op. cit.* 179.

¹⁸⁹ *T'ang shu* 204. 4106a.

¹⁹⁰ Cheng Ch'ü-hui,^{se} *Ming-huang tsa-lu* 11 (T'ang-tai ts'ung-shu 4. 16a-b).

A further generalization was made about the miraculous virtue of realgar: it was regarded as a general apotropaion, the bane of every sort of noxious reptile and evil spirit. There was a tradition that the gigantic serpents on the Round Hill^{op} in the country of the immortals could be exorcized with essence of realgar.¹⁹¹ Indeed this potent drug is able to kill all spectres, demons, malignant emanations, and even to give protection against weapons.¹⁹² T'ao Hung-ching tells that it is effective against internal disorders caused by ghosts.¹⁹³ Su Kung (seventh century) states that it should be swallowed as protection against every manner of evil thing.¹⁹⁴ A story written in the thirteenth century tells of a man who was saved from the clutches of a river-demon by the presence of a little realgar in his hair.^{194a}

Not only could realgar repel malignant beings, but it had also the reverse influence on benevolent spirits. So Ko Hung advised the ingestion of a realgar preparation by alchemists to compel the attendance and service of the divine Jade Woman, who could be recognized by the golden spot above her nose.¹⁹⁵

In the Imperial Treasury at Nara in Japan, the Shōsōin,^{ca} is an egg-shaped object of prepared realgar, of Chinese origin, presumably transmitted to Japan in the eighth century as a great medicinal treasure.¹⁹⁶ No one, it seems, has suggested a specific purpose for this artifact. But it must have been intended as a talisman against demons and reptiles. There are many references to such objects in Chinese literature. Already in the fourth century Ko Hung wrote that one could protect oneself against malignant spitting reptiles by carrying an egg-shaped ball composed of realgar and chives.¹⁹⁷ Elsewhere the same writer says that a man should "gird himself" with realgar before entering a forest, in order to ward off rep-

¹⁹¹ *Yüan-chung chi*,^{sh} quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 988. 2b; *Pao-p'u-tzu* 4. 5b.

¹⁹² *Shen-nung pen-ts'ao ching*, in PTKM.

¹⁹³ Quoted in PTKM.

¹⁹⁴ Quoted in PTKM.

^{194a} Lu Ying-lung,st *Kua-i chih* 11 (in *Shuo fu* 11b-12a).

¹⁹⁵ *Pao-p'u-tzu* 2. 28b.

¹⁹⁶ See *Shōsōin tana-betsu mokuroku* 11 North 111, No. 171, and Kōichi Kimura, "Ancient Drugs preserved in the Shōsōin," *Occasional Papers of the Kansai Asiatic Society*, No. 1 (Kyoto, February, 1954).

¹⁹⁷ *Pao-p'u-tzu* 4. 7a.

tiles.¹⁹⁸ Later Chen Ch'üan advocated that travelers wear a piece of it as a sure talisman against spirits, tigers, wolves, and venomous creatures.¹⁹⁹ The *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* outlines procedures designed to give safety from incubi and other nightmares. A piece the size of a date is to be worn under the left armpit, or on top of the head, for security against dream-demons; a woman who has had intercourse with an incubus reveals her situation by talking and laughing to herself, and by her general melancholy: she can be relieved by fumigating her genitals with a ball of realgar and pitch.²⁰⁰ The realgar ovoid in the *Shōsōin* must have been intended for purposes like these.

We have noted that in Han times the stones representing the five cardinal colors were used in medicine. This quintuple array also became important in alchemy. Ko Hung's list, differing from the one reproduced above in respect to the blue representative, is: Cinnabar^{cr} ("cinnabar sand," for Red), Realgar ("male yellow," for Yellow), Alum^{cs} ("white alum," for White), Azurite^{ct} ("layered verditer,"²⁰¹ for Blue), and Magnetite^{cu} ("sympathetic stone," for Black).²⁰² All of these substances are used together to prepare the Taoist elixir named "Cinnabar of the Nine Lights,"^{cv} which, like most cinnabar-elixirs, has the double function of etherializing the body and transforming base metals into gold.

In another place, Ko Hung gives a long list of "sylph-drugs,"^{cw} i. e. those natural substances which, properly prepared, make drugs to transform the initiate into a sylph-man, with a rarified body, the ability to fly, and a prolonged life. The first nine of these materials are by far the most important, and of these eight are mineral substances. The others, which I do not reproduce here, are in the main vegetables, relatively despised by the alchemists. Ko Hung lists the basic nine in order of their potency, as follows:

- (1) Cinnabar Sand^{cr} (cinnabar)
- (2) Yellow Metal^{cx} (gold)
- (3) White Silver^{cy} (silver)
- (4) Various *Fomes*^{cz} (*Fomes* fungi)
- (5) Five Jadestones^{da} (jades of different colors)
- (6) Cloud Mother^{db} (mica)
- (7) Luminous Pearl^{dc} (pearl)
- (8) Male Yellow (realgar)
- (9) Rations Left by T'ai-i and Yü^{dd} (botryoidal limonite)²⁰³

A number of recipes for drugs whose purpose is to bring sylphdom and to make gold are collected in *Pao-p'u-tzu*, notably in Books IV, XI and XVI. The most important of these is one for "realgar water."^{de} This is not itself an elixir, but is an essential reagent used to prepare a number of different elixirs. It is made in this way:

Prepare "male yellow" and put it inside of a tube of fresh bamboo. For each catty taken, add two taels of niter-stone, covering and spreading it on top and bottom. Seal this with pellets of lacquered bone, and insert it in heavy wine which has largely vinegarized. Bury it three feet deep. In twenty days it will be transformed into a liquid.²⁰⁴

The presence of niter in this formula is significant. Elsewhere Ko Hung states that realgar can be liquified by the use of niter,²⁰⁵ from which we may judge that the now well-known fluxing property of saltpeter was common knowledge among the chemists of fourth century China. Indeed, this chemical fact must be much older than that, since the very word for niter^{df} means "fluxing stone."^{dg}

Ko Hung recommends the use of Wu-tu realgar for these experiments, as the purest material available. This view continued in force over many centuries, so that Su Sung wrote in the Sung dynasty of the realgar from the cliffs of Wu-tu that it was light-bodied and very efficacious, and greatly valued by the "Familiars of the Cinnabar Furnace."²⁰⁶

There is some evidence that the Chinese alchemists knew how to make realgar artificially in early times. Li Shih-chen cites a recipe, which he attributes to Fan Wang^{dh} of the late third century. This produces a "flying yellow powder,"^{di} which is realgar itself.²⁰⁷ It is very likely that this end-

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 4. 5b.

¹⁹⁹ Quoted in PTKM.

²⁰⁰ PTKM, quoting traditional recipes.

²⁰¹ This expression has sometimes been thought to refer to malachite, green verditer. Both azurite and malachite are carbonates of copper, and occur together in nature as ores of that metal. I hope in another essay to make clear the reasons, too long to explain here, why "layered verditer" and "hollow verditer" stand for the blue carbonate rather than the green.

²⁰² *Pao-p'u-tzu* 1. 21b.

²⁰³ *Ibid.* 2. 22b.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 3. 33a.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 2. 28b.

²⁰⁶ Quoted in PTKM.

²⁰⁷ PTKM.

product actually appeared, since native realgar was one of the original ingredients, and the arsenic and sulphur might readily recombine in the sublimation process.

The belief that realgar could transform copper into gold held sway over a long period. The sixth century *Ming-i pieh-lu* asserts this as a fact,²⁰⁸ many texts in the Taoist canon echo the belief,²⁰⁹ and Li Shih-chen wrote in the sixteenth century that realgar got its name "male yellow" from its ability to produce the yellow metal.²¹⁰ But in addition to having this power to transform another substance, realgar *itself* could be changed into gold, as is regularly implied by the gold-making recipes in *Pao-p'u-tzu*. This idea is related to the conception that there is a genetic relationship between gold and realgar. So the *Tan-fang chien-yüan* ^{di} ²¹¹ states that realgar is naturally transformed into gold after a thousand years, while an early (fifth century) technical compendium says that orpiment is the ultimate gold-bearing substance, which becomes in turn realgar and finally gold.²¹² Another view of the relationship between realgar and gold was that the former mineral was a kind of efflorescence or "sprout" ^{dk} of the yellow metal, as the verditers are of copper. This belief was founded on the observation that realgar was often present in gold mines and smelters.²¹³ This relationship was correctly rejected by K'ou Tsung-shih,^{dl} a pharmacologist of the early twelfth century, on the grounds that gold had been found in many places without accompanying realgar.²¹⁴

It is very likely that small amounts of gold were recovered from arsenic ores by the Chinese metallurgists, repeating the experience of Caligula. This would tend to confirm the conclusions based on observing the two minerals together in mines, and strengthen the hopes of the experimental chemists. Also, copper-arsenic alloys may have been regarded as a special form of gold, in much the same way as the alloys and tinctured metals of the Alexandrian Greeks.

²⁰⁸ In PTKM.

²⁰⁹ For instance, the *Tan-fang chien-yüan*, in *Tao Tsang*, Tung-shen Section, "Assembled Arts," *Ju*.

²¹⁰ PTKM.

²¹¹ In *Tao Tsang*, *loc. cit.*

²¹² Wang Chien-p'ing,sm *Tien shu*,^{sn} cited in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 988.3a.

²¹³ So avers Chen Ch'üan (seventh century), cited in PTKM.

²¹⁴ Quoted in PTKM.

This leads to the question of the meaning of arsenic detected in rather considerable quantities (around 4%) in some copper objects of the Shang dynasty. The Japanese scholar Mitsukuni Yoshida ^{dm} has suggested in a recent article that the arsenic in these bronzes may well have been added purposely by the Shang craftsmen, in the same manner as tin, to harden the copper, and to improve its casting qualities. Yoshida believes that the arsenic may have been in part derived from the native sulphides, orpiment and realgar.²¹⁵ It must be said that the evidence for this is rather slight. A similar suggestion was made many years ago to account for the presence of arsenic in bronzes from Egypt and Cyprus.²¹⁶ But metallurgists are now generally agreed that bronze-age technology was not sufficiently advanced to allow specific knowledge of the properties of arsenic, as distinct from similar-looking metals such as tin, zinc, antimony, and bismuth. Moreover these modern authorities point out that the desirable qualities of arsenic are easily overrated—added to copper it increases the toughness of that metal only when present in minute quantities, much less than the amounts found in these ancient artifacts. In larger amounts, the alloy is very brittle. Finally, arsenic is commonly found in copper ores, and it should be viewed as an impurity in manufactured objects.²¹⁷ Finally, there is no evidence that the Chinese of that remote epoch knew anything about the relation between arsenic and its yellow sulphides.

The evidence from ancient Peru illustrates what probably happened in ancient China. A hatchet found there was proved to contain more than 4% of arsenic. But the copper deposits in this area contain copper sulphides mingled with arsenic sulphides, and it seems certain that the bronze produced was the unplanned result of primitive refining methods using this mixture as an ore.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ "Notes on the Technology of the Yin Dynasty," ^{so} in *Tōhōgakuho* ^{sp} No. 23 (Kyoto, 1953), 167-171. The author also notes the presence of arsenic-bronze at Mohenjo-daro.

²¹⁶ See Wilhelm Witter, "Die technische Verwendung von Kupfer-Arsenlegierungen im Altertum," *Metall und Erz* 33.5 (1936), 118-120 for a history of the controversy.

²¹⁷ W. Witter, *op. cit.* 118; R. J. Forbes, *op. cit.* 266, 268, 350; private communication from Professor S. F. Ravitz, Division of Mineral Technology, University of California, Berkeley, dated 28 February 1955.

²¹⁸ W. Witter, *loc. cit.*

It is likely that the ancient Chinese exploited a similar deposit for some of their castings. The case would be strengthened by the discovery of such bronze-age workings in North China, but they may well have been exhausted in early times.²¹⁹

From the eleventh century, at least, realgar has been a frequent ingredient in artifacts of Chinese chemical warfare. A recipe of A. D. 1044 for catapulted incendiary bombs prescribes sulphur, niter, realgar, massicot, laquer, pitch, and a number of minor components.²²⁰ Some formulae of the seventeenth century are also known, which assign to realgar an important place in various explosive powders, especially those calculated to have a poisonous effect.²²¹ Realgar has also been frequently used in non-military pyrotechnics, especially for producing dense yellow smoke, or more commonly in the brilliantly white Bengal Lights, "electric stars," and "silver showers."²²² The mineral is still used for these latter fireworks.²²³

Finally, realgar, being a soft compact substance, lends itself readily to carving into small objects.

²¹⁹ Enargite, a double sulphide of copper and arsenic is worked in some places, as Butte, Montana, as an ore of copper, though it is not clear whether primitive technology could have coped with this mineral. W. Witter observes that arsenic-bronze produced from a mixed ore lends itself well to cold hammering, but this was no doubt regarded as an idiosyncrasy of the particular ore.

²²⁰ Tenney L. Davis and James R. Ware, "Early Chinese Military Pyrotechnics," *Journal of Chemical Education* 24.11 (November, 1947), 523-4.

²²¹ *Ibid.* 525-6.

²²² Tenney L. Davis and Chao Yün-ts'ung, Chao Hsüeh-min's Outline of Pyrotechnics; a Contribution to the History of Fireworks," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 75 (1943), 95-107; Tenney L. Davis, *The Chemistry of Powder and Explosives* I (New York and London, 1941), 52, 64, 77, 83.

²²³ Ernest Watson, *op. cit.* 509. Watson also mentions realgar as a gold solder, but I have been unable to find Chinese references.

H. T. Chang has pointed out that courtiers of the Ming dynasty sometimes carried small cakes of realgar, called "hand warmers,"²²⁴ which were supposed to heat the whole body.²²⁴ In Ch'ing times, cups and other vessels, as well as human figures, have been carved from pieces of realgar by the artisans of Kuei-yang-fu.²²⁵ Realgar jewelry, especially carved beads, linked with quartz, agate and jade, have been observed in modern China, while carved *netsuke* were until lately popular in Japan as talismans against fevers and maladies of the blood.²²⁶ I have not discovered any ancient or medieval reference to such carvings, but their ancestors may be the anti-demoniac eggs and similar objects of earlier ages. Particularly interesting are the polished medicine cups made of realgar, at least as old as the seventeenth century. Enough arsenic dissolved in the potion from the inner face of the cup to constitute a medicinal dose.²²⁷ These remind us strongly of the *pocula emetica* made of antimony in the West, which worked in exactly the same way.²²⁸ Perhaps a historical connection between these vessels may be demonstrated some day.

²²⁴ H. T. Chang, *op. cit.* 213.

²²⁵ Kuei-chou t'ung-chih 15.3a.

²²⁶ A. J. C. Geerts, *op. cit.* 177-8. Cf. F. de Mély, *op. cit.* 202.

²²⁷ See Daniel Hanbury, *Science Papers, chiefly Pharmacological and Botanical; edited, with memoir, by Joseph Ince* (London, 1876), 221, for a description and illustration of one of these cups. Marcello Muccioli, in his brief study of arsenic minerals in the Chinese materia medica, based on the *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* ("L'arsenico presso i Cinesi," *Archivio di storia della scienza* 8 [1927], 65-76), doubts the existence of such cups, for which he was criticized by Laufer in *Isis* 10 (1928), 238.

²²⁸ A study of these emetic wine-cups is unfortunately not available to me: it is St. Clair Thompson, "Antimonyall Cupps: Pocula Emetica or Calices Vomitorii," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 19 (Sect. Hist. Med., 1926), 123-8.

TEXT

a. 黃	ac. 潘	be. 帝男精	cg. 蒙化府
b. 青	ad. 徒	bf. 帝男血	ch. 石母
c. 赭	ae. 背陰	bg. 高	ci. 始興
d. 丹	af. 額黃	bh. 皇人	cj. 果化土州
e. 石黃	ag. 鉛黃	bi. 長沙	ck. 鄭玄
f. 子虛賦	ah. 倭名類聚抄	bj. 槐江	cl. 孫思邈
g. 司馬相如	ai. 神農本草經	bk. 軒轅	cm. 甄權
h. 雌黃	aj. 雷擊	bl. 泓	cn. 大明日華本草
i. 雄黃	ak. 葛洪	bm. 中曲	co. 蠱
j. 陶弘景	al. 韓保昇	bn. 譙明	cp. 員丘
k. 金精	am. 蜀本草	bo. 菽	cq. 正倉院
l. 空青	an. 吳普	bp. 白邊	cr. 丹砂
m. 銅精	ao. 雞冠石	bq. 陽華	cs. 白礬
n. 李時珍	ap. 蘇頌	br. 女几	ct. 曾青
o. 帝女血	aq. 黃金石	bs. 龜	cu. 慈石
p. 玄臺月	ar. 熏黃	bt. 大夫	cv. 九光丹
q. 黃龍血	as. 臭黃	bu. 青	cw. 仙藥
r. 黃安	at. 雄精	bv. 青碧雌黃	cx. 黃金
s. 武都	au. 明黃	bw. 永豐州	cy. 白銀
t. 仇池	av. 土黃	bx. 南籠府	cz. 諸芝
u. 階	aw. 塊黃	by. 南平	da. 五玉
v. 成	ax. 朱雀筋	bz. 石門	db. 雲母
w. 肅州	ay. 白陵	ca. 水經注	dc. 明珠
x. 慈州	az. 黃奴	cb. 零陵	dd. 太乙禹餘糧
y. 蒙化	ba. 男精	cc. 掌禹錫	de. 雄黃水
z. 大理	bb. 太師首中	cd. 黃石山	df. 硝石
aa. 夜郎	bc. 丹山月魂	ce. 宕昌	dg. 消石
ab. 牂牁	bd. 深黃期	cf. 蒙舍	dh. 范汪
			di. 飛黃散

dj. 丹房鑑源
dk. 苗
dl. 寇宗奭
dm. 吉思光邦
dn. 暖手
do. 貴陽府

NOTES

dp. 流黃
dq. 四部叢刊
dr. 叢書集成
ds. 本草綱目
dt. 鄒道元
du. 水經注
dv. 崑崙黃
dw. 下野圖
dx. 上村六郎
dy. 佛教美術
dz. 其土則丹青楮堊堆黃白垠
ea. 梅彪
eb. 藥石爾雅
ec. 道藏
ed. 洞神部
ee. 聚術
ef. 王衍
eg. 張世南
eh. 游宦紀聞
ei. 甘肅通志
ej. 翁文灝

ek. 中國鑛產誌略
el. 地質專報
em. 雲南通志
en. 華陽國志
eo. 程大昌
ep. 演繁露
eq. 學津討源
er. 吳越春秋
es. 太平御覽
et. 土宿真君
eu. 韶粉
ev. 鉛燒
ew. 胡粉
ex. 原田淑人
ey. 東亞古文化研究
ez. 東洋美術
fa. 抱朴子
fb. 子書百家
fc. 名醫別錄
fd. 沈括
fe. 夢溪筆談
ff. 金石簿五九數訣
fg. 陳藏器
fh. 蘇恭
fi. 續修陝西省通志稿
fj. 章鴻釗
fk. 石雅
fl. 桑黃雄
fm. 赤厨桑

fn. 近利迦
fo. 蚨
fp. 四川通志
fq. 清史稿
fr. 從陽
fs. 貴州通志
ft. 湖南通志
fu. 鞏昌府
fv. 明一統志
fw. 雲南通志
fx. 樊輝
fy. 蠻書
fz. 漸西村舍叢刊
ga. 廣西通志
gb. 瘍醫
gc. 萬華術
gd. 淮南王
ge. 鄭處誨
gf. 明皇雜錄
gg. 唐代叢書
gh. 元中記
gi. 魯應龍
gj. 括異志
gk. 說郛
gl. 正倉院棚別目錄
gm. 王建平
gn. 典術
go. 殷代技術
gp. 東方學報



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THE EARLY HISTORY OF LEAD PIGMENTS AND COSMETICS IN CHINA

BY

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The oxides of lead, minium, litharge and massicot¹), have probably been known, at least as curiosities, as long as lead itself, as ordinary by-products of the extraction of the metal from galena²). The metallurgy of lead is very ancient: in Asia Minor it seems to go back to the third millenium B.C. The separation of admixed silver from galena by cupellation is also very old³).

The beginnings of the manufacture of lead pigments in China, then, may be as old as lead metallurgy itself. It is well known that many ancient Chinese bronze artifacts, like the coins of Imperial Athens and some old Hittite bronzes, contain lead, sometimes a

¹) Definitions of technical terms used: (a) *galena*, PbS, a gray mineral with metallic luster, chief ore of lead; when argentiferous, also an ore of silver. (b) *litharge*, PbO, a reddish mineral, dimorphous with massicot; in technology, fused lead oxide, used as a paint- and varnish-drier. (c) *massicot*, PbO, a yellowish mineral, dimorphous with litharge; in technology, unfused lead oxide, sometimes used as a pigment. (d) *minium*, Pb₃O₄, a bright red mineral; in technology, Red Lead, a pigment. (e) *cerrusite*, PbCO₃, a white mineral, sometimes an ore of lead. (f) *ceruse*, (Pb.OH)₂Pb(CO₃)₂. White Lead, an artifical pigment. (g) *cinnabar*, HgS, a red mineral. (h) *vermilion*, HgS, artifical cinnabar, a pigment. (i) *vermeil*, a color suggesting vermilion, or vermilion-colored. In this paper the words "litharge", "massicot", and "minium" will always be used of the artifical products, not the minerals. For mineralogical and technological details, see C. Palache et al., *The System of Mineralogy of James Dwight Dana and Edward Salisbury Dana, Yale University 1837-1892*, Seventh Edition, Vol. I (New York, 1946); R. J. Gettens and G. L. Stout, *Painting Materials; a Short Encyclopaedia* (New York, 1942).

²) Wm. H. Pulsifer, *Notes for a history of lead; and an inquiry into the development of the manufacture of white lead and lead oxides* (New York, 1888), pp. 336-7; private communication from Rutherford J. Gettens (Freer Gallery of Art), dated 16 December, 1955.

³) R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity; a notebook for archaeologists and technologists* (Leiden, 1950), p. 172; J. R. Partington, *Origins and Development of Applied Chemistry* (London, New York, Toronto, 1935), p. 343, 351. Cupellation apparently dates from the Mycenaean age.

very large amount, even to the total exclusion of tin. These include vessels and weapons thought to belong to the Shang period, and many objects, including mirrors and coins, of the late Chou Dynasty ¹⁾. „Bronzes” containing as much as 16% of lead are not uncommon. Some vessels, presumably of the Chou Dynasty, have lead as their chief constituent. This alloy, similar to modern „bearing bronze”, is sometimes more like solder than anything worthy of the name „bronze”.

Lead coins of the ancient Ch’u state are known ²⁾, and a tomb of the Western Han period near Ch’ang-sha has yielded two hundred lead ingots ³⁾.

In short, archeological evidence indicates that lead was smelted

¹⁾ Masumi Chikashige, *Alchemy and other chemical achievements of the Ancient Orient* (Tokyo, 1936), p. 66, 76 ff.; Tsurumatsu Dōno 道野鶴松, “Kodai Shina kahei no kaga-kuteki-kenkyū” 古代支那貨幣の化學的研究, *Nippon Kagakukai-shi* 日本化學會誌, 53.1 (Jan 1932), 100-109; S. Komatsu 小松茂 and Y. Yamanouchi 山内淑人, “Tōyō ko-dōki no kagakuteki-kenkyū” 東洋古銅器の化學的研究, *Tōhōgaku-hō* 東方學報, 3 (Kyoto, March, 1933), 295-303; Shih Chang-ju 石璋如, “Yin-tai-ti ch’ou-t’ung kung-i” 殷代的鑄銅工藝, *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, 26 (Taipei, 1935), 95-130; Sueji Umehara 梅原末治, *Kan-izen no kokyō no kenkyū* 漢以前の古鏡の研究 (Kyoto, 1935), p. 63; S. Umehara, “Shigo no son’i no kagaku-seibun ni tsuite” 四五の尊彝の化學成分に就て, *Ikeuchi Hakushi kanreki kinen tōyōshi ronsō* 池内博士還曆記念東洋史論叢 (Tokyo, 1940), pp. 163-184; S. Umehara, “Shina ko-dō-riki no seibun ni kan-suru kokōgakuteki-kōsatsu” 支那古銅利器の成分に關する考古學的考察, *Tōhōgaku-hō*, 11.3 (Kyoto, October, 1940), 1-34; Y. Yamanouchi et al., “Kodai-riki no kagakuteki-kenkyū” 古代利器の化學的研究, *Tōhōgaku-hō*, 11.2 (Kyoto, July, 1940), 13-20.

²⁾ Wang Yü-ch’üan, *Early Chinese Coinage* (New York, 1951), pp. 182-3.

³⁾ T. Sekino, “Recent Archaeological Investigation in China”, *Archaeology*, 6.1 (Spring, 1953), 52.

during the Chou period, and very probably in Shang also. Possibly Ch'u, in south central China, was an important source of the metal.

An important early use of lead compounds, at least from the late Chou period (6th to 4th cent. B.C.), was in the manufacture of glass beads. Such lead glass (modern "flint glass") was characteristically Chinese. Although the art of glass-making may have been introduced from the West, lead glass itself was very rare in the ancient Mediterranean world. As an important contribution to the history of glass technology, lead glass may be counted as a Chinese invention ¹⁾. Similarly, the lead ceramic glazes of the Han Dynasty are a typical Chinese product. A sample contains 65.45% of lead oxide ²⁾. Salts of lead, doubtless the oxides, must have been prepared for both glass and glazes during the latter part of the Chou Dynasty.

Looking at the literary evidence, we find that the word *ch'ien* 鉛 is very rare in Chou texts ³⁾. Judging from the literature of the Han Dynasty, and from commentators on the Chou classics, lead was regarded as a variety of tin, sometimes called "black tin". The "tin" of South China (Yang-chou), alluded to in the *Chou li*, may be supposed to include lead also ⁴⁾. The *locus classicus* of the

¹⁾ Patrick D. Ritchie, "Spectrographic Studies on Ancient Glass. Chinese Glass from Pre-Han to T'ang Times", *Technical Studies in the Field of the Fine Arts*, 5.4 (April, 1937), 210; George Sarton, "Chinese glass of the beginning of the Confucian age", *Isis*, 25 (May, 1936), 73-79; C. G. Seligman and H. C. Beck, "Far Eastern Glass: some Western origins", *B.M.F.E.A.*, 10 (1938), 4-5.

²⁾ B. Laufer, *The Beginnings of Porcelain in China* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropology Series, vol. 15, No. 2, Chicago, 1917), p. 93; O. Siren, *A History of Early Chinese Art: The Han Period* (London, 1930), pp. 56-7.

³⁾ In *Hsün tzu*, the graph 鉛 occurs as a substitute for its old homophone 沿.

⁴⁾ *Chou li*, Chih-fang-shih and Chih-chin sections. In later times also South China was the chief source of lead. See Teng Ssu-yü, "T'ang-tai k'uang-wu ch'an-ti-piao" 唐代鑛物產地考, *Yü Kung* 禹貢, 1.11 (August 1, 1934), 22-29. This study locates all of the lead mines of the T'ang Dynasty south of the Yangtze River, in a belt running from NNE to SSW.

word *ch'ien* is the "Tribute of Yü" section of the *Shu ching*, where it is listed among the products of the Ch'ing region, approximately modern Shantung, and indeed there are still some deposits of galena in this province ¹). More of interest for the history of technology is a passage in the *Kuan-tzu*, probably of late Chou times:

"Where there is ochre on a mountain, there is iron below it.
Where there is *ch'ien* above, there is silver below it." ²)

These sentences are accurate empirical maxims to aid the prospector and miner, and show that the extraction of silver from galena was known in pre-Ch'in times ³). It may be inferred from these two textual occurrences that in the Chou Dynasty the metal lead was thought of as a kind of tin, but that the word *ch'ien* was then the name of a mineral or ore rather than of a metal. It was, in fact "galena", whose appearance is strikingly different from cassiterite, the common ore of tin. *Galena* was the tribute of Ch'ing, and surface galena was the sign of a potential silver mine.

MASSICOT

Yellow paint on pottery vessels of pre-Han date, found in South Manchuria, has proved to be an oxide of lead ⁴). This is either massicot, or else minium much mixed with massicot. Whichever it is, this remains as solitary instance, and only fur-

¹) Wong Wen-hao, "The Mineral Resources of China", *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of China*, Ser. B. No. 1 (July, 1919), 106 (in Chinese).

²) *Kuan tzu*, Ti-shu (*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* ed., 23, 1b-2a). The text also associates cinnabar with gold, and magnetite with copper. These are less reliable but not useless indices.

³) See Ch'en Wen-t'ao, *Hsien-Ch'in tzu-jan-hsüeh k'ai-lun* 先秦自然學概論 (Shanghai, 1928), p. 112.

⁴) K. Hamada, *P'i-tzu-wo, prehistoric sites by the River Pi-liu Ho, South Manchuria* (Archaeologia Orientalia, Vol. I, Kyoto and Tokyo, 1929), p. 9 (English text), p. 28 (Japanese text). Despite the "prehistoric" of Hamada's title, J. G. Andersson regards these artifacts as "only slightly prior to Han." See his "Researches into the Prehistory of the Chinese", *B.M.F.E.A.*, 15 (Stockholm, 1943), 274.

ther (and much-needed) analyses of ancient paints will show how frequently this pigment was employed by the Chinese ¹⁾. Massicot is inferior to orpiment as a yellow pigment, and it is probable that the latter was generally preferred ²⁾.

Moreover we are embarrassed to discover an unequivocal name for massicot in Chinese literature. The common expression *huang-tan* 黃丹 "yellow cinnabar" is usually said to refer to minium, despite the color epithet. The celebrated pharmacologist T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景 describes how this substance was made by heating lead in accordance with a little-known Taoist recipe ³⁾. But either massicot or minium or a mixture of both could have been the outcome. The authority of Li Shih-chen, in the sixteenth century, has permanently fixed that name *huang-tan* as a synonym of *ch'ien-tan* 鉛丹 "lead cinnabar", that is to say, minium. Nonetheless I am inclined to follow Geerts and Williams in distinguishing these two substances, and to identify lead compounds described in Chinese as "yellow" as massicot, or at least as a mixture of massicot and minium ⁴⁾. Such a mixture would correspond to "Orange Mineral" in the language of modern painters. It is clear, at any rate, that the Chinese did not plainly distinguish between massicot and minium, both the products of the oxidization of lead, and treated them as color varieties of the same substance, whence the synonymy of the *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*.

Mei Piao's compendium of Taoist names for reagents and

¹⁾ Massicot is not a common pigment anywhere. Its presence has been noted on an Egyptian artist's palette of about 400 B.C.; that is, it was known in Egypt at about the same time as we find it in China. See A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (3rd ed., London, 1948), p. 277.

²⁾ See my "Orpiment and Realgar in Chinese Technology and Tradition", *J.A.O.S.*, 75.2 (April-June, 1955), 75-77.

³⁾ Quoted in *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*, ch. 8.

⁴⁾ See A. J. C. Geerts, *Les Produits de la Nature Japonaise et Chinoise* (Partie inorganique et minéralogique, Yokohama, 1878), pp. 593-4, and S. Wells Williams, *Chinese Commercial Guide* (5th ed., Hongkong, 1863), p. 125.

chemical compounds employed in alchemy and medicine, dating from the T'ang Dynasty, gives a considerable list of expressions equivalent to *ch'ien-huang-hua* 鉛黃華 "yellow flower of lead". Among these are *huang-ching* 黃精 "yellow essence"; *hsüan-huang* 玄黃 "mystic yellow"; *chin-kung-huang* 金公黃 "Gold Lord yellow" ¹⁾; *huang-ya* 黃牙 "yellow tusks"; *huang-lung* 黃龍 "yellow dragon" ²⁾. There are many others. These epithets strongly suggest massicot rather than minium. "Massicot" must also be intended by the term "yellow dragon's teeth", compared to Persian litharge by the seventh century pharmacologist Su Kung 蘇恭 ³⁾.

¹⁾ "Gold Lord" was a mysterious name for lead, derived by the vertical division of the graph 鉛.

²⁾ Mei Piao 梅彪, *Yao-shih Erh-ya* 藥石爾雅, in *Tao Tsang*, Tung-shen Section, "Assembled Arts", *Ssu*, Upper Scroll (i.e. vol. 588). It should be noted that the modern term *huang-ch'ien* "yellow lead", at least as used in Japan, refers not to massicot, but to chrome yellow (lead chromate). See Shioda Rikizō, *Tōyō enogu kō* 東洋繪具考 (Tokyo, 1942), p. 88.

³⁾ Quoted in *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*, 8. Litharge has been known since the T'ang Dynasty under the names *mi-p'o-seng* 密陀僧 and *mo-to-seng* 沒多僧, from Persian *mirdāsang/murdāsang*. See B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 508-9. It seems to have been regarded as a foreign product, distinct from the native lead compounds. It was used in Japan, and presumably in China, during the eighth century as a drier for oil paints. See Shioda Rikizō, op. cit., p. 62, and Rokurō Uyemura, "Studies on the Ancient Pigments in Japan", *Eastern Art*, 3 (Philadelphia, 1931), 47-60; R. Uyemura 上村六郎, "Wagakuni jōdai ni shiyō-saretaru ganryō no kenkyū" 我國上代に使用されたる顔料の研究, *Bukkyō bijutsu*, 4 (Nara, 1925), 27-34. Chinese pharmacologists of the eleventh century describe the recovery of litharge as a by-product of the cupellation of silver from galena over a bed of ashes, adding that it was therefore no longer necessary to import foreign litharge. Hence the Chinese name for litharge, *lu-ti* 爐底 "furnace bottom". See Su Sung 蘇頌 and Ch'en Ch'eng 陳承 both quoted in *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*. Ch'en Ch'eng further states that litharge is made by roasting *ch'ien-tan* "lead-cinnabar" in small vases: this would be understandable if *ch'ien-tan* meant "massicot" — if "minium", some reducing agent must have been present. Anyhow, Li Shih-chen says that litharge is made from "yellow cinnabar", which, in our opinion, is massicot. For a discussion of the use of massicot and

Yellow has at times been a fashionable color for the adornment of the faces, more particularly the foreheads, of Chinese ladies. This custom dates at least from the sixth century, when a monarch of Northern Chou decreed that women of his court display "yellow brows" ¹⁾. A scholar of the twelfth century has connected this incident with a custom among the Khitan women of later times, who painted their faces a golden yellow, a style denoted "Buddha's makeup" (*Fo-chuang*) 佛妝, presumably because of the resemblance to a gilded image ²⁾. This may indeed have been a habit of the northern nomads since ancient times, as Wu Ts'eng suggests. Be that as it may, yellow foreheads were extremely popular among the ladies of the T'ang Dynasty, as abundantly attested by the poets of that era ³⁾. Whether or not this fashion was of Northern origin, it may have been reinforced by the doctrine of the physiognomists, who held that a yellow aura across the forehead was uncommonly auspicious ⁴⁾.

We cannot be sure that these yellow cosmetics were made from massicot, but in view of the prevalence of face-paints, composed of other lead pigments, both red and white, in ancient China, it

litharge in the manufacture of glazed tiles under the Sung Dynasty, and the confusion of massicot and minium under the term *huang-tan*, see P. Demiéville, "Review of *Che-yin Song Li Ming-tchong Ying tsao fa che*", *BEFEO* 25 (1925), 259-260, and especially note 3, p. 259.

¹⁾ *Sui shu*, 22, 2413d, for A.D. 579. This and other citations from the Dynastic Histories refer to the K'ai-ming edition.

²⁾ Wu Tseng 吳曾, *Neng-kai-chai man-lu* 能改齋漫錄 (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* ed.), 2, 28.

³⁾ Harada Yoshito 原田淑人, "Tōdai joshi keshō-kō" 唐代女子化粧考 (in *Tōa ko-bunka kenkyū* 東亞古文化研究, 3rd ed., Tokyo, 1944), pp. 5-6, quotes a considerable number of them.

⁴⁾ *Hsiang shu* 相書, Chan ch'i tsa yao 占氣雜要 (quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 364, 7b).

seems very likely. That orpiment or a vegetable pigment was sometimes used for this purpose is not, of course, ruled out ¹⁾.

MINIUM

Although minium, along with litharge and massicot, may have been observed as an accidental by-product of the smelting of galena as early as the Shang Dynasty, undoubtedly during Chou, a definitive date for the first purposeful manufacture of the pigment must attend more abundant analyses of ancient paints than are now available.

Unfortunately, the ancient texts are of little help in the determination of this date, since from the beginning, it appears, minium was regarded as a kind of cinnabar (mercury sulphide), or vermilion, and appears in the literature under the guise of *tan* 丹 "cinnabar", with or without qualifying epithets. The situation was the same, in short, as it was in classical antiquity in the West, where *minium* first denoted our cinnabar, the native quicksilver mineral, and was later applied indifferently to the artificial adulterant, our minium, a lead compound ²⁾.

When a technical text, however, refers to "lead cinnabar" (*ch'ien tan*), we understand "a kind of 'cinnabar' prepared from lead", unambiguously minium. This expression is known from the

¹⁾ Recently a yellow lead-tin pigment, containing tin in the form of meta-stannic acid, has been found in a medieval European painting. See R. J. Gettens, "The Materials in a Painting by Spinello Aretino", *Bulletin of the Fogg Museum of Art*, 10.6 (December, 1947), 190-2. It is not impossible that the Chinese alchemists turned up such a substance, in view of the common belief that tin was a special form of lead, but its presence has not yet been reported in a Chinese artifact.

²⁾ Minium was much used as a pigment in Egypt during the Graeco-Roman period, replacing the older red ochre. In Roman times it seems to have been prepared exclusively from ceruse, rather than from the direct oxidization of lead. It continued to be used in medieval Europe, especially on illuminated manuscripts, hence our "miniature". In modern times it has been called "Paris Red". The orange variety, containing massicot, and prepared by roasting ceruse, is "Orange Mineral" in painters' language. See A. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 277; J. R. Partington, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 139; W. H. Pulsifer, *op. cit.*, pp. 220, 334-5, 343-5.

Han Dynasty ¹⁾. Later names for minium are “cinnabar powder” (*tan-fen* 丹粉) and “vermeil powder” (*chu-fen* 朱粉) ²⁾. To these may be contrasted *tan-sha* 丹砂 “cinnabar sand”, for cinnabar, *chu-sha* 朱砂 “vermeil sand”, also for cinnabar ³⁾, and *yin-chu* 銀朱 “silver vermilion”, ⁴⁾ for vermilion, i.e. artificial cinnabar. “Powder”, it appears, is used for artificial pigments (lead compounds), while “sand” is used for natural pigments (mercury compounds). In Japan, since the eighth century, the word *tan* has consistently denoted minium, while *chu* is reserved for vermilion. Natural cinnabar has not been plentiful there. So the material labelled *tan*, which is preserved among the drugs in the Shōsōin, has been analysed and proven to be lead oxide, not mercury sulphide ⁵⁾. This linguistic usage is undoubtedly of Chinese origin, made more rigid in Japan.

We have one text, which seems to date from the early part of the fifth century B.C., which does refer unambiguously to the manufacture of lead compounds from the metal. This is a fragment of a lost book attributed, probably correctly, to Fan Li 范蠡, the famous sage of the Kingdom of Yüeh in that age. The book has been partially reconstructed from quotations, but no longer exists in its entirety. The passage in question, preserved in the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, appears authentically ancient ⁶⁾. It reads,

¹⁾ In *Shen-nung pen-ts'ao ching* 神農本草經, quoted in *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*, 8. I assume that this classical pharmacopoeia is in the main of Han origin.

²⁾ I suspect that *fen* “powder” in these expressions refers, as frequently, specifically to ceruse, and that therefore they may be analysed as “cinnabar-ceruse”, and “vermeil ceruse”, i.e. lead pigments resembling cinnabar and vermilion. *Tan-fen* and *chu-fen* both mean “minium” in Japan. See Geerts, op. cit., p. 593.

³⁾ *Chu-sha* tends to replace *tan-sha* in the literature after the T'ang Dynasty, though never completely. For instance, in the *T'ang shu* geographical section, native cinnabar is reported as *tan-sha*, whereas in the Sung *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi* it is regularly called *chu-sha*.

⁴⁾ That is, vermilion prepared from quicksilver.

⁵⁾ Shioda Rikizō, op. cit., p. 62; Kōichi Kimura, *Ancient Drugs preserved in the Shōsōin* (Occasional Papers of the Kansai Asiatic Society, No. 1, Kyoto, February, 1954).

⁶⁾ In *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 812, 7a, as from *Fan-tzu chi-jan* 范子計然. Chi-

“Filings (?ts’o 錯) of black lead are transformed to make ‘yellow cinnabar’; the ‘cinnabar’, if we transform it once more, makes ‘watery powder’ ¹⁾.” Unhappily, this text, as it stands, indicates that minium and/or massicot, prepared directly from metallic lead, can be used to manufacture ceruse, a process not known in the West; the reverse, rather, is normal. But we are not absolutely certain that “watery powder” is ceruse, though this is its usual identification. In any case, it is not incredible that a method for the carbonization of lead oxide may have been known in ancient China. Still, this is the earliest literary reference to the manufacture of pigments from lead in China, and it agrees in time with the known use of lead oxides in glass and pottery pigments in the late Chou Dynasty.

If, as it appears, the preparation of red lead directly from metallic lead was understood in Chou times — and even if the process was unknown until Han—the Chinese have the priority over the Western world, since minium seems always to have been made from ceruse in classical antiquity ²⁾.

jan is the pseudonym of Hsin Yen 辛研, a natural philosopher of the fifth century B.C., the mentor of Fan Li, who named the book in his honor. The reconstructed text may be found in volume 55 of *Yü-han-shan-fang chi-i-shu* 玉函山房輯佚書. Alexander Wylie, in his *Notes on Chinese Literature* (Shanghai and London, 1867), p. 173, observes that Fan Li is credited with the authorship of a commentary on a Taoist text of great antiquity. This commentary is now lost, and the extant version of the text may not be the original. Fan Li is also the probable author of the earliest book on pisciculture, *Yang-yü ching* 養魚經. The *Fan-tzu chi-jan* seems to have been a general work on science and technology, and even in its present fragmentary condition, and with some Han interpolations, gives us a glimpse of what must have been a brilliant school of “proto-Taoist” learning, quite different in its intimacy with the natural world the familiar philosophic Taoism of the *Lao tzu* and *Chuang tzu*, and poles apart from Confucius and his successors. The nearest thing to it is the *Kuan tzu*.

¹⁾ “Black” is a common epithet of lead, which is also called “black tin”. The *Pen-ts’ao kang-mu* identifies “watery powder” as ceruse.

²⁾ J. A. Smythe, *Lead; its occurrence in nature, the modes of its extraction, its properties and uses, with some account of its principal compounds* (London, New York, etc., 1923),

The manufacture of minium was certainly well known in the Han Dynasty, as several texts attest. Of these the earliest is a sentence attributed to the book *Huai-nan-tzu*, whose author marvels that "cinnabar" (*tan*) can be made from a material of such different character as lead ¹⁾. The process is also briefly mentioned in the *Shen-nung pen-ts'ao ching* and in the *Ts'an t'ung ch'i*, both of the Later Han ²⁾. Descriptions of the relation between lead and the yellow-red pigments in the writings of the early alchemists are cryptic in the extreme, and tell us little about the actual technology of lead roasting. The earliest accurate account of the method, no doubt handed down as a professional mystery from ancient times, which has come to my attention is in the alchemical treatise *Tan-fang chien-yüan* 丹房鑑源, the work of Tu-ku T'ao 獨孤慆, who lived during the Sung Dynasty or perhaps earlier. This text tells that minium was made by adding small amounts of vinegar (acetic acid), sulphur, and niter alternately to molten lead. Ultimately a powder is formed—this is the desired pigment ³⁾. It is this same old recipe which is prescribed in the

pp. 14-15. The direct manufacture of lead oxides from the metal is said to have been known to the medieval alchemist Geber, but not fully understood until modern times.

¹⁾ *Huai-nan tzu*, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 812, 7a. This passage cannot be found in the modern received text of *Huai-nan tzu*. Compare *Pao-p'u tzu*, 16, 291 (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* ed.): "Though lead is white by nature, it can be reddened to make 'cinnabar'."

²⁾ See the discussion of *Ts'an t'ung ch'i*, a fundamental alchemical treatise, in Lao Kan 勞幹, „Chung-kuo tan-sha chih ying-yung chi ch'i t'ui-yen" 中國丹砂之應用及其推演, *Bulletin Res. Inst. Hist. Phil., Academia Sinica*, 7.2 (Ch'ang-sha, 1938), 529-30. The *Shen-nung pen-ts'ao ching* tells of the importance of minium in the concoction of elixirs. Later affirmations of the derivations of minium and ceruse from lead can be found in *Pao-p'u tzu* and subsequent Taoist compendia of arcana.

³⁾ *Tan-fang chien-yüan*, quoted in *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*, 8. The medieval pharmacologists have disagreed about the metal from which minium was made. Su Kung (7th century) thought it was made from tin; this opinion was corrected by K'ou Ts'ung-shih in the twelfth century. The oxide of tin could hardly be confused with minium or vermilion. But see note n. 1, p. 420 on meta-stannic acid. On the other hand, zinc oxide is red, and might occasionally have turned up in an alchemists's furnace. It is probable that Su Kung

seventeenth century manual of technology, *T'ien-kung k'ai-wu* 天工開物¹⁾.

Although minium was known and used as a pigment in ancient China, it was never valued to the same degree as cinnabar and true vermilion, and not so much employed. A study of red pigments on Far Eastern artifacts of various ages in the Freer Gallery has shown that of 54 examples, 48 were vermilion, 4 were red ochre, and two were red lead²⁾. The analyst, Rutherford J. Gettens, adds, "Red lead is apparently only occasionally found on Chinese antiquities and then usually on wall paintings³⁾".

Minium might be used in conjunction with other red pigments, as in the list of paints employed in the reconstruction of an imperial palace in the eleventh century. This list includes vermilion, cinnabar, ochre, a mysterious "vermeil earth", and minium⁴⁾. Both minium and vermilion were used in the Northern Wei murals at Tun-huang⁵⁾. These same two reds have been revealed in the chemical analysis of a mural from southwestern Shansi, dated A.D. 1551. This painting shows the following red palette:

was confused by the inclusive meaning of the word *hsi* in former times: "tin; and other similar metals".

¹⁾ I have the following opinion about this process from Edwin S. Orlemann, Professor of Chemistry at the University of California: the vinegar, poured on the molten lead, would first lose water, concentrating the acetic acid, but this too would soon volatilize. Sulphur seems to play only a catalytic role: it would yield lead sulphide, which would in turn be oxidized by the niter and by the hydrogen ion from the acetic acid, giving free sulphur, lead nitrate and lead acetate. The lead salts would finally decompose to form lead oxide (PbO, massicot), the latter in turn yielding minium (Pb₃O₄). Some lead sulphate would occur as an impurity.

²⁾ Rutherford J. Gettens, "True and False Vermilion on Early Chinese Ceramics", *Far Eastern Ceramic Bulletin*, 6.1 (March, 1954), 27.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁴⁾ Reign of Chen Tsung, between 1008-1016; as given in Hung Mai 洪邁, *Jung-chai san-pi* 容齋三筆 (*Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu*), 11, 98.

⁵⁾ Yü Fei-an 于非闇, *Chung-kuo-hua yen-se ti yen-chiu* 中國畫顏色的研究 (Peking, 1955), pp. 6, 17.

red—vermilion

orange-red—minium

brown-red—ochre ¹⁾).

It can be assumed that minium would normally be used for an orange shade of red.

Specific literary references to the use of minium in painting are hard to come by. The usual word is *tan*, which, as we have seen, may be either cinnabar or minium. It is worth noting, however, that the demand for minium in the Sung Dynasty was sufficient to warrant the establishment of a special government factory, the *tan-fen-so* 丹粉所, which supplied minium to official painters and decorators ²⁾. At about this same time, minium was known in India under the name *cīnapishṭa* "China flour", ³⁾ possibly an indication that Chinese minium was exported abroad. The abundant use of minium on Japanese architecture and painted sculpture from the eighth century on may reflect Chinese commercial activity as well as the local scarcity of cinnabar.

In summary, it appears that although minium was manufactured in China since the end of the Chou Dynasty at the latest, it never replaced the true vermilion in vogue among painters, though the greatest interest was shown by the alchemists, who admired the versatility of lead almost as much as that of quicksilver.

Red lead was sometimes used in cosmetics, but the vagueness of poetic allusions seldom permits us to judge whether the red cheeks of the ladies of olden days were the result of the application of vermilion, of minium, of safflower, or of other red pigments known since antiquity. Poetry about women frequently makes

¹⁾ R. J. Gettens, "Pigments in a wall painting from Central China", *Technical Studies in the Field of the Fine Arts*, 7.2 (October, 1938), 99-105.

²⁾ *Sung shih* 165, 4881a.

³⁾ In the writings of Bilhana (eleventh century); cited in Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

use of the expression *hung-fen* "pink powder". This often becomes even a metaphor for "woman", or "courtesan". It occurs, for instance, in one of the well known "Nineteen Ancient Poems". Analogy with the term *chu-fen* "vermeil powder" might suggest that *hung-fen* is a technical term for minium, like the former. But Hsü K'ai 徐鍇, the tenth century commentator on the "Ancient Poems", states that since ancient times rice-powder had been stained pink for application to ladies' cheeks¹). This makes it seem likely that *hung-fen* is *hung-hua-fen* 紅花粉, i.e. "safflower powder". Harada writes that in the T'ang Dynasty rouge was made either with vermilion or safflower²), and he cites many poems of that age to show the prevalence of the custom of painting the cheeks. Yet texts which unambiguously reveal the chemical composition of the red cosmetic are rare indeed. In one such poem, one may be tempted to see a reference to red lead. This is the expression *hung ch'ien* "pink lead". But it is likely that here are two coordinate nouns, "pink [powder] and lead [powder]", that is, rouge of safflower, and white ceruse. Chinese does not ordinarily permit expressions like our "red lead"—rather "lead red" would be normal. Indeed, despite the definition of *chu-fen* as minium by the books of materia medica, we cannot be sure that a literatus would always use the term in a technically correct way. Consider a custom at the frivolous court of the Former Shu, in the tenth century, described in the "History of the Five Dynasties":

"All [the ladies] in the rear palace donned golden lotus-flower caps, and dressed in the garb of 'Gentlemen of the Way' [i.e. Taoists]. When merry from wine, they cast off their caps, and then applied 'vermeil powder', calling it 'the Drunken Makeup',

¹) Similarly, ceruse, colored by vegetable pigments, was used as rouge in ancient Greece and Rome. See Pulsifer, op. cit., p. 214.

²) Harada, op. cit., pp. 8-10.

and persons throughout the nation everywhere imitated them ¹⁾”.

Strict adherence to the explanations of Chinese men of science would demand that we interpret “vermeil powder” here as *minium*. Reliance on semantics as such, reinforced by custom, would require that we we explain the term as *vermilion*. Custom alone, tintured with poetic license, would equally allow *safflower*. This illustrates the danger of what might be called “the error of identification” in translating, whether in pigment names or official titles. We may not, without danger of serious error, substitute any one of the three possible glosses, “minium”, “vermilion”, or “safflower”, for “vermeil powder” in an objective translation of this text. *Caveat lector*.

CERUSE

Unlike minium, massicot, and the mixtures thereof, ceruse has been a valuable and valued pigment from ancient times, both in China and the West. White lead has been found in the Indus Valley sites, and in Greek graves of the 4th or 5th century B.C.; it was used as a cosmetic in ancient Egypt, and is referred to in late Hebrew writings under the Persian name *sapidag* ²⁾. Its character and mode of preparation have been described by Theophrastus, Pliny, Dioscorides and Vitruvius ³⁾. The earliest literary reference to the compound appears to be in Xenophon, who describes it as a cosmetic for women ⁴⁾. It may be that this was the ordinary application of the pigment in antiquity, since there is very little evidence of its presence in Greek and Roman paintings ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ *Wu Tai shih*, 63, 4467a.

²⁾ Earle R. Caley, “Ancient Greek Pigments”, *Journal of Chemical Education*, 23.7 (July, 1946), 314-6; Partington, op. cit., pp. 143, 214, 494.

³⁾ Smythe, op. cit., pp. 16-17; Pulsifer, op. cit., pp. 205-7. Ceruse is Latin *cerussa*. Greek *ψευρότιον*.

⁴⁾ Smythe, op. cit. p. 16.

⁵⁾ Caley, loc. cit.; Smythe, op. cit., pp. 20-21; Gettens and Stout, op. cit., p. 176.

White lead forms readily when lead is exposed to moist air and some heat, but greater quantities are produced and the process accelerated by the action of fumes of acetic acid. The Greeks and Romans used vinegar for this purpose, and this is precisely the method used by the Chinese ¹⁾).

The ancient and common name for ceruse in China is *hu-fen* 胡粉, but though we may surmise that white lead was made in China before the Han Dynasty, we will look in vain for this term in pre-Han texts. Some authorities explain the expression at face value, taking it to mean "barbarian powder", and deduce that the art of its manufacture was learned in Han times from foreigners ²⁾. But the ancient dictionary *Shih ming* states that this *hu* is *hu* 餬 "paste", and that the substance was so named because it was mixed with ointment for use as a cosmetic ³⁾. I am inclined to prefer the latter interpretation. The *Shen-nung pen-ts'ao ching* calls ceruse *fen-hsi* "powdered tin" (classifying lead with tin) and *chieh-hsi* 解錫 "dissolved tin" ⁴⁾. Both of these latter terms are rare. Other names are *ch'ien-fen* "lead powder" ⁵⁾, *chien-hua*

¹⁾ Some scholars have wondered at the ancient recipes, since the immersion of lead in vinegar will produce only lead acetate, not lead carbonate. But we do not know to what degree the lead was immersed, and in any event impurities in the vinegar, remains of the lees of wine, would produce the necessary carbon dioxide.

²⁾ *Tz'u yüan*, Supplementary Volume. There is a tradition that the method of manufacture was brought to China by Chang Ch'ien in the Han period, for which see Yü Fei-an, op. cit., p. 6. This, like so many other "innovations" attributed to the famous traveller, seems to rely solely upon the presence of the word *hu*.

³⁾ *Shih ming*, Shih shou-shih 釋首飾. In Japan, the name *hu-fen* is applied to calcium carbonate, prepared from clam shells or other sources of lime. In the seventh century, the Japanese styled ceruse *po-fen* "white powder". The names *ch'ien-po* "lead white" and *T'ang-t'u* 唐土 "T'ang earth" have also been used, the latter being the common modern term. See Shioda Rikizō, op. cit., p. 43 (I have given the Chinese reading of Japanese words.)

⁴⁾ Quoted in *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*, 8.

⁵⁾ Oddly, an unctuous "white earth" mined near Fu-chou 富州 in Kwangsi, used by women for face-powder, is explained as "lead powder" by the editors of *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi*, 163, 11b-12a, apparently the unsopisticated identification of a literary scholar. Most likely this was talc.

鉛華 “flower of lead”, *ting-fen* 定粉 “fixed powder” (said to be for the form), *wa-fen* 瓦粉 “tile powder” (for the form), *po-fen* 白粉 “white powder”, *kuang-fen* 光粉 “shining powder”, *shui-fen* 水粉 “watery powder”, *kuan-fen* 官粉 “official powder” (used in Wu-yüeh), *shao-fen* 韶粉 “powder of Shao” (made in Shao-chou), and *ch'en-fen* 辰粉 “powder of Ch'en” (made in Ch'en-chou)²). The most famous variety, made at Kuei-lin 桂林 in the Sung Dynasty, was named *kuei-fen* 桂粉 “powder of Kuei”³). The T'ang alchemist Mei Piao gives various names, some cabalistic, some ordinary⁴). But in literature ceruse is frequently called nothing more than *fen* “powder”, so that it is seldom possible to distinguish it from rice-powder, which had been used since remote antiquity, just as minium and cinnabar are confounded under the syllable *tan*.

According to tradition, ceruse was made in China long before the Han Dynasty; one source attributes its invention to the despised Chou, last ruler of Shang⁵). As yet there is neither literary nor archeological evidence to support this tradition. The earliest

¹) A local name at Li-chou 澧州 in Hunan; it is mentioned in *T'ang shu*, 40. The editors of *Hu-nan t'ung-chih* (1855 ed.) say that this is “lead powder” which women put on their faces. *T'ang shu*, 39, has ceruse, under the name *hu-fen*, as a product of Hsiang 相州, Wei 衛州, and T'an 澶州 in Hopei.

²) Listed in *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*, 8.

³) Fan Ch'eng-ta 范成大, *Kuei-hai yü-heng chih* 桂海虞衡志 (in *Pi-shu nien-pa chung* 秘書廿八種), p. 7a. This variety was the special manufacture of a Buddhist monastery, whose monks became rich in this trade. See Chou Ch'ü-fei 周去非, *Ling-wai tai-ta* 嶺外代答 (*Chih-pu-tsu-chai ts'ung-shu* ed.), 7, 13a.

⁴) *Yao-shih erh-ya*, loc. cit.

⁵) Ma Kao 馬縞 (9th cent.), *Chung-hua ku-chin chu* 中華古今注 (in *Po-ch'uan hsüeh-hai* 百川學海), b, 3b; Chang Hua 張華 (3rd cent.), *Po-wu chih* 博物志, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 719, 1a. It is the latter source which states that “Chou roasted lead (and?) tin to make powder”.

notices of its presence are of the Han Dynasty, unless we admit the identity of Fan Li's "watery powder" with ceruse, as I am inclined to do. The connection of ceruse with metallic lead must certainly have been known to technicians as long as the pigment was produced, but their relation must have been a mystery to the layman until much later. Only obscure Taoist sources mention the kinship of the two substances in early times. Again excepting Fan Li's book, there is an ambiguous allusion in *Huai-nan-tzu* to the connection between lead and "white" ¹⁾, and the Later Han alchemical work *Ts'an t'ung ch'i* declares that ceruse will revert to metallic lead if heated in the presence of charcoal ²⁾. This last is an important early statement of the reducing properties of carbon.

After Han, references to ceruse, and to its derivation from lead, are common in the writings of the pharmacologists and alchemists. Mercury and lead are the "dragon" and "tiger" of the Taoist experimenters, the crucial and potent agents of their miraculous transformations. But this was still not common knowledge, despite the occasional use of the expressions "lead powder" and "flower of lead" by literateurs. Ko Hung, the fourth century apologist for Taoism, writes, "Stupid persons still do not believe that 'yellow cinnabar' and 'foreign powder' are indeed created by the transformation of lead" ³⁾. It is strange however that the *method* of manufacturing ceruse is not explained in any early text. Su Sung, writing in the eleventh century, tells of the action of vinegar on lead, but it is not clear whether the product he describes, *ch'ien-*

¹⁾ Quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 719, 1b. It says, "Lacquer does not detest (? *yen* 厭) black; lead does not detest white". This seems to refer to the ordinary black lacquer, and the commonplace "white lead".

²⁾ Thus quoted in *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*, 8. Some versions of *Ts'an t'ung ch'i*, however, have "fire" instead of "charcoal". See for instance *Ts'an t'ung ch'i cheng-wen* (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* ed.), 2, 10. This is not plausible, since heat alone will oxidize the ceruse to form litharge or minium.

³⁾ *Pao-p'u tzu*, 2, 32 (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* ed.).

shuang 鉛霜 “frost of lead”, is lead carbonate or lead acetate. The Taoist name he gives it, *shen-fu po-hsüeh* 神符白雪 “white snow of the divine talisman”, is equally ambiguous¹⁾. It would appear that ceruse *must* have been made with acetic acid from the earliest times, since that is the only easy and practical way, but the alchemists seem to have kept their trade-secret all too well. It is not until the end of the sixteenth century that we have a clear account of the necessary procedure²⁾.

The desirable qualities of ceruse as a pigment have made it as important to Far Eastern artists as to their Western colleagues. Yet the precise extent of its employment in Chinese painting will not be known until many polychrome pictures have been scientifically tested, a work that has hardly begun³⁾. In ancient China, ceruse was used as a whitewash on the walls of buildings. It formed a ground on which the figures of ancient worthies were painted, as on the walls of a government office of the Han Dynasty⁴⁾,

¹⁾ Quoted in *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*, 8. One recipe indicates the presence of a salt of mercury as well. *Pao-p'u tzu*, ch. 4, gives *shen-fu* as the name of a cinnabar-elixer. Hence this phrase could mean “white snow of minium”, showing the relation of both minium and ceruse to lead.

²⁾ Li Shih-chen, in *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*, describes the method used at Ch'en-chou 辰州 then regarded as the best: sheet lead was rolled into tubes, sealed in wooden pots with vinegar, and heated. The same method is described shortly afterwards in the *T'ien-kung k'ai-wu*, which also makes it clear that calcium carbonate or organic matter was added for sufficient production of carbon dioxide.

³⁾ Rutherford J. Gettens of the Freer Gallery is doing a great deal to advance our knowledge of ancient Chinese pigments by direct analysis, but there still remains much to be discovered. White lead “. . . was probably known and used as a pigment in the Orient quite as early as in the West. It lies thickly on painted sculpture of Tang times from Tun Huang in Western China.” See Gettens and Stout, *op. cit.*, p. 176. On the other hand, correspondence with Mr. Gettens indicates that ceruse has been very rarely detected on *ancient* Far Eastern objects. But, in fact, chemical analysis of ancient pigments is in its infancy. One drawback in the use of ceruse is that it is often darkened by the presence of sulphides, such as orpiment and vermilion. See Schafer, *op. cit.*, 77, for a reference to this fact in Sung literature.

⁴⁾ The Shang-shu-sheng 尚書省. See *Han kuan i* 漢官儀, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 719, 2a. This book, by Ying Shao 應劭, of Han, is reconstructed in the *Ssu-pu pei-yao* collection.

and Shih Hu, in the fourth century, applied it to the walls of one of his palace compartments¹). After Han, however, the white ground of wall-paintings seems usually to have been a lime (CaCO₃) preparation, though some ceruse has been found in the Northern Wei murals at Tun-huang²).

But Chinese writers on the art of painting have been singularly indifferent to technology. The reader may look in vain through innumerable essays on the venerable artists of antiquity and their creations, without finding a single reference to the materials of their trade, except for the stereotyped rubric *tan-chi'ng* 丹青, "cinnabar and verditer", metaphorical for "red and blue", hence "polychrome painting". A notable exception is the celebrated poet Chiang Yen 江淹 (A.D. 444-505), who has composed elegant verses on many subjects of nature and artifice, as well-informed as they are well-phrased. In one poem he gives us a complete and accurate picture of the palette of a fifth century painter, which will indeed hold good throughout Chinese history³).

墨	粉	碧	丹	雌	空
則	則	髓	石	黃	青
上	南	挺	發	出	出
黨	陽	青	王	蟠	峨
松	鉛	蛉	屋	冢	嵎
心	澤	之	之	之	之
。	。	岑	岫	陰	陽
		。	。	。	。

¹) Mixed with fagara (*chiao* 椒), *Xanthoxylum bungei*, so that he might name it "The Fagara Room", in imitation of a Han custom. See *Yeh-chung chi* 鄴中記 (in *Jung-yüan ts'ung-shu* 容園叢書), 1, 4a.

²) Yü Fei-an, op. cit., pp. 6, 21-22.

³) From his "Rhapsody on the Polychrome Painting on a Fan" (Shan-shang ts'ai-hua fu 扇上綵畫賦), in *Liang Chiang Wen-t'ung chi* 梁江文通集 (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an ed.), 2, 5a.

“Hollow Verditer is brought forth from the sun-slope of
O-mei;

Female Yellow is brought forth from the shade-slope of
Po-chung;

Cinnabar Stone issues from the caverns of the Royal House;

Prasine Marrow emerges from the pinnacles of the Dragon Fly;

And Powder—from Nan-yang’s mere of lead;

And Lampblack—from Shang-tang’s heart of pine” ¹⁾.

The relations between pigment names, minerals, and colors are:

“Hollow Verditer” (*k’ung-ch’ing* 空青)—nodular azurite—
BLUE

“Female Yellow” (*tz’u-hsiung* 雌黃)—orpiment—YELLOW

“Cinnabar Stone” (*tan-shih* 丹石)—cinnabar—RED

“Prasine Marrow” (*pi-sui* 碧髓)—malachite—GREEN ²⁾

“Powder” (*fen*)—ceruse—WHITE

“Lampblack” (*mo*)—carbon black—BLACK ³⁾.

The first four of these are minerals, the last two artificial products. Ceruse, prepared from lead, is here simply called “powder”.

Vermilion (or cinnabar), malachite, and azurite are the characteristic Chinese sources of red, green, and blue. To this typical set should be contrasted a typical medieval South Indian palette, used on seventh century Pallava wall-paintings. This has ochre for red, terre-

¹⁾ O-mei is the sacred mountain in Szechwan; Po-chung is a mountain in Shensi, at the source of the Han River; “Royal House” is the name of a mountain in Shansi, noted for its grottoes; “Dragon Fly” is the name of a river and former township in Yunnan; Nan-yang is in Honan, and Shang-tang in Shansi.

²⁾ “Prasine” means “prase-colored”. Prase is a green chalcedony or jasper (SiO₂). The rare expression “prasine marrow” sounds like chrysocolla, a hydrous copper silicate, which seems to have been used as a pigment in Central Asian murals. See R. J. Gettens, “The Materials in the Wall Paintings from Kizil in Chinese Turkestan”, *Technical Studies*, 6.4 (April, 1938), 281-294, and R. J. Gettens, “The Materials in the Wall Paintings of Bāmiyān, Afghanistan”, *Technical Studies*, 6.3 (January, 1938), 186-193. However, I do not know that it has been found on Chinese paintings. Malachite is the usual Chinese mineral green, and is probably intended here.

³⁾ Made from pine resin, hence the language of the poem.

verte (glauconite and/or celadonite) for green, and ultramarine (lapis-lazuli) for blue ¹⁾.

Chinese historians and essayists have given considerable more attention to the use of ceruse to whiten the complexions of fair ladies than to its use by painters of pictures. We have fairly continuous evidence of its employment for the former purpose throughout the ages, beginning with Han. But some writers have fancied that it was used as a cosmetic in much earlier times. One such is I Shih-chen 伊世珍, of the Yüan Dynasty, whose sarcastic account goes as follows:

“The Yellow Theocrat (Huang-ti), by refining, achieved gold- and cinnabar-elixirs. The drugs left over from the refining were mercury, pinker than the red sunset-clouds, and lead, whiter than the pure-white snow ²⁾. His Palatine women took the mercury to tint their lips, so that their lips were vermeil, and took the lead to spread on their faces, so that their faces were white. Thus when they washed them, these did not fall away. Later generations copied them in applying grease and powder, which is laughable in the extreme” ³⁾”

Although we may doubt that vermilion and ceruse were invented by a primordial Taoist deity, this story properly points up the connection between alchemy and fashion, and the modern scholar Lao Kan has emphasized the point that mercury and lead are simultaneously essential to Taoists and indispensable to women ⁴⁾. For their more frivolous needs at least, the ladies owe little to Confucianism and Buddhism.

¹⁾ S. Paramasivan, “The Mural Paintings in the Cave Temple at Sittannavāsāl — an investigation into method”, *Technical Studies*, 8.2 (October, 1939), 82-89.

²⁾ Here “mercury” is metonymous for vermilion (mercury sulphide), and “lead” for ceruse.

³⁾ *Lang hsüan chi* 瑯嬛記 (in *Hsüeh-chin t'ao-yüan*), a, 11b.

⁴⁾ Lao Kan, op. cit., 530.

Another book, this of the T'ang Dynasty, has ascribed the cosmetic application of ceruse to very ancient times. This is a treatise on the female toilet, which alludes to a "phoenix chignon" (*feng-chi* 鳳髻), said to have been in vogue during the reign of the founder of the Chou Dynasty. This required the decoration of the hair with pearls and kingfisher feathers, and an application of ceruse ¹). We are reminded of the powdered headdresses of eighteenth century Europe.

Nonetheless, we cannot be certain that ceruse was used as an aid to beauty before the Han Dynasty. For this period, the classic statement of its role has been made by Henri Maspero:

"Les femmes se blanchissaient non seulement le visage, mais encore le dos et les épaules, soit à la poudre de riz, soit à la 'poudre barbare', c'est-à-dire à la céruse; sur ce fond de teint, elles mettaient du rouge (carthame ou cinabre) en taches brutales, des pommettes à la bouche . . . ²)".

That ceruse was used to make up the faces of women during Han is established by the evidence of archeology as well as of literature. Ceruse was found in a toilet-case at the site of Lo-lang ³). Our literary reference is of the first century B.C., in a poem of the Lady Pan, who tells of "blended lead" (*tiao-ch'ien* 調鉛) for the face, and "congealed vermilion" (*ning-chu* 凝朱) for the lips ⁴).

¹) *Chuang-fai chi* 妝臺記 (in *Shuo fu*), p. 1a.

²) H. Maspero, *La vie courante dans la Chine des Han à propos d'une exposition du Musée Cernuschi* (Mélanges Posthumes sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine, II, Etudes Historiques, Paris, 1950), p. 72.

³) Yoshito Harada, *Lo-lang* (Tokyo, 1930), pp. 17, 34. The English resume of the text has "native carbonate of lead", but this is probably a mistranslation of the Japanese "flower of lead" 鉛華 (p. 53 of the Japanese text). Native cerussite was probably not so used.

⁴) Pan Chieh-yü 班婕妤, *Tao-su fu* 擣素賦 (in *Ku wen yüan* 古文苑,

Ceruse continued in use, at least by women of the upper class, through the Six Dynasties period ¹). A curious exception to the general rule of elegance was the court of the Empress Tu-ku of the Sui Dynasty, a woman described as classic in her insistence on simplicity and economy. Her illustrious husband desired an ounce of ceruse for compounding a medicine, but he was unable to find a particle within the palace, where it had been tabooed by his austere consort ²).

The continued popularity of ceruse face-powder under the rule of the T'ang emperors has been adequately demonstrated by Harada, who observes that it was applied to the breast as well as

3, 14b). For Later Han, see for instance the Biography of Li Ku 李固, in *Hou Han shu*, 93, 0840d, where "hu-fen decorated countenances" is a general metaphor for painted court ladies. White face paints, including ceruse, were sometimes colored to make a rouge. See above n. 1, p. 426. Also see *Shih ming* which states, "... we dye the powder to make it red, and so apply it to the cheeks." One such mixed cosmetic was styled "purple powder" (*tzu fen*). The recipe for making this substance is given in *Ch'i-min yao-shu* (5th cent.), ch. 5. It contained three parts of fine rice powder together with one part of ceruse; as to the latter, the text says, "If we do not add *hu-fen*, it will not adhere to a person's face." The mixture was then colored with an extract of mallow flowers. According to the T'ang book *Chung-hua ku-chin chu*, this "purple powder" was favored by the court ladies of the Wei Dynasty; see loc. cit. The coloring matter was not always the same: the seventeenth century *T'ien-kung k'ai-wu* 天工開物 states that "purple powder" was essentially ceruse, the best variety being colored with vermilion, the coarser with safflower.

¹) See, for instance, a poem of Chiang Hung 江洪 of the early sixth century, *Yung ko chi* 咏歌姬 (*Ch'üan Liang shih* 全梁詩 in *Ch'üan Han San-kuo Chin nan-pei ch'ao shih* 全漢三國晉南北朝詩, 12, 11a), where the expression "leaden face" 鉛臉 for "ceruse-whitened face" occurs; a poem of a Liang Emperor, *Chu-yü nü* 茱萸女 (*Liang Chien-wen Ti chi* 梁簡文帝集 in *Han Wei Liu-ch'ao po-san-chia chi* 漢魏六朝百三家集, 2, 7a), where ceruse, called "flower of lead" (*ch'ien-hua*) falls from a lady's hands; and the biography of Li O 李譔, in *Sui shu*, 66, 2503c. "Flower of lead" is the usual name given to ceruse in the Six Dynasties and T'ang, when it is referred to as a cosmetic.

²) *Pei shih*, 14, 2790b.

to the face ¹⁾. It was in this period that the cosmetic use of ceruse was transmitted from China to Japan, where it was employed by ladies of the court until late in the sixteenth century, when it spread among women of all classes ²⁾.

One more important application of ceruse remains to be mentioned: for making notations, emendations, and erasures on written documents. In a letter written in the Han Dynasty by Yang Hsiung 楊雄 to Liu Hsin 劉歆, believed to be authentic, the former scholar tells how he collected dialectical data on pieces of silk, and on his return home, transcribed them on wooden tables with "lead" ³⁾. This could not be metallic lead, which is useless for writing purposes, despite our misnomer "lead pencil". The only reasonable explanation is that the word *ch'ien* is used here, as it is in the poem of Lady Pan, for "ceruse", as when we say "he painted his fence with copper", meaning with a copper compound, not the metal. This linguistic usage occurs in other Han texts. We find the "lead" used in the same way in a document composed by Jen Fang 任昉 in the fifth century ⁴⁾. The commentary on this passage glosses "lead" with "a powder writing-brush (*fen-pi* 粉筆), wherewith one adjusts a writing". "Powder" is surely "lead powder", i.e. ceruse, either white, or perhaps colored with some extraneous material. A determination

¹⁾ Harada, loc. cit. See also the T'ang romantic tale, *K'un-lun-nu* 崑崙奴 in *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 太平廣記, 194, 2b.

²⁾ Geerts, op. cit., p. 601. Geerts gives the date of its diffusion to the islands as A.D. 692. He observes elsewhere (p. 597) that Kyoto has always been a center of its manufacture, and it is at this ancient capital that actors, women and children have been most addicted to its use.

³⁾ In *Yang Shih-lang chi* 楊侍郎集 (in *Han Wei Liu-ch'ao po-san-chia chi*), 25a.

⁴⁾ *Wei Fan Shih-hsing tso ch'iu li T'ai-tsai pei piao* 爲范始興作求立太宰碑表 in *Liu-ch'en chu Wen hsüan* 六臣註文選, 38, 47a. The scholiast is Li Chou-han 李周翰 (fl. 718).

of this last point must await further archeological discoveries ¹⁾. Certainly a yellow paint was sometimes used for making corrections: this seems usually to have been ceruse colored with orpiment, the mixture being styled *ch'ien-huang* 鉛黃 (i.e. *ch'ien-fen* "ceruse" and *tz'u-huang* "orpiment"), as in a poem of Po Chü-i ²⁾. The yellow paint was to match the yellow color of many ancient papers. A similar conception is conveyed by the common expression *tan-chien* 丹鉛, a metaphor for "criticism", as in the book title *Tan-ch'ien lu* 丹鉛錄, "Record of Cinnabar and Lead". Here *tan* stands for *tan-sha*, and *ch'ien* for *ch'ien-fen*, in short for cinnabar and ceruse, both used for textual annotation and collation ³⁾. In summary, *writing* with ceruse on wood was known in the Han Dynasty; *erasing* with ceruse was known shortly after the Han, if not earlier.

GLOSSARY

1. *ch'ien* (a) „galena”
(b) „lead”
(c) „ceruse”, by metonymy
2. *tan* (a) „cinnabar”
(b) „minium”, by extension
3. *fen* (a) „rice-powder”
(b) „ceruse”, by extension

¹⁾ Wooden writing tablets of the Han Dynasty have been found with errors painted out in *black* ink. See Ch'en P'an 陳槃 "Han Chin i-chien ou-shu 漢晉遺簡偶述", *Bulletin of the Research Inst. of Hist. and Phil.*, Academia Sinica, Vol. 17 (Shanghai, 1948), 331. The advantage of a white paint would be that it could be written over again.

²⁾ *Ch'ou Lu Pi-shu erh shih yün* 酬盧秘書二十韻, in *Po Shih Ch'ang-ch'ing chi* 白氏長慶集 (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an ed.), 15, 5a. See also Schaffer, op. cit., 78, and the discussion of this custom in *Ko-chih ching-yüan* 格致鏡原, 37, 17b.

³⁾ See, for instance, a poem of Han Yü, one of the set *Ch'iu huai shih shih i shou* 秋懷詩十一首, in *Han Ch'ang-li chi* 韓昌黎集 (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu ed.), p. 22.



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THE DEVELOPMENT OF BATHING CUSTOMS IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL CHINA AND THE HISTORY OF THE FLORiate CLEAR PALACE

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INTRODUCTORY

THE PRESENT PAPER is an attempt to remedy in part the lack of scholarly writing about the history of bathing in China, a lack which contrasts strikingly with the abundance of material available on bathing in Europe, the Near East and Japan, not to mention the simpler cultures of the world. I shall outline the bathing customs of China in the Chou Dynasty, using gleanings from the classical literature, and then describe important changes and innovations in subsequent periods, down to the Sung Dynasty. In the case of public baths, however, the story will be carried down to the Ming Dynasty, the first age in which this institution truly flourished. Finally, a study of the oldest and most fully documented imperial bath, the Floriate Clear Palace, is appended.

A brief recapitulation of balneological highlights in Europe, Islam, India, and Japan may first serve to refresh the reader's memory. Bathing in fresh or salt water, steam baths and sweat baths, whether for spiritual cleansing or physical, are and have been common practices among "primitive" peoples. Such customs have been amply described in anthropological literature. Buildings and chambers specially devoted to washing the body are known from the centers of ancient civilization in Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley. Bathing establishments, both public and private were very well developed at Mohenjo Daro, and it is likely that their influence was ultimately extended all over the ancient world. The typical Greek bath was a douche, poured from jug or basin, but steam baths were much in vogue during the "great" period from the fifth century B. C., possibly under eastern influence. The sweat baths of the Spartans were a local specialty. The baths of the Romans are famous, and their early development depended on the construction of the great aqueducts, leading first to the opening of the *Piscina Publica* in the fourth century B. C., and then to the imposing imperial baths, combining in single institutions the sweat bath (*tepidarium* and

caldarium), the cold water douche (*frigidarium*), and the bathing pool (*piscina*). Roman bathing habits spread all over the western civilized world, most particularly in Spain and in the Near East, where, by way of the Byzantines, they were transmitted to the Moslems, whose *hammām*, essentially sweat baths with accessories, duplicated the splendid public baths of the Empire. Due in considerable measure to the influence of the Crusades, bathing came to enjoy great popularity in late medieval Europe: municipal baths, both water and sweat, were common from the thirteenth century, and men and women were separated in them only from the fifteenth century. Contemporary with the diffusion of the Renaissance, and also with the spread of syphilis, bathing passed out of favor, and the balneal arts are hardly discernible in sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe, though the custom of drinking curative waters enjoyed some popularity.

Meanwhile in India bathing, particularly for ceremonial purposes in connection with the cults of rivers and healing waters, continued to be prevalent. The attitudes developed there spread with Buddhism into Tibet and Turkestan, and finally into China and Japan, where they mingled with native customs to produce the bathing practices of late historical times.

In Japan, where private and public bathing are notoriously emphasized, the influence of Buddhism in the Nara and Heian periods was very great. Bath houses in Buddhist temples are especially connected with the name of the Empress Kōmyō, who endowed healing baths for beggars and invalids. These early religious baths were probably hot water baths, but very soon steam baths became popular, at least from the Heian period. The latter probably developed under the influence of Korean sweat baths, which are in turn related to the sweat baths of primitive Siberia, Russia and Scandinavia, and perhaps ultimately to those of the American Indians. The steam baths (*furo*^a) and the hot water baths (*yuya*^b) were clearly

distinguished until Tokugawa times, when they were confounded both in practice and in terminology, and *furo* became the inclusive term.¹

THE CHOU DYNASTY

The mores of bathing in China, which largely persisted through all subsequent centuries, appear first in the literature of the late Chou period. We can only guess about bathing customs before the middle of the first millennium B. C. The following notes will attempt to describe the customs current in this age of our earliest Chinese literature.

The terminology of washing was already elaborate in these times. Indeed some of the terms then current became virtually obsolete in later centuries, without being replaced. Special words were *mu* ° "wash the hair," *yü* ^d "wash the body," *kuan* ° "wash the hands," *hui* ^t "wash the face," and *sou* ^z "rinse the mouth."² There were also many other more general expressions for wetting, cleansing, washing, purifying and so on. Other technical terms related to bathing customs included *p'an* ^h "rice-water used as hair-wash," *pi* ⁱ "bathroom," *yü* ⁱ "bathtub," *i* ^k "water pitcher," *kuan* ¹ "hand basin," and others.

¹ A selected bibliography. Antiquity and Europe: Eduard Bäumer, *Die Geschichte des Badewesens* (Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Medizin, Breslau, 1903); H. Gossen, "Hygiene in Ancient Rome," *Ciba Symposia* I, 5 (May, 1939), 29-32; Alfred Martin, "On Bathing," *Ciba Symposia* I, 5 (August, 1939), 134-149; A. G. Varron, "Hygiene in the Medieval City," *Ciba Symposia* I, 7 (October, 1939), 205-214. Islam: Alfred Martin, "Oriental Baths," *Ciba Symposia* I, 5 (August, 1939), 150-155. India: Jean-Louis Doreau, *Les bains dans l'Inde antique; monuments et textes médicaux* (Paris, 1936); Edward Burgham, "Hygiene and Medicine under Moghul Rule," *Ciba Symposia* II, 12 (March, 1941), 780-786. Japan: Alfred Martin, "The Bath in Japan," *Ciba Symposia* I, 5 (August, 1939), 156-162; Nakagiri Kakutarō, ^a "Furo," ^b *Nippon Fuzokushi kōza* ° X (Tokyo, 1929); Fujinami Gōichi, ^d *Tōzai mokuyoku shiwa* ° (Kyoto, 1944). Many other titles might be added. The following abbreviations will be used in bibliographic references hereafter: HWLC, *Han Wei Lu-ch'ao po-san-chia chi*; HCTY, *Hsüeh-chin t'ao-yüan*; PTKM, *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*; SPTK, *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*; TPKE, *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi*; TPYL, *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*; TSCC, *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng*. Page references to the Dynastic Histories follow the K'ai-ming Edition. Super-script letters refer to the Glossary of Chinese Characters.

² The following meanings in *Shuo wen* do not seem to be supported by general usage: *mei* ^t "wash the face," *tsao* ^z "wash the hands," *hsi* ^h "wash the feet."

Chou Dynasty bathtubs were of no special shape: some were square and some were round.³ Sometimes objects not originally designed for bathing purposes were borrowed to these ends, as, for instance, the *han*,^{m,n} originally a ceramic ice-bucket.⁴ The bathing medium *par excellence* was *t'ang* ° "hot water," a word applied to natural thermae as well.

Confucius himself sanctioned bathing of groups of young men in rivers, particularly in connection with the purification ceremonies of springtime,⁵ and we are not surprised to read of men bathing in ponds,⁶ but it is difficult to say how the frequency of outdoor bathing in natural waters compared with that of bathing at home. As for domestic practices, we have a fairly complete record in the *Li chi*, which gives the following prescriptions for members of upper class families: (1) a son living with his parents washes his hands and mouth each cockcrow; (2) a woman living with her husband's family does likewise; (3) sons and daughters-in-law attend their parents each morning with hand-washing materials; (4) all children wash hands and mouth at sunup; (5) household servants do likewise; (6) children prepare hot water bath for their parents each fifth day, and a hair wash for them every third day; (7) children heat water to wash their parents' face or feet at any time when they have become dirty.⁷ In any case, the sexes are strictly separated in the bathroom.⁸ This latter attitude remained prevalent throughout Chinese history, with the exceptions of barbarians, rustics, dissolute persons, and luxury-loving lords and kings.⁹

³ *Shih tzu* ^{ba} (*Tzu-shu po-chia* edit), 12b has: "The lord is like a tub; the people are like water. When the tub is square, the water is square; when the tub is round, the water is round."

⁴ *Chuang tzu*, Tse-yang: "The Holy Commonlord had three wives, and they bathed in the same ice-bucket."

⁵ *Lun yü*, Hsien-chin, 25.

⁶ As reported in *Tso chuan*, Wen 18.

⁷ *Li chi*, Nei-tse.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Very little information is available about the form of Chou bathrooms. The word *pi* is quite rare. Judging from some evidence, the tub was frequently set in any convenient place, even outdoors. The term *yü-shih*,¹ later "bathroom" or "bath-house," means a house of correction when it occurs in *Lieh tzu* and *Huai-nan tzu*, as a result of the convergence of the graphs \square ¹ and \square ^k in one form of the ancient script. See *Tz'u tung*, p. 2324.

We know virtually nothing about the bathing habits of commoners, but washing his person was *de rigueur* for a gentleman, for whom bodily and moral purity were closely interdependent.¹⁰ He was obliged, if careful in these matters, to wash his hands five times each day. He washed his hair with a cereal preparation, and his hands in a similar concoction. In the bath he wore two coarse kerchiefs about his body. He stepped from the tub onto a grass mat, and donned a rough robe to dry his body.¹¹ Doubtless these ideals were not strictly maintained by the knights of that age—for instance, naked bathing was certainly not unknown.¹²

An ancient custom, often alluded to in later literature, was flicking the dust from one's hat, and shaking out one's garment, before redressing after a bath.¹³ It does not seem to have been usual to don fresh clothes on such occasions. This may account in part for later reports of the contempt of some foreigners, such as Koreans, for Chinese cleanliness habits.

Even more important than bathing the whole body in those times was washing the hair. Chou literature gives a strong impression that barons and warriors alike were almost fanatical in their observance of this ritual. Later tradition assigned the "invention" of this practice to the Well-disposed Commonlord (*Mu kung*^p) of Ch'in,¹⁴ despite the existence of contemporary legends telling about hair-washing in remote antiquity.¹⁵ In several places in the *Tso chuan* important personages are shown refusing to be interrupted while engaged in cleaning their hair, or proving their rigid devotion to duty by leaving the washing incomplete in great emergencies.¹⁶ Popular tales about the Great Yü and the Commonlord of Chou relate how these heroes were compelled to gather

up their wet hair three times during a single washing in order to attend to affairs of state.¹⁷ A well-known story tells that when Confucius visited Lao-tzu, the latter received him just as he had finished washing his hair and was spreading it out to dry.¹⁸ Ladies could think of no more fitting preparation for the reception of an absent lover than washing their tresses before his arrival.¹⁹

The great barons of the kingdom naturally washed in somewhat more luxurious circumstances than lesser personages. It seems to have been customary for a lady to pour water from a pitcher into the hand-basin of a noble lord.²⁰ Some barons at least had regularly employed attendants, called Provosts of the Bath (*shang-yü*^a).²¹ As for the king himself, his bathing water was prepared by functionaries entitled Palatines (*kung-jen*^r).²² A noble visiting in a foreign state was entitled to quarters and an immediate bath before eating,²³ and thereafter facilities for washing his hair each three days, and a full bath every five days.²⁴ The desire to do special honor to a guest might result in even greater attention to his person—thus we hear of a dignitary received by the Lord of Ch'i with baths and a triple anointing with aromatics.²⁵ Or a noble deserving special regard might have a red canopy erected over his bathtub.²⁶

Bathing was regularly prescribed before ceremonies and formalities of all kinds. Both the *Li chi* and the *I li* describe many instances where a bath is a necessary prelude to a ritual act. Some of these are said to have been practised in high antiquity, with the implication that they were no longer strictly adhered to in late Chou times. So it is written that in ancient times, the Son of Heaven and the great barons always had an officer in charge of sacrificial beasts, who was expected to undergo ceremonial purification, including both fasting and bathing, before proceed-

¹⁰ *Li chi*, Ju-hsing.

¹¹ *Li chi*, Yü-tsao.

¹² See *Tso chuan*, Hsi 23, for a tale of a man observed naked in his bath.

¹³ *Ch'u ts'ü*, Yü fu; *Hsün tzu*, Pu-kou p'ien.

¹⁴ *Shih pen*,¹ an anonymous work, possibly of the Han Dynasty (TSCC) 1, 24.

¹⁵ Kao Ch'eng^m (eleventh century), *Shih-wu chi-yüan*ⁿ (in *Hsi-yin-hsüan ts'ung-shu*) 10, 24b cites the instance of the hair-washing of the demigod Yü as described in *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* and also other old tales. The author doubts the assignment to the Lord of Ch'in for this reason.

¹⁶ *Tso chuan*, Hsi 24, Hsi 28.

¹⁷ *Shih chi* 33, 0127a; Lo Mi,^o *Lu shih*,^p Hsia-hou-shih (ch. 12).

¹⁸ *Chuang tzu*, T'ien-tzu-fang.

¹⁹ *Shih ching*, Kuo feng, Po hsi; and Hsiao ya, Tü-jen-shih, Ts'ai lü.

²⁰ *Tso chuan*, Hsi 23, referring to a prince of Chin visiting in Ch'in.

²¹ *Han-fei tzu*, Nei-ch'ü-shuo.

²² *Chou li*, T'ien-kuan.

²³ *I li*, Pin-li.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Kuo yü*, Ch'i yü.

²⁶ *I Chou shu*, Wang-hui chieh.

ing to the court for the selection of the victim.²⁷ A formal call on a reigning lord was another occasion requiring a bath.²⁸ There were many other such occasions.

Requirements of cleanliness were abrogated for a person in mourning.²⁹ Nonetheless the taboo on a son's washing, out of regard for a deceased parent, was lifted if bathing was necessary to the mourner's health, as when he had an ulceration on his body.³⁰ Indeed, according to an uncanonical text, Confucius is said to have given his support to the doctrine that even a person in mourning should bathe before a religious ceremony, on the grounds that this was done for ritual purity, not for vain appearance's sake.³¹

BATHING SUBSIDIES

The necessity of washing prior to participation in a ritual led in late Chou times to the development of "Townships for Thermae and Hair-washes."^s The City of Ping^t in the State of Cheng^u was such a place. These were cities designated by the Son of Heaven to provide revenue to the great lords who participated in important religious feasts or were required to attend ceremonies in the royal capital. The income derived from these subsidiary fiefs was originally intended to defray the expenses involved in maintaining ritual purity. At first these cities were chiefly in the vicinity of Mt. T'ai and near the capital.³²

This custom was continued, much expanded, in the Han and Three Nations periods. Bathing subsidies were given to the empress, to daughters of the emperor, and to other princesses.³³ Indeed they were allotted to everyone in the "feudal" structure, male and female, from the Son of Heaven down to the least "enfeoffed liegeland,"^v as a

completely private endowment, outside of the national fiscal structure.³⁴

POST-CHOU BATHING MORES

From the Han period on, the attitudes of the Chinese towards washing the body remained by and large what they had been in Chou. The primary object of bathing was to remove dirt. Hence the maxim, "In bathing, we do not need a river or sea—we [only] require that it remove grime."³⁵ In short, only enough water is necessary to suit the immediate purpose. Otherwise one followed ancient custom. If anything, the old traditions became more solidly crystallized. They were probably summed up in the book on bathing, in three scrolls, written by the Frugal and Cultured Theocrat (*Chien-wen ti*^w) of the Liang Dynasty, now unfortunately lost.³⁶ At the very least, a scrupulous gentleman washed his hands and face each morning on arising,³⁷ and cleaned his body more thoroughly every fifth day. This latter operation centered around a leisurely washing of the hair, regarded, as it had been in Chou, as so important as to excuse one from attention to business or the reception of guests.³⁸

Already in the Han period, the lustral period of five days passed from custom into law, and every official was entitled to a holiday at this interval specifically for "relaxation and hair-washing."³⁹ In T'ang times, the lustrum was ten days, and an official's salary was called "Subsidy for clothes- and hair-washing."^x The first word of this expression, *wan*^y "to wash, esp. one's clothes," came also to mean "decade," that is, a lustral period of ten days.⁴⁰ The privilege was abandoned in the late part of the T'ang period, because of disorder and constant alarms, though it is said of Li Te-yü^z that he always made it a point to return home and wash his hair on the tenth day, no matter how

²⁷ *Li chi*, Chi-li.

²⁸ So of Confucius before calling on the Lord of Chi. *Lun yü*, Hsien-wen.

²⁹ *Li chi*, T'an-kung, tells a story which points out the worth of one of six sons who refused to bathe out of respect for his late father, even though it might cost him his inheritance.

³⁰ *Li chi*, Ch'ü-li.

³¹ *K'ung-tzu chia-yü* (SPTK) 10, 13b-14a.

³² *Li chi*, Wang-chih; Kung-yang Comm. on *Ch'un-ch'iu*, Yin 8; Edouard Chavannes, *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, I (Paris, 1895), 287, n. 1.

³³ *Shih chi* 58, 0175d; *Han shu* 12, 0317a; *Hou Han shu* 38, 0715b; *Hou Han shu* 70a; 0784a; *San Kuo chih* (Wei) 1, 0921a.

³⁴ *Shih chi* 30, 0119a.

³⁵ *Shih chi* 49, 0166d.

³⁶ *Nan shih* 8, 2567a. It is possible that this text also included Buddhist bathing customs.

³⁷ So, for instance, the Sung Emperor, Hsiao Wu Ti; see *Nan shih* 2, 2552c.

³⁸ See instances in *Shih chi* 103, 0234a, *Shih chi* 120, 0263b, *Chin shu* 65, 1255c, *Wu Tai shih* 28, 4422a.

³⁹ History of the institution summarized in *Shih-wu chi-yüan* 1, 36a-b.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

pressing the emergency.⁴¹ However the ten-day lustrum was revived in the early part of Sung.⁴²

Exceptions to the general rule were common. Superstitious persons might not wash their hair on "rat-days" and "hare-days," supposedly ill-omened for this activity;⁴³ or devoted attendance on a sick friend might make it impossible to bathe within the customary time.⁴⁴ However, an individual who was too regularly neglectful could acquire the reputation of an eccentric: such a one was Liu K'uan,⁴⁵ the wine-bibber whose name was proverbial in the Later Han capital because of his indifference to tub and towel.⁴⁶ Solitary philosophers and poets were particularly prone to be lax in these matters: so Yü Shih-nan⁴⁷ of T'ang was so devoted to meditation that he is said not to have used the wash-basin once in ten days.⁴⁸ Even the poet Po Chü-i wrote: "Throughout a year no wash or bath; Grit and grime fill flesh and skin!" and went on to observe the decrepit condition of his body, visible for the first time in a twelve-month.⁴⁹ Another famous personage who had a reputation for his neglect of water and clean clothes was the Sung minister Wang An-shih. A pair of his associates were careful to take him bathing once every month or so, and to lay out new clothes for him, which he donned on emerging from the tub without asking their source.⁴⁸

Personal idiosyncrasy might be of the opposite kind. Ho T'ung-chih⁵⁰ washed himself thoroughly ten or more times each day, and complained that even this was not enough.⁴⁹ This sort of mania was sometimes an attribute of sybaritic living: P'u Tsung-meng⁵¹ had every day a "small face-washing," a "great face-washing," a "small foot-bathing," a "large foot-bathing," and overall baths both great and small. He employed a dozen servant-girls to assist him, and at a single bath used five tubs of hot water.⁵⁰

The old taboos continued generally in force.

⁴¹ T'ang shu 180, 4060a.

⁴² Sung shih 3, 4501b.

⁴³ Lun heng, Chi-jih p'ien (SPTK) 24, 3b.

⁴⁴ Nan shih 19, 2595d.

⁴⁵ Hou Han shu 55, 0751b.

⁴⁶ T'ang shu 102, 3917a.

⁴⁷ Po-shih chang-ch'ing chi' (SPTK) 10, 12a, Mu-yü.

⁴⁸ Yeh Meng-te (1077-1148), Shih-lin yen-yü (TSCC) 10, 98-99.

⁴⁹ Nan shih 71, 2710d.

⁵⁰ Sung shih 328, 5359c.

One did not expose one's person to a close relative or to a member of the opposite sex. The modesty of one Chang Yüan⁵² was so great that he refused to bathe with his grandfather in an outdoor pool on the grounds that it was indecent to uncover the body in broad daylight.⁵¹ Mixed bathing of both sexes was of course regarded as licentious in the extreme. In the Han period, Confucius' strictures against the music of Cheng were explained as provoked by the unwholesome customs of the natives of that state, who bathed together in the streams, men and women, to the sound of exciting music.⁵² No doubt this was actually a local version of the purification ritual performed on river banks on the third day of the third month.⁵³ Because of such "Confucian" and "North Chinese" taboos, bathing sometimes had licentious overtones, and indeed water-fertility festivals were common enough in the South, which was only partly assimilated to the mores of the Yellow River valley.⁵⁴ Mingling of the sexes in the bath has not ordinarily been discussed in serious literature in China, except as a disgusting peculiarity of barbarians and peasants, but in the vernacular novels of the Ming Dynasty, erotic activities, even actual intercourse in a bath, are often described.⁵⁵

Fundamental Chinese attitudes towards bathing, and especially its moral overtones, can be inferred from Chinese descriptions of foreigners and "barbarians." From the Han period, when the lands south of the Yangtze River first became directly known to the Chinese, the familiarity of the aborigines with life in, on, and around water was often remarked in literature. These were the peoples who doted on boating, seafaring, naval

⁵¹ Chou shu 46, 2333d.

⁵² Po-hu t'ung shu-cheng u 3, 9b.

⁵³ Comm. on Po-hu t'ung loc. cit.

⁵⁴ See for example Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China*, Pt. II (Monumenta Serica Monograph No. 3, 1942), p. 235.

⁵⁵ For instance, see R. H. van Gulik, *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period, with an Essay on Chinese Sex Life from the Han to the Ch'ing Dynasty, B.C. 206-A.D. 1644* (3 vols., privately printed, Tokyo, 1951), esp. Vol. I, 218-9. Also Chin-p'ing-mei tz'u-hua (Photolith of Wan-li edition) 29, 12b. R. G. Irwin, *The Evolution of a Chinese Novel: Shui-hu-chuan* (Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies X, Cambridge, 1953), p. 78 tells of a Ming writer who was jailed, charged, among other scandalous offenses, with daylight bathing in company with a prostitute at a Buddhist temple.

warfare, swimming, water festivals, and mixed bathing.⁵⁶ To the northerners, more earth-bound, these southern customs seemed strange, and often immoral. A report presented to the Han throne took pains to point out that in Lo-yüeh⁵⁷ fathers and sons bathed together in the same stream, patently a shocking affair.⁵⁷ About the same time it was alleged that, contrary to respectable doctrine, men and women of Wu-yüeh⁵⁸ bathed in the same room.⁵⁸ The greater importance and frequency of bathing in South China, compared with the North, has been demonstrated by Eberhard.⁵⁹ It is probable that these southern habits had an important influence on the later Chinese culture, especially in the development of public baths.

But the peoples of the southern marches were not alone in incurring the adverse judgment of the orthodox Chinese. At various times Chinese travellers and geographers have noted the bathing customs of foreigners, and the things they recorded as worthy of special mention illuminate their own prejudices. *They* bathe too often! *They* bathe with women! *They* brush their teeth! (Implied: *we* do not!). Thus, a Chinese report of the twelfth century observes that the "barbarians"⁶⁰ of the Northeast (possibly Koreans?) made no bones about men and women bathing together.⁶⁰ On the other hand, in the Sung Dynasty at least, the natives of Szechwan were accused of being entirely indifferent to cleanliness, hence the proverb: "The men of Shu bathe once at the time of birth, and once at the time of death."⁶¹ A Chinese traveller of the early nineteenth century observed that Tibetan men and women bathed together in rivers as part of a purification rite of the sixth and

seventh months.⁶² A medieval account of Korea states that the natives of that country have a tradition of cleanliness, and consider the Chinese dirty; they always bathe on rising, take two baths daily during the summer, and men and women bathe naked together in the streams.⁶³ A very early Chinese description of Japan⁶⁴ tells that after a funeral ceremony there, the whole family bathes together to cleanse themselves of spiritual impurities.⁶⁴ The medieval Chams were accustomed to washing themselves twice daily, and anointing themselves with musk.⁶⁵ The ancient Cambodians washed themselves every morning, and moreover brushed their teeth with a stick.⁶⁶ Chou Ta-kuan's description of Cambodia at the end of the thirteenth century states that although the natives did not have bathrooms and tubs like the Chinese, still they are accustomed to bathe many times each day and night: a family or several families jointly share a pool, which they all visit together. Moreover the women there are fond of bathing shamelessly in a river outside of town, and the local Chinese merchants form parties to go and watch them.⁶⁷ These and other tales of the benighted barbarians suggest that the medieval Chinese, particularly those of the Yellow River valley, took washing less seriously than most of their neighbors, and were also more prudish about it. A special kind of story about bathing in a foreign land is the well-known Chinese tradition of the mysterious Country of Women, whose long-haired and white-bodied inhabitants bathe in a Yellow Pool, and so become pregnant.⁶⁸

BATHING EQUIPMENT

After the Han dynasty there are frequent literary allusions to bathrooms. These seem in most cases to have been detached from the resi-

⁵⁶ See for instance Wan Chen^w (third century), *Nan-chou i-wu chih*^x (quoted in TPYL 395): "The people of Ho-p'u are practised in the water and excel at swimming."

⁵⁷ *Han shu* 64b, 0520d. *Lun heng*, Pien-tung p'ien makes the same statement about the natives of "the Southern Quarter."

⁵⁸ *K'ung-ts'ung tzu*.^y This book has been attributed to a Han writer, but its actual age is unknown. The statement is attributed to Confucius himself.

⁵⁹ Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, Pt. I (T'oung Pao Supplement to Vol. 37, 1942), p. 301-2.

⁶⁰ *Po k'ung lu t'ieh*^z (Ming edition of the twelfth century enlargement of Po Chü-i's encyclopaedia) 68, 4a.

⁶¹ Chou Mi,^{aa} *Kuei-hsien tsa-shih*^{ab} (in *Chin-tai pi-shu*,^{ac} suppl. vol. A), 14a.

⁶² Yao Ying^{ad} (1785/1853), *K'ang-yu chi-hsing*^{ae} (in *Chung-fu-t'ang ch'üan-chi*^{af}) 7, 19a.

⁶³ Hsü Ching^{ag} (1093-1155), *Kao-li t'u-ching*^{ah} (published by Ch'ao-hsien ku-shu k'an-hsing-hui,^{ai} 1911), p. 492.

⁶⁴ *Chin shu* 97, 1336b.

⁶⁵ *T'ang shu* 222b, 4159a.

⁶⁶ *Pei shih* 95, 3037c, for Chinrap.^{aj}

⁶⁷ Chou Ta-kuan,^{ak} *Chen-la feng-t'u chi*^{al} (in *Shuo fu*) 23a-b.

⁶⁸ *Shan-hai ching* (SPTK) b, 41b, and *Nan shih* 79, 2732d. This tale has been much discussed. See Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* II, 229, for other tales of conception during a bath.

dence proper, though it appears that some were attached to the kitchen or privy. After Chou they are rarely called *pi*ⁱ, most frequently *yü-shih*.⁶⁹ Within them were the bathing utensils, which might consist of a ewer, basin and towel, for washing hands and face, a tub and small bench for bathing, or all of these things.⁶⁹ An early fifth century source tells of a Buddhist nun who, while visiting a private home, bathed in a detached structure. The host watched her through a cranny, from which it may be reasonably deduced that (1) private bathrooms were sometimes available, (2) nuns took baths, and (3) they bathed naked.⁷⁰ The term "cleanliness room" (*ching shih*^{ak}) appears occasionally: so an eighth century tale tells of a tub in such a place where a bridegroom bathed before his wedding.⁷¹

A poem of Po Chü-i mentions in parallel verses a "warm room" (*wen-shih*^{al}) and a "bath hall" (*yü-t'ang*^{am}).⁷² The latter expression seems usually to have been applied to rather commodious buildings, and after T'ang at least, commonly to public bathing establishments. The former term did not, as might be expected, refer to a sweat bath of the kind popular in Eastern Europe, Northern Asia and Japan. Its meaning will be explained presently. In some cases bath-houses were supplied with windows: a ghost story of the tenth century tells of one so equipped.⁷³ It is unlikely that such elegant constructions were common. They continued to be accessories of aristocratic homes long after commercial public baths became common.⁷⁴ Bath-rooms were also sometimes part of compounds which served groups larger than the family unit, such as the bath-houses attached to Buddhist temples.⁷⁵ An eleventh

century text refers to such communal baths, under the old name *pi*, not only at a Buddhist monastery, but also attached to a municipal office-building,⁷⁶ presumably for the use of persons regularly employed in these institutions.

After the Chou period the word *yü*ⁱ "bathtub" disappeared from normal use, and other expressions took its place, usually prefixed by the word *yü*^d "bathing." These words suggest that a variety of tubs and basins had been converted to bathing purposes, or that new sizes and shapes were analogous with other vessels. The most common term is *yü-hu*.^{an} In ordinary usage a *hu* was a large grain-measure.⁷⁷ It is likely that these were ordinarily made of wood, like the bathtubs of Chou, but a wealthy person might own tubs of metal or porcelain.⁷⁸

A bench for the convenience of the bather appears to have a common accessory after Han times. An early dialect word *shao*,^{ao} for this artifact, has only dictionary status.⁷⁹ The usual expression was *yü-ch'uang*,^{ap} 'bath couch' as in the poem of Po-Chü-i which tells of his bath in a natural pool on a hot night:

A level stone makes a bath couch,

A hollowed stone makes a bath tub.⁸⁰

For the daily washing of hands and face, a jug and basin were used, normally of metal. So T'ao Hung-ching gave a friend a brass jug^{aq} and a hand-towel,⁸¹ while wealthier families might own more expensive articles, like the golden washpan^{ar} of a royal dynasty.⁸²

Other accessories included towels, kerchiefs, and mats, and sometimes even a screen to shield a delicate lady from the gaze of the inquisitive.⁸³

From the fifth century we have an anecdote,

1955) for a "Bath-house Cloister" at a ninth century monastery.

⁷⁶ Tseng Kung^{aw} (1019-1083), *Tou-shuai chi*^{ax} and *Fan-ch'ang-hsien hsing-tsao chi*,^{ay} in *Nan-feng hsien-sheng lei-kao*^{az} (SPTK) 18, 2b and 17, 5b.

⁷⁷ Textual examples too numerous to cite.

⁷⁸ Gulik, op. cit., has a print of a round porcelain bathtub.

⁷⁹ Chang I,^{bb} *Kuang ya*^{bc} (TSCC) 8, 101.

⁸⁰ *Po-shih ch'ang-ch'ing chi* 52, 23a-b.

⁸¹ T'ao Hung-ching,^{bd} "Shou Lu Ching-yu shih-lai wen"^{be} in *T'ao Yin-chü chi*^{bt} (HWLC), 41a.

⁸² Yü Shih-nan, *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao*^{bs} 135, 5a.

⁸³ Han Wo^{bh} (844-923), "Yung yü"^{bi} in *Yü-shan ch'iao-jen hsiang-lien chi*^{bj} (SPTK), 7b.

⁶⁹ See *Hsü Sou-shen chi*,^{am} usually attributed to T'ao Ch'ien of the Chin Dynasty, for a tale of a bathroom of the early third century. Inside it was a "hair-washing basin." The servants made a hole in the wall to watch the bather. This suggests, but does not prove, that it was a separate construction.

⁷⁰ Liu I-ch'ing^{an} (403-444), *Yu-ming lu*^{ao} (in TPYL 395).

⁷¹ Yü Ti^{ap} (fl. 740), *Wen-ch'ü lu*^{aq} (in TPKC 352, 3a).

⁷² *Po-shih ch'ang-ch'ing chi* 56, 15a: "Ho ch'un shen erh-shih shou."^{ar}

⁷³ Hsü Hsüan,^{as} *Chi-shen lu*^{at} (in TPKC 353, 5a).

⁷⁴ For instance the private bath-house described in T'ao Tsung-i,^{au} *Cho-keng lu*^{av} (TSCC) 29, 443, of the fourteenth century.

⁷⁵ See E. O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary; the Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (New York,

purporting to tell of the Chin Dynasty, in which the expression "washing legumes" (*tsao-tou*^{as}) occurs. This preparation served as a soap until recent times. The story tells of one Wang Tun^{at} who, returning from the privy in a noble home, was presented with a gold basin and a glass cup containing the soap. Evidently this cleansing aid was not widely known at this time, since the man mistook the purpose of the bowl of water, and drank it, much to the amusement of the servant girls.⁸⁴ It is very likely that this substance was at hand only in the houses of the rich. In fact its use seems to have been thought rather sybaritic even in much later times. A T'ang story about a certain Lu Ch'ang^{au} is virtually identical with the one just mentioned. The maidservant brought him a pitcher of water, and the pea-soap in a silver casket.^{av} When he had drunk in error, and the true purpose of these things had been explained to him, he is said to have remarked that the customs of the nobility were remarkably onerous.⁸⁵ The "washing legumes" were, in T'ang times, a special product of the Pin^{aw} region, in what is now Shensi.⁸⁶ The essential ingredient of the preparation was ground-up peas (*pi-tou*^{ax} or *wan-tou*^{ay}), mixed with herbs. The complete recipe may be found in the *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*.⁸⁷ Used primarily for cleaning the hands and face, the substance had a certain cosmetic value, but was not regarded as a medicine. A physician remarked to Wang An-shih, who was concerned about his dusky complexion, that the minister should try using the peas, because, ". . . that is dirt, not disease!"⁸⁸ We have already observed the great Wang's fame for his permanent grimy crust.

Cosmetic concoctions were not always used in conjunction with water. Some might even inhibit its use. For instance, girls of good family in northeast China (Yen^{az}) were accustomed to anoint their faces in winter with a substance containing the herb *kua-lou*,^{ba} probably *Tricosanthes*

multiloba. This was said to protect their skins from the winter wind, and leave them shining white when washed off in the spring.⁸⁹ But the whole subject of Chinese cosmetics deserves a special monograph.

BALNEOTHERAPY

The Chinese have used many varieties of herbs and ointments as materials for cleansing the body and hair, frequently with a therapeutic purpose in mind. An ancient example may be found in the *Shan-hai ching*.⁹⁰ Such preparations were thought to improve the complexion, and even to prevent wrinkles from developing,⁹¹ if not actually to cure skin diseases. But water itself served to maintain good health, quite aside from its cleansing value. Above all, water was an agent employed to maintain correct body temperature at different seasons. So *Kuan-tzu* has, "If we do not wash on winter days, it is not that we are miserly about water. If we do not warm ourselves on summer days, it is not because we are miserly about fire. It is because these are not fitting for the body."⁹² In short, cold water was primarily a cooling agent, while hot water was a warming agent, appropriate to summer and winter respectively. So it was natural that a man should reproach his friend for washing his hair out of doors on a winter day, as perilous to his health.⁹³

The maintenance of thermal equilibrium was the motivation for the construction of "warm rooms" and "cold rooms." The more elegant of these establishments were sometimes called "palaces" and "basilicas." The Wei-yang Palace of the early Han operators had a "Basilica of the Warm Room" (*wen-shih tien*^{bb}), where the theocrat stayed in winter, and a "Clear and Cold Basilica" (*ch'ing-liang tien*^{bc}), cooled by ice in crystal vats, where he reclined in summer.⁹⁴ Such

⁸⁹ Chuang Chi-yü,^{ba} *Chi-lei pien*^{br} (in *Lin-lang pi-shih ts'ung-shu*^{bs}) a, 18b.

⁹⁰ A plant called *huang-kuan*,^{bt} found at Bamboo Mountain, and use to cure ulcers by putting in bath-water. See *Shan-hai ching* (SPTK) a, 13b.

⁹¹ As the face-wash called "Converted Jade Ointment,"^{bu} mentioned in *Hsia-wei tuan-tieh*^{bv} (*Shuo fu*), 1b. This is an anonymous work of unknown date. See also the tenth century *Yün-hsien tsa-chi*^{bw} 3, 4b.

⁹² *Kuan tzu*, quoted in TPYL 395.

⁹³ Ch'en Chi-ju,^{bx} *Pi-han pu*^{by} (TSCC), 7.

⁹⁴ *San-fu huang-t'u*^{bz} (in *Ching-hsün-t'ang ts'ung-shu*^{ca}) 3, 1a-b, and 2a. The Warm Room Basilica was

⁸⁴ Liu I-ch'ing, *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*^{bk} (SPTK) c, b. 44a.

⁸⁵ Tuan Ch'eng-shih,^{bl} *Yu-yang tsa-tsu*^{bm} suppl. (SPTK) 4, 6b. This soap seems normally to have been kept in a typical lady's cosmetic box (*lien*^{bn}) made of precious metal. See *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* 135, 8b for such as casket made of silver, originally used by an imperial family.

⁸⁶ *T'ang shu* 37, 3720a.

⁸⁷ Chapter 24.

⁸⁸ Shen Kua^{bo} (1030-1094), *Meng-ch'i pi-t'an*^{bp} (TSCC) 9, 63.

were built by aristocratic or kingly families as air-conditioning arrangements intended to compensate for the rigors of the continental climate.⁹⁵ Although baths were sometimes taken in these buildings, this was not their primary function.

A curious use of water for healing purposes is mentioned in the *Shih chi*. The tradition was current in early Han that a physician of ancient times employed surgical techniques, when internal medicine was the usual practice. He is said to have been able to cut open the belly of a patient, and wash the vital organs directly.⁹⁶

In historical medicinal usage, however, hot water applied externally was of the first importance, with or without added drugs. The early twelfth century pharmacologist, K'ou Tsung-shih,^{bd} prescribed hot foot-baths for rheumatism, and sitzbaths for bellyaches and chronic "coldness" of the limbs.⁹⁷ Moreover, since antiquity, natural hot springs were thought to have marvelous healing powers, and these were widely resorted to for diseases of the skin and other chronic maladies. Their importance in China makes them deserving of separate treatment here.

HOT SPRINGS

It is curious that the literature of the Chou Dynasty does not seem to mention bathing in hot springs (*t'ang-ch'üan*^{be}). The most famous of the natural thermae, the so-called "Warm Springs" (*wen-ch'üan*^{bf}) near Ch'ang-an, is reputed to have been the first in China used for bathing.⁹⁸ This primordial event followed an affair between the founder of the Ch'in Dynasty and the nymph of the spring in the third century B. C. It seems likely, however, that hot springs in South China were used for bathing and curative purposes before

this region was incorporated into the Chinese state, and so before the reports of literary observers.

The most beneficial kind of hot mineral spring was the sulphur spring. The healing properties of sulphur have been alluded to as early as the Han period. The mineral was then thought to be useful in treating "erosion" of the female genitals, for carbuncles and piles, for "bad blood," for "toughening" the sinews and bones, and for curing baldness.⁹⁹ An eighth century work describes the value of sulphur waters for various kinds of ulcers, and explains the heat of such springs as derived from the innate calorific properties of the dissolved sulphur.¹⁰⁰ The same authority prescribes bathing in hot springs for arthritic afflictions, skin diseases and falling hair. A twelfth century writer claims that of the many kinds of hot springs the hottest are those containing sulphur. Some however, like the healing springs at Pao-ch'an^{bg} Mountain in Li,^{bh} contain cinnabar (*chu-sha t'ang*^{bi}). This latter place had a bathing pool said to have been graced by the visit of two beautiful and holy women, who left an abiding fragrance there¹⁰¹—goddesses and fairies are frequently associated with these natural thermae. Another mercurial hot spring is said to have been tinted red from the native vermilion.¹⁰² Still another variety of mineral spring contained arsenic—such was the famous Warm Spring of Ch'ang-an.¹⁰³ Sulphur is omnipresent, however, since mercury and arsenic appear usually in the form of sulphides at fumaroles and springs. Other types, such as alum and salt springs, were less frequently observed by the Chinese.¹⁰⁴

It would be fruitless, and probably impossible, to attempt to enumerate all of the hot springs of China. Here only a few noteworthy examples will be mentioned. The *Shui-ching chu* is the

built prior to 171 B. C. See *Shih chi* 22, 0094d and *Han shu* 75, 0548c.

⁹⁵ See also *Chin shu* 130, 1406c for the Warm Palace and Cold Basilica of Ho-lien Po-po;^{cb} and Lu Hui,^{cc} *Yeh-chung chi*^{cd} (in *Jung-chai ts'ung-shu*^{ce}) 1, 4b-5a for Shih Hu's Cold Basilica with its attached ice-pits. The Grand Ancestor of T'ang had a "Basilica of Flying Frost," into which cold water was led to form a pool which kept the temperature within the building at a low level during the summer; *Chien-k'ang shih-lu*^{cf} (in *Shuo fu*), 2a. Other such establishments are recorded in Chinese history.

⁹⁶ *Shih chi* 105, 0236a.

⁹⁷ Quoted in PTKM 5.

⁹⁸ *Shih-wu chi-yüan* 7, 11b.

⁹⁹ *Shen-nung pen-ts'ao ching*, quoted in PTKM 11.

¹⁰⁰ Ch'en Tsang-ch'i,^{cg} quoted in PTKM 5.

¹⁰¹ Chang Pang-chi,^{ch} *Mo-chuang man-lu*^{ci} (TSCC) 10, 117.

¹⁰² Hu Tzu,^{ci} *Yü-yin ts'ung-hua*,^{ck} a twelfth century book, quoted in PTKM 5. This cinnabar spring was at Yellow Mountain, at Hsin-an^{cl} in what is now Anhwei.

¹⁰³ Ibid. See below, under The Floriate Clear Palace, for further details.

¹⁰⁴ See the contents and properties of various types listed by Li Shih-chen in PTKM 5. The hot-springs at Ling^{cm} in the Ordos were a source of salt during T'ang. *T'ang shu* 54, 3756d.

first Chinese book to record their locations systematically. One of the more important springs described in that book was that near the Chih^{bi} River (near Ju^{bk}), in modern Honan. It appears that already in the fourth century, if not earlier, this thermal spring was much visited by sufferers from all manner of diseases. Taoist adepts, specialists in these matters, were also much in evidence at this place, where they bathed and also drank the waters.¹⁰⁵ The patron goddess of these baths was "The Illustrious Woman" (*huang nü*^{bl}), in whose honor a stele had been erected by the springs.¹⁰⁶ Her name is reflected in the "Yellow Woman's Thermae" (*huang nü t'ang*^{bm}), esteemed by the founder of the T'ang Dynasty.¹⁰⁷ Indeed this spot was favored by many visits of monarchs of the T'ang. The High Ancestor (*Kao tsung*^{bn}), the Heaven-patterned Empress, and the Mystic Ancestor (*Hsüan tsung*^{bo}), all of that dynasty, graced these baths with their presence, and the first of these built a rest-house there.¹⁰⁸

Hsüan Tsung, a great devotee of thermal springs, made several trips to the Phoenix Springs Thermae (*feng-ch'üan t'ang*^{bp}) near Feng-hsiang^{bq} as well, and even composed a poem in commemoration of one such journey.¹⁰⁹

Other dynasts were accustomed to visit these holy spots. A notable instance was the Epochal Forefather (*Shih tsu*^{br}) of the Tobas, who composed a song, "The Song of the Warm Spring" (*wen-ch'üan ko*^{bs}) when he came to the thermae of Kuang-ning^{bt} in northern Shansi.¹¹⁰ The hot springs of the Stone Gate, at Lan-t'ien^{bu} in Shensi, also deserved imperial attention. It is said that this locality was first discovered in T'ang times by a priest who observed that snow melted on the ground at a certain spot, deduced the presence of underground hot waters, and had it

excavated.¹¹¹ Therefore one of its five springs was later called "Melted Snow" (*jung-hsüeh*^{bv}). Another was named "Jade Woman" (*yü nü*^{bw}) after the naiad who was seen there, and a building, "Jade Woman Hall" was erected to honor this beneficent spirit. Subsequently, according to local tradition, the Mystic Ancestor changed its name to "Close of the Greatly Exalted Thermae" (*Ta hsing t'ang yüan*^{bx}).¹¹²

Another well-reputed spring was near Chien-k'ang^{by} (Yang-chou). It first became famous in the eighth century after the daughter of a local magistrate was cured by bathing in it. The grateful mandarin endowed a Buddhist shrine there, which gained a wide reputation for the medicines it purveyed.¹¹³

Such associations with god-kings, Taoists and Buddhists are characteristic, for these waters were divine. They were increasingly resorted to as the centuries passed, and more and more were discovered. So a seventeenth century source says that in Lingnan ". . . there is no place that lacks a warm spring."¹¹⁴

LUSTRATION

Habitual washing of the kind recommended by the Confucian tradition is very close to ritual purification. Cleanliness was close to Godliness. Ceremonial washing, therefore, embraces a range of customs from bathing conceived as a virtuous act in itself, up through a multitude of performances aimed at something more than sheer cleanliness, to the great rites in which the use of water symbolized the purgation of the very essence of Evil.

Ritual bathing is very ancient in China. The founder of the Shang Dynasty was posthumously called "Hot-water" (*t'ang*), and sometimes "Per-

¹⁰⁵ Compare *Shih-wu pen-ts'ao*^{cn} (early sixteenth century, quoted in PTKM 5) which tells of the Taoists who patronized the hot-springs at Mt. Lu^{co} in Kiangsi.

¹⁰⁶ *Shui-ching chu* (SPTK) 31, 1b-2a.

¹⁰⁷ *T'ang shu* 38, 3721c.

¹⁰⁸ *T'ang shu* 3, 3638d, 3642c, 3645a; 38, 3721c; *Ming i-t'ung chih* 31, 32a. A stele erected there in T'ang times was already broken off in Sung (*T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi* 8, 4b).

¹⁰⁹ *T'ang shu* 5, 3644c, 3645a-b; 37, 3720a; "Hsing Feng-ch'üan t'ang"^{cp} in *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 1, 2, 11b.

¹¹⁰ *Pei shih* 2, 2747b.

¹¹¹ *Ming i-t'ung chih* 32, 14a.

¹¹² *Shan-hsi t'ung-chih*,^{ca} quoted in *T'u-shu chi-ch'eng*, Chih-fang^{cr} ch. 511. According to Fujinami, op. cit., p. 80, there was a "Warm Spring Palace" near Peking, but while *Ming i-t'ung chih* 1, 10b and *Ch'ing i-t'ung-chih* 4, 5a both refer to the thermae there, they say nothing of a palace.

¹¹³ Chang Tun-i,^{cs} *Liu-ch'ao shih-chi pien-lei*^{ct} (TSCC) b, 210-211.

¹¹⁴ Ch'ü Ta-chün,^{cu} *Kuang-tung hsin-yü*^{cv} 4, 29b. For a Ch'ing Dynasty account of the warm springs of Kwangtung Province, see Ch'ang An,^{cw} *Yü wen-t'ang chi*^{cx} (in *Hsiao fang-hu-chai yü-ti ts'ung-ch'ao*^{cy}).

fected by Hot-water" or possibly "Perfector of Thermae" (*ch'eng-t'ang*¹¹⁵). The early commentators on the *Shu ching* are clearly close to the truth when they say that he was so named because he was cleansed of evil and a cleanser of evil. He was, in effect, The Baptized One, and the Baptizer. The antiquity of this tradition is uncertain, but it is at least as old as the Chou Dynasty, and perhaps goes back to the time of the Great T'ang himself. He might be regarded as the ultimate patron of hot springs.

In Chou times, if not earlier, formal purification ceremonies at the royal court were in the hands of the female shamans. This must already have been ancient custom, and it is easy to demonstrate the shamanistic attributes of the Shang kings, including the mysterious Baptizer. At any rate, in the late Chou period exorcistic rites included the use of aromatics for anointing and water for bathing.¹¹⁵

In one form or another, such practices continued in use down through the historic period. A typical example: Mu-jung Shao-tsung^{ca} was afraid of water travel, and took a bath on his battle-ship to avert malignant influences from his person. A sceptical associate advised him that such apotropaic observances were fruitless, and so they proved to be, because Shao-tsung was finally drowned.¹¹⁶

Particularly important among ceremonial usages was washing before participation in a ritual. A characteristic form of this kind of observance is the custom of bathing before approaching the deity. So in ancient China the shaman purified his person prior to the beginning of his sacred chants: "He bathes in the orchid thermae: He washes his hair in fragrant herbs!"¹¹⁷ This practice continued in both the Confucian and Taoist traditions. The Taoist proto-scientists of Later Han were required to invoke the empyreal and

chthonian gods, and to fast and bathe themselves, before undertaking their solemn experiments.¹¹⁸ Alchemists of the fifth century, before working with that wonderful reagent cinnabar, burned incense and washed themselves in a Quiet Room (*ching-shih*^{cb}).¹¹⁹ Again, prior to ingesting the holy elixir prepared in his furnace, the Taoist had to spend seven days in a chamber of meditation, abstaining and washing.¹²⁰

Similarly, adherents of the official cult surrounding the person of the Son of Heaven, and even the emperor himself, were obliged to bathe before engaging in any ceremonial activity. At various stages in the performance of the great state sacrifices, officers of the early Chou Dynasty washed their hands before lifting a chalice.¹²¹ This observance might be extended to the whole people, as when, in early Han, the Son of Heaven made his appearance in the Luminous Hall, every man was required to wash himself free of impurities.¹²² In the great rituals held in the glyptothecae of the ancestors of the reigning dynasty, basins of water for the use of the celebrants were indispensable equipment.¹²³ For the T'ang period, the *T'ung tien* says outright that, ". . . in all of the great sacrifices, the fasting magistrates who sacrifice and come in contact with the deity will all wash hair and body one day prior to the sacrifice."¹²⁴ This

¹¹⁸ Wei Po-yang,^{db} *Ts'an t'ung ch'i cheng-wen* *de* (TSCC) b, 26.

¹¹⁹ Lei Hsiao,^{dd} quoted in PTKM 9. The expression *ching shih* was a verb-object construction in Han literature, meaning "to clean the palace-rooms," *ching*^{de} being used as a synonym for *ching*.^{df} In the third century the term acquired its present connotation of a room for meditation, fasting, purification and healing. A Taoist healer of the Three Nations period had a "Quiet Room" in which he put sick persons (*San kuo chih* (Wei) 8, 0942d, comm. quoting *Wei lüeh*), and a virtuous widow of the Sui Dynasty lived in utter seclusion in such a retreat (*Pei shih* 91, 3022c). Though not primarily bathrooms, these chambers obviously were intended for both physical and spiritual purification. Chinese *ching* "quiet" connotes "immobility" rather than "silence."

¹²⁰ *T'ai-shang hsüan-pien ching*,^{de} date unknown, quoted in PTKM 9.

¹²¹ *Shu ching*, Ku-ming.

¹²² *Shih chi* 24, 0099b.

¹²³ *Hou Han shu* 19, 0690c. Note also the edict of Liang Wu Ti which shows the emperor's concern about the usage of vessels for lustral waters in the great sacrifices (Liang Wu Ti, *I hsien-i chao*,^{dh} in *Liang Wu Ti chi* 1, 37a).

¹²⁴ *T'ung tien* 108, 570c (Commercial Press ed. of 1935).

¹¹⁵ *Chou li*, Ch'un-kuan, Nü-wu.^{cz}

¹¹⁶ *Pei Ch'i shu* 46, 2259d.

¹¹⁷ *Ch'u tz'u*, Chiu ko, Tung-huang t'ai-i. Baths are traditionally called "orchid" baths, especially the old ceremonial lustrations. "Orchid" is *lan*,^{da} but it is by no means certain what plant was denoted by this word in Chou times, possibly the Thoroughwort (*Eupatorium chinense*), possibly the Forsythia, or something else. In later literature the *lan* tended to become a poetic cliché appropriate to elegant baths, and no doubt thought to have been the orchid. Granet and Eberhard have discussed these matters, especially as they pertain to antiquity, in some detail.

injunction extended to all gentlemen who were about to participate in any ritual observance, great or small.¹²⁵

A special case was the imperial audience. Archaic tradition required the Son of Heaven to wash hands and face before receiving his ministers in a body.¹²⁶ Contrariwise, any man summoned to appear before Majesty first bathed himself. Examples are abundant in historical literature. An instance: Chang Chung,^{ce} a Taoist recluse of the Chin Dynasty, was summoned to court, whereupon he immediately took a bath.¹²⁷ Again, Li Lin-fu took care always to wash himself in the morning before attending the great levee.¹²⁸ When Li Po was called to make poems for the sovereign he was immobilized from drink, but his servants managed to wash his face for him.¹²⁹

Ritual washing was prescribed in connection with the formalities of birth, marriage and death. These special types of symbolic bathing, of particular interest to ethnologists, deserve separate monographs, though some aspects of them have been well treated by sinologists, notably by Wolfram Eberhard. I shall not discuss them here.

THE GREAT PURGING

The most important and sacred of the ancient purification rituals was the ceremony called variously *ch'i*,^{cd} *chieh*,^{ce} or *hsi*.^{cf} ¹³⁰ This was the universal rite of bathing and asperging held on the banks of a river early in the third month of the lunar calendar. Its popular name was Festival of *Shang-ssu*,^{cg} that is, the festival held on the ophidian (*ssu*) day of the first (*shang* 'upper') decade of the third month.¹³¹ It is not certain how widely this feast was observed in the Chou period. However, most ancient scholiasts were agreed that it was specially observed in the State of Cheng, whose mores were so depreciated by Confucius and his followers.¹³² Some authorities hold that this

was essentially the same as the lustration presided over by the female shamans described in the *Chou li*, and also identical with the vernal bathing and dancing alluded to in the *Lun yü*.¹³³ It is likely that these were all local variants of the same custom. The historical festival on the Snake Day, however, probably derives directly from the Cheng celebration. It appears that great throngs gathered for the observance of this ceremony, and it was natural that it should frequently degenerate to a mere occasion for music and merrymaking. Apparently obsolescent during Early Han, the feast was revived officially during Later Han. At this time the whole people, from monarch to commoner, proceeded to the banks of an eastward-flowing river,¹³⁴ and washed away dirt and malign spirits together.¹³⁵ Feasting, music and wine were appropriate as accompaniments to this grand purging.¹³⁶

After the Three Kingdoms period, the festival was held on the third day of the third lunar month, rather than on the first ophidian day. It was on the former day, for instance, that Hsia T'ung^{ch} came to Lo-yang (during the Chin period), and sat in a boat on the Lo River to sell drugs. He discovered princes and peasants alike purifying themselves on its banks. Men wearing festive red costumes and women in their finest silks crowded the ways.¹³⁷

Despite the change in date, it was usual to refer to the holiday as the "*shang-ssu* day"—that is, "Upper Ophidian" was now the name of a celebration held on the third of the third, and was not itself thought of as a date.¹³⁸

Shih Hu,^{ci} in his capital at Yeh in the fourth century, made much of this holiday. On the third of the third, he had the ladies of his very feminine court escort the gaily garbed women of the gentry to the water, where they pitched tents, and watched horse races and archery matches, and ate and

as they cleanse themselves at the Chen^{dk} and Wei^{dl} Rivers, and see note 117 above.

¹²⁵ *Shih-wu chi-yüan* 8, 24b.

¹²⁶ I. e. a river which would carry their impurities out to the sea.

¹²⁷ *Hou Han shu* 14, 0684d.

¹²⁸ See *Hou Han shu* 91, 0836b, for an account of a great banquet with entertainment held by Liang Shang on such an occasion.

¹²⁹ *Hsia Chung-yü pieh-chuan* ^{dm} in TPYL 30, 8b.

¹³⁰ See *Shih ch'ang-t'an*, ^{dn} an anonymous Sung work (in *Po-ch'uan hsüeh-hai*), c. 3b.

¹²⁵ *Po k'ung liu t'ieh* 68, 3b.

¹²⁶ *Shu hieung*, Ku-ming.

¹²⁷ *Chin shu* 94, 1327d.

¹²⁸ *T'ang shu* 35, 3761c.

¹²⁹ *T'ang shu* 202, 4102c.

¹³⁰ All of these modern readings derive from Archaic **k'iat* or **kiad*.

¹³¹ Some authorities hold that the *ssu* ^{dl} is an ancient corruption of *chi*.^{dl}

¹³² See especially *Han-shih wai-chuan* on the *Shih ching* passage about lords and ladies holding orchids

drank through the day.¹³⁹ This barbarian prince was particularly fond of celebrating the double-three festival with his wife and high officers in his Floriate Forest Garden,^{ci} where two bronze dragons faced each other from opposite sides of the Pool of Heaven's Spring^{ck} and belched water into it.¹⁴⁰

The ceremony was still held in the fifth century, but after that seems not to have been officially recognized again until the T'ang Dynasty.¹⁴¹ The official history tells, for instance, how an emperor of that dynasty celebrated it at a pavilion on the banks of the Wei River in A. D. 710.¹⁴²

In Sung times, the old ritual lustrations had become almost a relic, and the third of the third was primarily a day for picnicking and visiting with friends by a lake or river.¹⁴³ Such holidays are frequently alluded to in the poems of Su Shih, under the old name "Upper Ophidian." The Compliant Theocrat (*Shun ti*^{cm}) of Yüan, however, celebrated this holiday in the fourteenth century with formal lustrations, and always took his court ladies to the palace gardens on that day. There he had a pool, the Pool of the Aromatic Spring,^{cn} into which they put fragrant materials. The water was warmed by placing in it lions of jade, deer of crystal, and horses of jasper (? "red stone"), previously heated. After the women had bathed, they amused themselves by riding on these stone animals.¹⁴⁴

Another holiday on which ritual bathing was prominent was held on the fifth day of the fifth month. Like Upper Ophidian, this was also a day for exorcistic and apotropaic rites, and in the North at least the celebrants carried flowers (orchids?) to the washing-place, just as in the other festival.¹⁴⁵ This ceremony was above all a Southern fertility rite, however. The dragon-boat

rites and other aqueous customs characteristic of it are familiar to everyone.¹⁴⁶

PUBLIC BATHS

The simplest kind of public bath is a spring, a river, a lake, or a sea. Men have always bathed out of doors, whether through necessity or preference, and natural waters are mostly accessible to all. Chinese literature abounds in references to such ordinary activities, and even the gods and heroes are remembered as having cleaned themselves in lakes and rivers.¹⁴⁷ References in Chinese literature to the bathing of simple folk in streams are commonplace.

The word *yü*^d "bathe" itself is cognate with *ku*^{eo} "river-valley," or better "stream-in-a-valley." Both have the Archaic readings **giuk*. Doubtless these words originally meant "bathe in a stream" and "bathing place in a valley." In some phrases the two graphs are interchangeable, for instance *yü-shen*^{ep} and *ku-shen*,^{eq} ¹⁴⁸ and we are reminded that the Ten Suns of mythology "bathed" ^d in a "thermal river-valley." ^{er} Bathing was first of all washing oneself au naturel. This simple fact is reflected in the name of a large number of streams in the *Shan-hai ching*: "Bathing Water" (*yü-shui*^{es}).

After natural pools come artificial pools. Outdoor bathing pools in China, other than those found in the gardens of the nobility, are most commonly situated on the grounds of Buddhist temples. In fact the introduction of Buddhism into the Far East brought a whole complex of purification concepts and customs, particularly ritual ablutions and aspersions. These ideas were reinforced by the observations of pious Chinese travellers in India, such as I Ching and Hsüan Tsang, who described the bathing habits of the Indians, emphasizing monastic bathing pools and medicinal baths.¹⁴⁹ A very important kind of ritual washing was the bathing of the image of the

¹³⁹ *Yeh-chung chi* 1, 9b.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 1, 7a.

¹⁴¹ *T'ung tien* 55, 318c.

¹⁴² *Chiu T'ang shu* 7, 3078d. Ch. 30 of TPYL has many examples of the celebration of the Purging down through T'ang.

¹⁴³ *Shih-wu chi-yüan* 8, 24b.

¹⁴⁴ *T'ao Tsung-i*,^{au} *Yüan-shih yeh-t'ing chi*^{do} (*Shuo fu*), 7a.

¹⁴⁵ *Ta Tai Li chi* (TSCC), 2, 20. The text has "... we accumulate orchids, and perform hair- and body-bathing."

¹⁴⁶ See W. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, Pt. II, 421-5 for many details and variations; also the writings of Granet on the ancient festivals.

¹⁴⁷ Shun bathed in a "vortex" (see *Shan-hai ching* 15, 2b), while Yü dreamed of washing himself in the Yellow River (see Huang-fu Mi,^{ap} *Ti-wang shih-chi*^{da} [TSCC], 14).

¹⁴⁸ *Tz'u t'ung*, p. 0459.

¹⁴⁹ Doreau, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-116.

Buddha.¹⁵⁰ More significant for the present study was the early development of bathing pools and bath houses at Buddhist monastic establishments.

Lotus thermae bathe the body's filth;
Repentant confession cleans the heart's holiness.¹⁵¹

There was, for example, a Bath Hall (*yü t'ang*^{am}) at the Buddhist "Office" of the Stone Pagoda (*shih-t'a ssu*^{et}) in fourth century Lo-yang, later known as the "Office" of the Treasure's Light (*pao-kuang ssu*^{eu}). This place was frequented by men from the capital who wished to admire the buildings, rest and wash.¹⁵² Although such foundations were primarily for the use of the monks, in accordance with the prescriptions of the ancient sutra which gave ultimate authority to monkish bathing,¹⁵³ yet they seem to have been freely available to laymen. Especially in T'ang and Sung times, scholars and other gentry were accustomed to recreate themselves and bathe in the grounds of Buddhist temples. Meng Hao-jan has left us a poem about his visit to a temple at Shan-hsien,^{cv} where he bathed in a "Hall of the Spring" (*ch'üan t'ang*^{cw}).¹⁵⁴ Another example: the ninth century poet Li Shen^{cx} alludes in at least two of his lyrics to "bathing pools" (*yü ch'ih*^{cy}) attached to Buddhist monasteries,¹⁵⁵ and similar episodes are recounted commonly in medieval literature. These then, though not commercial establishments, were public baths—for a long time the most characteristic type of public bath in China.

The distinction between baths belonging to palaces, private villas, monasteries and public office, available to guests on membership or invitation, on the one hand, and commercially operated "public" baths, on the other, is difficult to

make. It is impossible to tell when baths were first offered to all comers for a set fee. Beginning in the eleventh century, however, there are literary references to bath-houses which seem to have been commercial enterprises, though the evidence is not conclusive. Ou-yang Hsiu tells of a "Bath-hall Alley" (*yü-t'ang hsiang*^{cz}) with a wineshop nearby, in K'ai-feng.¹⁵⁶ But the street may have been named for a private edifice prominent in that quarter—some building similar to the "Bath-hall" of the T'ang Emperor Te Tsung. Again, Huang T'ing-chien, in his diary describing his sojourn in I-chou, reports that he bathed "... in the bath-house of a householder of the plebs, above the stone bridge at the Little South Gate."¹⁵⁷ This sounds like a bath-room rented out by a commoner. A twelfth century source tells that a pot was customarily hung at the gate of a "bathing place" in that age.¹⁵⁸ This too seems to imply some kind of public bath. Also of the twelfth century is a text which refers to "... an old hot springs hospice, now removed," at a thermal resort near Chien-k'ang.¹⁵⁹ The same text quotes a poem by the tenth century scholar Hsü Hsüan^{da} which tells of an old hospice there whose foundation still stood in the twelfth century.¹⁶⁰ Probably rest-houses and hotels at famous mineral springs were the real prototypes of later public thermae, and the Chien-k'ang region became later, as we shall see presently, a famous center of public baths.

Early in the fourteenth century public baths were sufficiently established in Chinese culture to deserve a special name: "Promiscuous Hall" (*hun t'ang*^{db}). The Yüan poet Sa Tu-la^{dc} is said to have referred to these institutions jestingly as "Countries of Naked Forms" (*lo-hsing kuo*^{dd}),¹⁶¹ and indeed the ordinary name of these baths was meant to suggest their shamelessness. It must be to these that Marco Polo refers when he observes

¹⁵⁰ Several Chinese sutras devoted to this rite exist. See Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka* (Oxford, 1883), Nos. 291, 292, 293, 294, on the merit of washing images. For a brief history of the tradition, see *Shih-wu chi-yüan* 8, 31b.

¹⁵¹ Liang Wu Ti, "Ho T'ai-tzu ch'an-hui," *dr* in *Liang Wu Ti chi*^{ds} (HWLC) 2, 73b.

¹⁵² Yang Hsüan-chih,^{dt} *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi*^{du} (SPTK) 4, 6a.

¹⁵³ *Fo shuo wen-shih hsi-yü chung-seng ching*^{dv} (Nanjio No. 387), translated into Chinese by An Shih-kaio. This scripture also exists in a Tibetan version.

¹⁵⁴ *Meng Hao-jan chi*^{dw} (SPTK) 2, 4a.

¹⁵⁵ *Pieh-shih ch'üan*^{dx} and *Lung-kung ssu*^{dy} in *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 8, 1, 3. 5a and 8, 1, 2. 9a.

¹⁵⁶ Ou-yang Hsiu, *Kuei-t'ien lu*^{dz} (HCTY), 1, 2a.

¹⁵⁷ Huang T'ing-chien,^{ea} *I-chou chia-sheng*^{eb} (in *Chih-pu-tsu-chai ts'ung-shu*^{ec}), 3a.

¹⁵⁸ Wu Ts'eng,^{ed} *Neng-kai-chai man-lu*^{ee} (TSCC) 1, 3. The author attempts to trace the custom back to the Chou Dynasty, when pots were hung over military wells to show the presence of water.

¹⁵⁹ Chang Tun-i,^{et} *Liu-ch'ao shih-chi pien-lei*^{es} (TSCC) b, 150.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* a, 107.

¹⁶¹ Quoted in Ch'ien Ta-hsin,^{eh} *Heng-yen lu*^{ei} (TSCC) 5, 129.

that there were 3,000 baths in Kinsay (Hang-chou), of which he writes, "They are hot baths, and the people take great delight in them, frequenting them several times a month, for they are very cleanly in their persons. They are the finest and largest baths in the world; large enough for 100 persons to bathe together."¹⁶² This agrees with Chinese sources of the Ming era, which state that though public baths were to be found all over the country, Hang-chou was noted as a place where they abounded. The *hun-t'ang* were essentially brick-walled pools, with heated water pumped into them. They were frequented only by men, and especially by the sick, who paid a penny (*ch'ien*^{de}) to the patron for admission.¹⁶³ Even the Ming palace had a eunuch, entitled "Administrator of the Promiscuous Hall" (*hun-t'ang ssu*^{df}), to preside over the baths on the sacred grounds.¹⁶⁴

Bath-houses called "bathing pools" (*yü-ch'ih*^{ev}) were very popular in and around Yang-chou in early Ch'ing times. These featured pools of various temperatures, with accompanying massage, and such refreshments as tea and wine.¹⁶⁵ Always the more southerly parts of China specialized in bathing.¹⁶⁶

IMPERIAL BATHS

Luxurious baths were inevitable concomitants of imperial palaces, both in fact and fancy. Tradition has it that a stream named "Torrent of Aromatic Water" ^{ds} near the site of the capital of ancient Wu, still fragrant (it is said) in the fifth century, once flowed from the bathing pool of the lovely Hsi Shih, impregnated with exotic cosmetics washed from her body.¹⁶⁷ The Empress Flying

Swallow of Han, she of doubtful virtue, is said to have had a Warm Chamber, a Cold Chamber, and a Chamber for Orchid Bathing. In the latter "... she bathed in the Thermae of Five Bouquets and Seven Aromatics," and she sat on a seat of aromatic wood. Her sister bathed in water scented with cardamoms.¹⁶⁸ These tales are fourth and fifth century embroideries on the stories of persons who lived in the romantic past, but it is not unlikely that royal ladies bathed under equally opulent conditions in Han times. It cannot be denied, however, that contemporary documents tell little about the baths of the Han monarchs. It is only certain that they liked to confer a bath within the palace upon a person to whom they wished to do signal honor,¹⁶⁹ but we do not know the nature of the accommodations offered.

A sovereign of Later Han, the misnamed Holy Theocrat (*Ling ti*^{dh}), was reputed two centuries after his death to have bathed in the most sumptuous surroundings:

He dallied in the Western Garden, where he raised "The Hospice of Naked Dalliance," with a thousand compartments. He had green moss gathered to cover the stairs, and led water by an aqueduct to circle about the flagstones, and it flowed round limpid and pellucid, and he mounted a boat to idle on the waves. He had his Palatine Ladies [board] them, choosing jade-complexioned and light-bodied ones to hold the poles and oars, and they rocked and wavered in the midst of the watercourse, whose water was clear and limpid. At the season of the fullness of heat, he would have the boat capsized and sunk, so he could admire these jade-complexioned Palatines. . . . Palatines who were above twenty-seven years and below thirty-six, prinked and bedecked, would all undo their outer clothing, and wear only their inner garments, and sometimes they bathed naked together.¹⁷⁰

This description was probably correct in essence, even if not in detail: that emperor was certainly devoted to sporting with his girls in the Western Garden, as the *Hou Han shu* abundantly attests.¹⁷¹

¹⁶² Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II (New York, 1903), 189. This translation is from the G. Text. Ramusio's version, says Yule, states that they were cold water baths, hot water being supplied only to foreigners. Judging from the evidence of the Ming texts, various temperatures were available.

¹⁶³ Lang Ying,^{ej} *Ch'i-hsiu lei-kao*^{ek} (edit. of 1775), 16, 12a-b.

¹⁶⁴ *Ming shih* 74, 7254a.

¹⁶⁵ Li Tou,^{em} *Yang-hou hua-fang lu*^{en} 1, 24a-b gives the names of many of these establishments, and further details about their organization.

¹⁶⁶ For a Ch'ing woodcut of a bath-house, the reader is referred to Nakagawa Takahide,^{eo} *Shin-zoku kibun*,^{ep} dated 1789. This is a Japanese book of pictures showing Chinese customs, especially in the Chekiang-Kiangsu region.

¹⁶⁷ Jen Fang,^{ea} *Shu-i chi*^{er} (in *Tzu-shu po-chia*)^{el} 2, 6b; and *Lang-hsüan chi*^{es} (HCTY) b, 15a.

¹⁶⁸ *Fei-yen wai-chuan* et (*Wu-ch'ao hsiao-shuo*^{eu}).

¹⁶⁹ See the case of Teng T'ung,^{ev} a favorite of Wen Ti (*Han shu* 93, 0593c), and Tung Hsien,^{ew} a favorite of Ai Ti (*Han shu* 93, 0594b). Both are said to have refused the offer.

¹⁷⁰ Wang Chia,^{ex} *Shih-i chi*^{ey} (in *Pi-shu erh-shih-i chung*^{ez}) 6, 7a-b. This account, like that of the princess Hsi Shih, also alleges that the watercourse was perfumed by the cosmetics of the bathers.

¹⁷¹ *Hou Han shu* 23, 0695d. For a slightly different account of the monarch's revels, dating from the tenth

Shih Hu, not to be outdone in splendor and mechanical ingenuity by any ruler, past or contemporary, constructed a number of bath chambers and pools in his palace at Yeh. Among these was his "Bath Chamber of the Four Seasons," in the construction and ornamentation of which

... he employed brass¹⁷² and sardonyx¹⁷³ to make the dikes and embankments. In some cases he used amber to make the jugs and ladles. When it was summer, he brought in water from an aqueduct to make pools, and in all of the pools he had bags of chiffon and crepe, filled with a hundred assorted aromatics, immersed in the water. At the season of severe ice, he constructed for each several thousands of squirming dragons of copper, each weighing several tens of catties. He roasted these to the color of fire, and dropped them into the water, so that the water of the pools was uniformly warm. These were named "Warm Pools of the Charred Dragons." He brought in "Pacing Barriers"¹⁷⁴ of Phoenix-patterned brocade to encircle and shade the bathing places. He offered these to his beloved and favorite Palatines, who removed their intimate garments and took their ease, and played through the whole of the day and night. They were called "Clear and Frolicsome Bath Chambers." When the bath was concluded, they would draw off the water to the outside of the palace. The place where this water flowed was named "Warm and Aromatic Aqueduct." People outside the aqueduct contended to come and draw out the water, taking it back in pints or ounces, and the members of their households without exception were gratified and rejoiced. Then with the destruction and obliteration of the Shih Clan, though the Charred Dragons remained in existence at the Walled City of Yeh, the pools are now levelled and stopped up.¹⁷⁵

This same king had many other handsomely appointed baths, some with bronze fittings, like the tortoises which swallowed the water pouring out into the drains. The bathing pool of his chief wife is especially interesting: "Above it was built a stone chamber, and he drew water from the conduits outside to pour into it. Within the chamber, over the edge of the pool, was a stone bench."¹⁷⁶

century, see Feng chih,¹⁷² *Yün-hsien tsa-chi*¹⁷³ (*T'ang Sung ts'ung-shu*¹⁷⁴) 6, 6a-b.

¹⁷² *T'ou-shih*.¹⁷³ See B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, and H. T. Chang, "The Beginning of the Using of Zinc in China," *Bulletin*, Geological Society of China, II (Peking, 1923), 17-27.

¹⁷³ *Wu-fu*,¹⁷⁴ described as precious stone inferior to jade, with white patterns on red. Either sardonyx, or possibly a mottled jasper.

¹⁷⁴ *Pu-chang*,¹⁷⁵ i. e. long screens for shading a walk.

¹⁷⁵ *Shih-i chi* 9, 9b-10a.

¹⁷⁶ *Yeh-chung chi* 1, 4a.

The early T'ang emperors were much interested in bathing. We have observed the special attention they gave to the hot-springs of the Empire. Also, among their domestics were officers in charge of baths in the palace. One official directed such affairs for the sovereign's own suite, and another was head valet for the entourage of the Heir Presumptive.¹⁷⁷

Less well known than the recreational hot-spring resorts of the early T'ang rulers is the Bath Hall (*yü-t'ang*^{am}) of the Virtuous Ancestor (*Te-tsung*^{di}) of that dynasty, also used by his immediate successors late in the eighth century and early in the ninth. This edifice was immediately adjacent to the Close of Learned Gentlemen (*hsüeh-shih yüan*^{di}). The Son of Heaven spent much of his time in the Bath Hall. This facilitated his interviews with his secretaries and scholars nearby, and he often received them in that place.¹⁷⁸

Future archaeological investigations may reveal the forms and materials of such imperial baths, but at present we must rely chiefly on literary sources. Sirén, however, has photographed and described an open rectangular stone construction, partly below ground, at Ch'u-chou in Anhwei, which is reputed to have been the bath of the Hung-wu Emperor of Ming. This personage actually resided in this vicinity before the removal of the capital to Nanking, and the tradition may well be reliable.¹⁷⁹

THE FLORIATE CLEAR PALACE

Of all Chinese baths, none is more famed in song and story, more distinguished by association with great names, more radiant with glamorous tradition, or more fully and adequately described than the warm springs of Ch'ang-an, sometimes known as the Floriate Clear Palace.

The mists of antiquity veil the names of the first persons to make use of these healing waters, as well as the manner of their usage. An old tradition had it that victims must first be sacrificed to the genius of the springs before a man

¹⁷⁷ *T'ang shu* 47, 3743a and 3744a. These were the "Provost of the Housing Board" (*shang-she-chü*^{tt}), and the "Manager of Austerities" (*chang-yen*^{ts}).

¹⁷⁸ *T'ang hui yao* ch. 57; *T'ang shu* 146, 3997d and 152, 4007d; *Meng-ch'i pi-t'an* 1, 2.

¹⁷⁹ Osvald Sirén, *A History of Early Chinese Art; Architecture* (London, 1930), p. 52 and Plate 91A.

dared avail himself of their curative power, lest the water eat away his flesh.¹⁸⁰

The springs are situated on the lower northeast slopes of Mount Li—Blackhorse Mountain (*Li-shan*^{dk}), a considerable hill close by the capital city. The earliest historical personage whose name is associated with this place is the Inaugural Theocrat of Ch'in, who had his capital across the Wei River at Hsien-yang. A Han tradition alleged that this great monarch made love to the nymph of the thermae. One day he treated her disrespectfully, and she spat on him, causing his body to break out in sores. The king apologized to the goddess, and she brought from the soil a gush of water which healed him. Thereafter all of mankind made use of these waters to cure diseases of the skin.¹⁸¹ This divine lady must have been no other than the "Woman of Mount Li," reputed to have reigned as Child of Heaven at the end of the Shang Dynasty, a fit mate for the omnipotent monarch of Ch'in.¹⁸² Some evidence indicates that she was an avatar of one of his own remote ancestresses.¹⁸³

Whatever his relations with the goddess, more reliable tradition held that the emperor constructed an elevated and covered passage all the way from his palace to the mountain, a distance of eighty *li*. Pedestrians walked along this gallery, while carriages followed the road beneath. Its stone supports are said to have been still standing in Han times.¹⁸⁴ The theocrat also erected two palaces at the town of Hsin-feng,^{dl} hard by the springs, and it is likely that these were meant to make his stays there more comfortable.¹⁸⁵ Even in death he was not far separated from the beneficent pools and their naiad, for his massive tumulus was piled near at hand.

A romantic tale relates that Wu Ti of Han added to the buildings at the thermae, but there is no contemporary record of this.¹⁸⁶ There is no doubt, however, that the spot continued to attract

visitors during this period. The poet Chang Heng (A. D. 78-139) journeyed to the mountain on a fine spring day, and bathed in the "Sacred Well." In appreciation of its virtues he composed a rhapsody, which begins, "I observe the marvels and wonders of the Central Demesne, lo—none has the divine holiness of these waters!"¹⁸⁷

In later times, the site was further developed. The great minister Yü-wen Hu^{dm} built a pool there in A. D. 569, called "Stone Well of the Illustrious Hall."¹⁸⁸ In 644, the Sui Emperor constructed other buildings, and planted more than a thousand conifers.¹⁸⁹

That arsenic was an important constituent of the Li-shan hot-springs has been known since at least the sixth century. Wang Pao, the northern Chou poet, who composed a monumental inscription for the thermae, used the term "white arsenolite" (*po yü*^{dn}) in his composition.¹⁹⁰ This is the poisonous white oxide of arsenic, widely utilized in the pharmacopoeias of both Occident and Orient. The T'ang poet Li Ho^{do} also wrote of the "arsenolite-stone thermae, amidst the floriate clear sources,"¹⁹¹ referring to these same waters.

The thermae enjoyed renewed popularity during the reign of the Grand Ancestor, second of the Emperors of the T'ang. He made a regular practice of visiting the baths, which during his reign were called "Warm Thermae" (*wen-t'ang*^{dp}), in the winter or early spring. He frequently remained there as long as a week or ten days.¹⁹² It was customary for the sovereign to hunt on Mt. Li on the day following his arrival, and during his residence at the springs in January of 632, he presented gifts to the old men of the town of Hsin-feng. In 644, the emperor commissioned the great architect Yen Li-te,^{da} brother of the painter Yen Li-pen, to begin construction of a palace on the sacred ground, to which the name "Palace of

¹⁸⁰ *San Ch'in chi*,^{fn} quoted in Sung Min-ch'iu,^{fl} *Ch'ang-an chih*^{ti} (*Ching-hsün-t'ang ts'ung-shu*) 15, 5b.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*; and *Shui-ching chu* (SPTK) 19, 26a-b.

¹⁸² *Han shu* 21a, 0374d.

¹⁸³ *Shih chi* 5, 0081c.

¹⁸⁴ *San Ch'in chi*, in *Ch'ang-an chih* 15, 2b.

¹⁸⁵ *San-fu huang-t'u* 1, 3b. These were the *Pu-kao kung*^{tk} and the *Pu-shou kung*.^{fl}

¹⁸⁶ *Han Wu Ti ku-shih*,^{fm} quoted in *Ch'ang-an chih* 15, 5b.

¹⁸⁷ Chang Heng,^{fn} "Wen-ch'üan fu,"^{fo} in *Chang Ho-chien Chi*^{tp} (HWLC) 2, 15b-16a.

¹⁸⁸ *Shih-tao chih*,^{ta} quoted in *Ch'ang-an chih* 15, 5b.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 15, 6a.

¹⁹⁰ Wang Ssu-k'ung *chi*^{tr} (HWLC), 7b.

¹⁹¹ *Li Ho ko-shih pien*^{ts} (SPTK) 2, 6a-b. See also the twelfth century *Yü-yin ts'ung-hua* loc. cit.

¹⁹² See *T'ang shu* 2, 3637a, 3637c, 3637d, 3638b; *Chiu T'ang shu* 3, 3068d. Visits were made in March, 630; January, 632; March, 640; March, 641; January, 643; January-February, 644; March, 644; February, 648.

Warm Thermae," chosen by His Majesty, was given. On February 20, 648, the monarch showed his vassals a text written by himself and inscribed on a stele there.¹⁹³

The High Ancestor (*Kao-tsung*) visited the thermae in November of 653, and on that occasion declared an amnesty for criminals in Hsin-feng.¹⁹⁴ Perhaps it was then that he composed the poem which he entitled "Passing by the Warm Thermae" (*kuo wen-t'ang*^{dr}).¹⁹⁵ There are no further records of royal visits during this reign, nor during the reign of his lady successor, though both of them made trips to the baths in Ju-chou. In any case, in 671 Kao Tsung bestowed the new name "Warm Springs Palace" (*wen-ch'üan kung*^{ds}) on the former "Palace of Warm Thermae." The imperial residence retained this epithet for seventy-six years.¹⁹⁶ The Central Ancestor took the waters of Mt. Li in January of 709.¹⁹⁷ Such was the importance of these springs that the T'ang court official in charge of the private bath of the Son of Heaven was entitled "Supervisor of the Warm Springs" (*wen-ch'üan ssu*^{dt}).¹⁹⁸

The Mystic Ancestor (Hsüan Tsung) of T'ang, whose name will always be intimately associated with the thermal baths of Blackhorse Mountain, made a formal visit to them on November 1, 713, in the first year of his reign.¹⁹⁹ After that, he spent part of each winter there until the winter of 721-22, with the exception of 717-18. Usually the period of his sojourn during this epoch was from nine to twelve days. The winter of 720-21 was remarkable in that he stayed at the springs twenty-five days during November-December and again nine days in February.²⁰⁰ These data indicate sufficiently that the emperor was enamoured of the resort, but this was only preliminary to the era of his genuine preoccupation with the Warm Springs. To judge from the titles of two poems he wrote in their honor, in which he does not refer to his palace there, it seems that the palatial

structures built at the baths in the previous century were in a state of disrepair. The title "palace" had undoubtedly been withdrawn from them. These verses he entitled "Facing the Snow at the Warm Thermae," and "Only These Warm Springs can truly Claim to Heal Sickness . . . etc."²⁰¹ I judge that they were written during this first period of interest in the mineral baths.

The Son of Heaven absented himself from the curative waters in the winter of 722-723, but went again on November 7, 723, on which occasion he declared the reconstitution of the "Warm Springs Palace."²⁰² After this, during what might be called the second epoch of his interest, during which the title "Warm Springs Palace" was in use, he missed only six seasons out of twenty-two, though he visited the Phoenix Spring at Feng-hsiang in those years. This covers the period from the winter of 723-24 to that of 745-46.²⁰³ His sojourns during the first part of this second period generally lasted only a week or two, but beginning in December, 741, he began to stay for periods of three, four and even five weeks. During these last five years of the second epoch, considerable enlargements were made. In 742, he honored Mt. Li with the new name of Mountain of Assembled Glories (*hui-ch'ang shan*^{du}), and built a basilica at the thermae, called Basilica of Long Life (*ch'ang-sheng tien*^{dv}), with the alternate name of Estrade of Collected Holinesses" (*chi-ling t'ai*^{dw}), for his private purification and worship.²⁰⁴ Two years later (744) he decreed the creation of a new administrative district near the town of Hsin-feng, carving out parts of the old Bondlands (*hsien*) of Hsin-feng and Wan-nien. The new municipality was named for the sacred mountain, "Bondland of Assembled Glories."²⁰⁵

The winter of 745-46, the last of our second epoch, was a momentous one. On September 17, 745, the theocrat bestowed the title of Precious Consort upon his new favorite, heretofore known as Yang of the Grand Verity (Yang T'ai-chen^{dx}), and he delayed sixty days at the Warm Springs Palace, from November 12 of that year until Janu-

¹⁹³ *Yü hai* 24, 4a; *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* ch. 215, comm. quoting *Shih-tao chih*.

¹⁹⁴ *Chiu T'ang shu* 4, 3071c.

¹⁹⁵ *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 1, 2, 1b.

¹⁹⁶ *T'ang shu* 37, 3719c.

¹⁹⁷ *T'ang shu* 3, 3638d; 4, 3642c, 3643b.

¹⁹⁸ *Chiu T'ang shu* 42, 3242d.

¹⁹⁹ *T'ang shu* 5, 3644b.

²⁰⁰ *T'ang shu* 5, 3644-c-d.

²⁰¹ *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 1, 2, 3b and 1, 2, 5b.

²⁰² *T'ang shu* 5, 3645a; *T'ang hui yao* (in *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu*) 30, 559.

²⁰³ *T'ang shu* 5, 3645a-b-c-d, 3646a.

²¹⁴ *T'ang hui yao* loc. cit.

²⁰⁵ *T'ang shu* 37, 3719c.

ary 11, 746.²⁰⁶ It was surely during this residence that he conferred the gift of a bath on his beloved, an event too much celebrated in history and romance to expatiate on here. Nonetheless, we may well wonder whether the prolonged stays and busy refurbishing during the preceding five years might not point to a privy engagement with that lady prior to her official elevation.

The third and most important epoch of the Mystic Ancestor's life at the baths began in 747. This was the intensive period, when he and his consort spent every winter there, frequently staying the whole season of three months, until they were driven from the capital by the insurrection of 756.²⁰⁷ During this period of the spring's greatest glory, the imperial court was held at the foot of Mt. Li (to use its old name) through a quarter of each year. Signaling this new status, a new title was given to the Palace—"Floriate Clear Palace" (*hwa-ch'ing kung* ^{dy}), the name par excellence by which the establishment was known to subsequent history. This naming took place on November 9, 747.²⁰⁸ The derivation of the title is not absolutely certain, but it is likely that the monarch took it from a third century poem, "Rhapsody on the Metropolis of Wei," by Tso Ssu,^{dz} in which the poet praises the warm springs near Lo-yang in this language:

The warm springs, foaming and frothing, make
their own waves;
Floriate and clear, purging corruption, they subdue
sensility.²⁰⁹

Or possibly it was suggested by the inscription on the stele erected at Mt. Li's baths in the sixth century, composed by Wang Pao ^{ea}: "Floriate and clear, they halt senility."²¹⁰ Obviously this is a derivative verse, but it described the Ch'ang-an baths themselves.

Now began a vast architectural and landscaping program. The thermal wells were enlarged to make bathing pools, steep slopes were graded, weeds and brush rooted out, and basilicas, towers, pavilions and pleasaunces were built all around the moun-

tain.²¹¹ On top of this, the whole paraphernalia of the national administration was relocated around the new palace—government office buildings, and mansions for courtiers and magistrates.²¹² Finally, able-bodied men from the districts of P'ing-i ^{eb} and Hua-yin ^{ec} were recruited into a labor corps to build a great wall around the town of Hui-ch'ang.²¹³ The responsibility of making the fiscal arrangements for all of this new construction was placed on the shoulders of a certain Fang Kuan.^{ed}²¹⁴

The new palace covered considerable territory. In and about it was every sort of architectural contrivance. The *Ch'ang-an chih* records the names of all of its gates, its basilicas, its belvederes, its drum-towers, and the rest. A few of these are noted here as having special interest: The Floriate Clear Palace itself faced north. There were buildings both inside and outside the walled compound. The bath for the monarch's private use was at the Basilica of the Nine Dragons, and was sometimes styled Lotus Flower Thermae, but some say the latter was the private bath of the Lady Yang.²¹⁵ No doubt they both enjoyed it together. A separate bath was the Thermae of the Jade Woman, honoring the goddess-protector of the springs. In one building was a stele said to have been originally carved for the Warm Springs Hall of the Northern Wei emperors. It was made of translucent stone (alabaster?) and so was commonly called "The Glass Stele." The Basilica of Long Life, built earlier in his reign, was the monarch's sanctum. In honor of Lao-tzu, a patron of the theocrat who was said to have descended to this spot, was built the Basilica of Liege Lord Lao (*lao-chün tien* ^{ee}), and near this was the Gallery of the Descended Paragon (*hsiang-sheng ko* ^{ef}).²¹⁶ Also there was a field for ball games.

²¹¹ *T'ang shu* 37, 3719c; *Ch'ang-an chih* 15, 6a; *T'ang shu* 111, 3985c.

²¹² *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* 14, 11a; *T'ang hui yao* loc. cit.; *Ch'ang-an chih* loc. cit.; *T'ang shu* 37, 3719c.

²¹³ *Ibid.* (all).

²¹⁴ *T'ang shu* 111, 3985c.

²¹⁵ Yüeh Shih,^{fu} Yang T'ai-chen wai-chuan ^{tv} (in *T'ang-jen shuo-hui* ^{tw}) b, 77b.

²¹⁶ So named by the emperor on December 27, 748, following the epiphany of the god. Formerly it was the Gallery of the Matutinal Primate (*ch'ao-yüan-ko* ^{tx}), after Lao-tzu's title "Mystic Primordial Illustrious Theocrat" (*hsüan-yüan huang-ti* ^{ty}). See *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 216 comm.; *T'ang hui yao* 30, 559; *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* 14, 11a.

²⁰⁶ *T'ang shu* 5, 3646a.

²⁰⁷ *T'ang shu* 5, 3646a-b.

²⁰⁸ *Ch'ang-an chih* 15, 6a; *T'ang hui yao* loc. cit.; *T'ang shu* 37, 3719c.

²⁰⁹ Wei-tu fu ^{tt} in *Wen hsüan* ch. 6.

²¹⁰ Wang Ssu-k'ung *chi*, p. 7b.

In addition to the two handsome pools in which the mineral-bearing water was collected for the special use of the Son of Heaven and the Precious Consort, there were many other baths for the use of other ladies attached to the royal household. These were called the "long thermae" (*ch'ang t'ang*^{eg}), sixteen in number.²¹⁷ The central pools, at least, were lined with slabs of beautiful stone, according to one description a mottled jasper or possibly sardonyx.²¹⁸ The same source refers to brocades woven with the images of ducks and geese in the water of Consort Yang's pool, but it is not clear how these fabrics were used.²¹⁹

Most information about details of construction and ornamentation, however, is to be found in the romantic biographies written a century or so after the deaths of the imperial protagonists. It is difficult to estimate how many of these attractive minutiae are based on historical records and how many are imaginative embroidery. At the least, they give an idealized portrait of a great medieval bath, true in spirit if not accurate in detail. One such account has the following:

The Mystic Ancestor graced the Floriate Clear Palace, and renewed and broadened the thermal pools with fabrication and construction magnificent and lovely. In Fan-yang, An Lu-shan made fish, dragons, ducks and geese of white jade-stone, and even built stone bridges and stone lotus flowers, and made offerings of them. The chiseling and carving were so cunning and miraculous as scarcely to be human craft. The Highest was greatly pleased, and commanded that they be laid out in the midst of the thermae. Moreover he set the stone bridges transversely over the thermae, while the lotus flowers emerged slightly from the water's edge. Then the Highest graced the Floriate Clear Palace, and coming to this place, undid his garments, and made to enter. But fishes, dragons, ducks and geese, all seemed to be agitating their scales or raising their pinions, being imaged on the point of flight and motion, and the Highest was very frightened, and forthwith commanded that they be eliminated and done away with. But those lotus flowers have still survived down to the present.

²¹⁷ Wang Jen-yü,^{tz} *K'ai-yüan t'ien-pao i-shih*^{sa} (in *T'ang-jen shuo-hui*), p. 86a, and Cheng Yü,^{sb} "Chin-yang-men,"^{sc} a poem in *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 9, 3 (vol. 83).

²¹⁸ Wang Jen-yü, op. cit. 78a-b. The term is *wen-yao mi-shih* "dense stone of patterned yao," the latter word being usually applied to semi-precious red stones, like jasper and carnelian. Po Chü-i, in his poem "Li-shan kao,"^{sd} alludes to "jade" courses of stone, but this is probably loose usage of the word *yü*.^{se} See *Po-shih ch'ang-ch'ing chi* 4, 1a-b.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

Moreover he had placed "Chambers of the Long Baths," several tens of them, in the midst of the palace, and ringed them about with slabs of patterned stone. And he made boats of lacquer chased with silver, and also boats of white aromatic wood, and placed these in their midst. As to the paddles and sculls, all were adorned with pearl and jade. Further, he piled *se-se* and "sinking aromatic" in the midst of the thermae to make a hill, in the image of Ocean Isle, a ten-foot square. When the Highest was to grace the Floriate Clear Palace, his Precious Consort, and her elder and younger sisters, competed in the adornment of carts and clothing. They made a calf-cart, which they decorated with gold and kingfisher feathers, interspersed with pearls and jade. The cost of this one cart was no less than several ten myriads of money-strings. On completion it was excessively heavy. The ox could not pull it, and so it overturned. When the Highest heard of this, he requested them each to mount a horse. . . .²²⁰

This gay, fragile and costly episode has been celebrated in innumerable poems, especially by writers of the eighth and ninth centuries. They admire the glory of the monarch, the voluptuousness of his sweetheart, the costliness of his equipage, the beauty of his gardens; some condemn the burdens of taxation, and the folly of self-indulgence, and others lament the desolation that finally overtook the palace.²²¹

The histories tell few events which took place

²²⁰ Cheng Ch'u-hui,st *Ming-huang tsa-lu*^{ss} (in *T'ang-jen shuo-hui*), 1b. See also Ch'en Hung,^{sh} *Ch'ang-hen-ko chuan*^{si} (in *T'ang-jen shuo-hui*) for the story of the sovereign's ennui in his Bath Palace, surrounded by beautiful women. Then follows the search by Kao Li-shih for a mistress capable of stirring his lord's heart, the discovery of Lady Yang, and the emperor's gift of a bath in his favorite pool. When she emerged, ". . . her body was weak and her strength slight, seeming not to support her gauzes and silks." Some notes on the text translated above: my "graced" is an honorific verb, *hsing*,^{si} connoting, "made fortunate with his presence." Fan-yang, in the far northeast, was the area garrisoned by An Lu-shan's troops. "White jade-stone" is marble or alabaster. "White aromatic wood" is probably *po-t'an*^{sk} "sandal" (*Santalum album*). *Se-se* has been thoroughly discussed by Laufer in his *Notes on Torquoise in the East* (Field Museum Anthropology Series, Vol. 13, Chicago, 1913); he suggests that when applied to building stone the word may mean "onyx." I have no convictions about its mineralogical identity as yet. "Sinking aromatic" is agalloch ("aloeswood," *Aquilaria agallocha*). "Ocean Isle" (*ying-chou*^{sl}) is the name of one of the legendary isles of the immortals.

²²¹ A great many of these poems may be found assembled in sections 47 and 49 of the *k'ao-kung*sm division of the *T'u-shu chi-ch'eng*.

a. 風呂	ab. 虞世南	bc. 清涼殿	cd. 契
b. 湯屋	ac. 何佟之	bd. 寇宗奭	ce. 梁
c. 沐	ad. 蒲宗孟	be. 湯泉	cf. 袂
d. 浴	ae. 張元	bf. 溫泉	cg. 上巳
e. 盥	af. 駱越	bg. 褒禪	ch. 夏統
f. 饋	ag. 吳越	bh. 利	ci. 石虎
g. 漱	ah. 夷狄	bi. 朱砂湯	cj. 華林園
h. 潘	ai. 倭人	bj. 滄	ck. 天泉池
i. 福	aj. 浴室	bk. 汝	cm. 順帝
j. 杆	ak. 淨室	bl. 皇女	cn. 香泉潭
k. 匣	al. 溫室	bm. 黃女湯	co. 谷
l. 盥	am. 浴堂	bn. 高宗	cp. 浴神
m. 盥	an. 浴斛	bo. 玄宗	cq. 谷神
n. 鑑	ao. 栢	bp. 鳳泉湯	cr. 湯谷
o. 湯	ap. 浴牀	bq. 鳳翔	cs. 浴水
p. 穆公	aq. 鑰石澡罐	br. 世祖	ct. 石塔寺
q. 尚浴	ar. 金澡盤	bs. 溫泉歌	cu. 寶光寺
r. 宮人	as. 澡豆	bt. 廣寧	cv. 剡縣
s. 湯沐	at. 王敦	bu. 藍田	cw. 泉堂
t. 邴	au. 陸暢	bv. 融雪	cx. 李紳
u. 鄭	av. 銀奩	bw. 玉女	cy. 浴池
v. 封君	aw. 邠	bx. 大興湯院	cz. 浴堂巷
w. 簡文帝	ax. 華豆	by. 達康	da. 徐鉉
x. 浣沐之資	ay. 豌豆	bz. 成湯	db. 混堂
y. 浣	az. 燕	ca. 慕容紹宗	dc. 薩都刺
z. 李德裕	ba. 苦[括]萸	cb. 靜室	dd. 裸形國
aa. 劉寬	bb. 溫室殿	cc. 張忠	de. 錢

df. 混堂司

dg. 香水溪

dh. 靈帝

di. 德宗

dj. 學士院

dk. 驪山

dl. 新豐

dm. 宇文護

dn. 白晷

do. 李賀

dp. 溫湯

dq. 閻立德

dr. 過溫湯

ds. 溫泉宮

dt. 溫泉司

du. 會昌山

dv. 長生殿

dw. 集靈臺

dx. 楊太真

dy. 華清宮

dz. 左思

ea. 王褒

eb. 馮翊

ec. 華陰

ed. 房琯

ee. 老君殿

ef. 降聖閣

eg. 長湯

eh. 靈泉觀

ei. 李茂元

FOOTNOTES

a. 中桐確太郎

b. 風呂

c. 日本風俗史講座

d. 藤浪剛一

e. 東西沐浴史話

f. 沫

g. 澡

h. 洗

i. 浴室

j. 法

k. 浴

l. 世本

m. 高承

n. 世物紀原

o. 羅泌

p. 路史

q. 白氏長慶集

r. 沐浴

s. 葉夢得

t. 石林燕語

u. 白虎通疏證

v. 金瓶梅詞話

w. 萬震

x. 南州異物志

y. 孔叢子

z. 白孔六帖

aa. 周密

ab. 癸辛雜識

ac. 津逮秘書

ad. 姚瑩

ae. 康輜紀行

af. 中復堂全記

ag. 徐兢

ah. 高麗圖經

ai. 朝鮮古書刊行會

aj. 真臘

ak. 周達觀

al. 真臘風土記

am. 續搜神記

an. 劉義慶

ao. 幽明錄

ap. 于逖

aq. 聞奇錄

ar. 和春深二十首

as. 徐鉉

at. 稽神錄

au. 陶宗儀

av. 輟耕錄

aw. 曾鞏

- | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------------------|
| ax. 兜率記 | by. 辟寒部 | cz. 女巫 |
| ay. 繁昌縣興造記 | bz. 三輔黃圖 | da. 蘭 |
| az. 南豐先生元豐類藁 | ca. 經訓堂叢書 | db. 魏伯陽 |
| ba. 尸子 | cb. 赫連勃勃 | dc. 參同契正文 |
| bb. 張揖 | cc. 陸翹 | dd. 雷斅 |
| bc. 廣雅 | cd. 鄴中記 | de. 靜 |
| bd. 陶弘景 | ce. 榕齋叢書 | df. 淨 |
| be. 授陸敬游+贊文 | cf. 建康實錄 | dg. 太上玄變經 |
| bf. 陶隱居集 | cg. 陳藏器 | dh. 議洗匠詔 |
| bg. 北堂書鈔 | ch. 張邦基 | di. 已 |
| bh. 韓偓 | ci. 墨莊漫錄 | dj. 已 |
| bi. 詠浴 | cj. 胡仔 | dk. 秦 |
| bj. 玉山樵人香奩集 | ck. 漁隱叢話 | dl. 消 |
| bk. 世說新語 | cl. 新安 | dm. 夏仲御別傳 |
| bl. 段成式 | cm. 靈 | dn. 釋常談 |
| bm. 酉陽雜俎 | cn. 食物本草 | do. 元氏掖庭記 |
| bn. 奩 | co. 廬 | dp. 皇甫謐 |
| bo. 沈括 | cp. 幸鳳泉湯 | dq. 帝王世紀 |
| bp. 夢溪筆談 | cq. 陝西通志 | dr. 和太子懺悔 |
| bq. 莊李裕 | cr. 職方 | ds. 梁武帝集 |
| br. 雞肋編 | cs. 張敦頤 | dt. 楊銜之 |
| bs. 琳琅秘室叢書 | ct. 六朝事迹編類 | du. 洛陽伽藍記 |
| bt. 黃蘗 | cu. 屈大均 | dv. 佛說溫室洗
浴衆生經 |
| bu. 化玉膏 | cv. 廣東新語 | dw. 孟浩然集 |
| bv. 下帷短牒 | cw. 常安 | dx. 別石泉 |
| bw. 雲仙雜記 | cx. 浴溫泉記 | dy. 龍宮寺 |
| bx. 陳繼儒 | cy. 小方壺齋輿地叢鈔 | |

- | | | |
|------------|------------|-------------|
| dz. 歸田錄 | fa. 馮贄 | gb. 鄭嵎 |
| ea. 黃庭堅 | fb. 唐宋叢書 | gc. 津陽門 |
| eb. 宜州家乘 | fc. 銚石 | gd. 驪山高 |
| ec. 知不足齋叢書 | fd. 珣珏 | ge. 王 |
| ed. 吳曾 | fe. 步障 | gf. 鄭處誨 |
| ee. 能政齋漫錄 | ff. 尚舍局 | gg. 明皇雜錄 |
| ef. 張敦頤 | fg. 掌嚴 | gh. 陳鴻 |
| eg. 六朝事迹編類 | fh. 三秦記 | gi. 長恨歌傳 |
| eh. 錢大昕 | fi. 宋敏求 | gj. 幸 |
| ei. 恆言錄 | fj. 長安志 | gk. 白檀 |
| ej. 郎英 | fk. 步高宮 | gl. 瀛洲 |
| ek. 七修類藁 | fl. 步壽宮 | gm. 考工 |
| el. 子書百家 | fm. 漢武帝故事 | gn. 姚汝能 |
| em. 李斗 | fn. 張衡 | go. 安祿山事迹 |
| en. 揚州畫舫錄 | fo. 溫泉賦 | gp. 學海類編 |
| eo. 中川忠英 | fp. 張河間集 | gq. 張洎 |
| ep. 清俗紀聞 | fq. 十道志 | gr. 賈氏談錄 |
| eq. 仕方 | fr. 王司空集 | gs. 楊儀 |
| er. 述異記 | fs. 李賀歌詩編 | gt. 高坡異纂 |
| es. 瑯嬛記 | ft. 魏都賦 | gu. 續陝西省通志稿 |
| et. 飛燕外傳 | fu. 樂史 | gv. 足立喜六 |
| eu. 五朝小說 | fv. 楊太真外傳 | gw. 長安史蹟の研究 |
| ev. 鄧通 | fw. 唐人說薈 | |
| ew. 董賢 | fx. 朝元閣 | |
| ex. 王嘉 | fy. 玄元皇帝 | |
| ey. 拾遺記 | fz. 王仁裕 | |
| ez. 秘書二十種 | ga. 開元天寶遺事 | |

within the Floriate Clear Palace. Yet this place was a very hive, crowded with officials, courtiers, servants, scholars, priests, scientists and artists.²²² Official acts of the emperor, reported for the winter months, were made from this pleasure spot, as when he ordered preparations for the invasion of the Thai nation in Yunnan in the winter of 749-50, or appointed Yang Kuo-chung minister on the death of Li Lin-fu in the winter of 752-53. So the Son of Heaven passed his days in business and pleasure, a prisoner of love and the refinements of art and magic. He dared not even walk into the fields beyond the palace walls.²²³ Finally the shadow of the great apostate, An Lu-shan, fell across the pools and pavilions, and all of this came to an end. The rebel had visited the hot-springs palace in the fall of 750, and a residence was built for him there.²²⁴ When he came again on July 18, 756, it was at the head of the insurgents, and the Son of Heaven had already fled. The Precious Consort was two days dead on the slopes of Ma Wei.²²⁵

After the abandonment of Ch'ang-an by the kings of T'ang, the marvelous buildings around the springs gradually fell into ruins, and the erstwhile palace presented a scene of desolation through the ninth century.²²⁶ In the year 925, under the rule of the Later T'ang sovereigns, the magistrates of the Western Capital reported to the throne that some of the structures around the baths had been renovated.²²⁷ It appears, however, that the ephemeral rulers of this century gave little thought to recreation there, for something more than ten years later, under the Dynasty of Chin, the grounds and buildings were donated to a group of Taoist sectarians, and renamed "Observatory of the Holy Springs" (*ling-ch'üan kuan*^{eh}).²²⁸ Little remained of the original structures, for a writer of the second half of the tenth century states:

The basilicas of the Floriate Clear Palace at Blackhorse Mountain have been long since swept away. What

remains is only the encircling wall. But the pines and cypresses planted during Heavenly Treasure fill the steeps and gorges everywhere. The prospect of them is gloomily dense. The Gallery of the Matutinal Primate stands above the pass to the northern hills. Its base and foundation are exceedingly steep and abrupt. Next to its boundary we come to the Basilica of Long Life, southeast of whose old base are the thermal springs, eighteen localities in all. The first of these is the Thermae of the Autocrat, several ten-feet around its circumference. Each of its flags is a white stone, hyaline and translucent like jade. Protruding as from hiding places on all faces are the images of fish, dragons, flowers and birds. Stone seats, stairs and steps are on the four faces, while in the middle below them there are pairs of lotuses of white stone. The eyes of the springs gush forth from within the mouths of jars, and pour spouting on the tops of the white lotuses. At angles from the four faces (?) of the Thermae of the Thermae of the Autocrat we come to the Thermae of the Child Consort. The faces of these thermae are rather close together. Beside the thermae there are bowls of pink stone at four spots, which make lotus corollae on the faces of the white stones. The rest of the thermae are interconnected, winding and meandering. The rock has been cut down into to make dark drains to let the water run, several tens of paces to north and south. Then it gushes forth from erect stones, pouring down into the midst of stone bowls. Milord Chia states that these were set there by later persons.²²⁹

Little remains to be told: the waters themselves survived the decay and disappearance of wood and stone. In Ming times traces of the foundation of the Gallery of the Matutinal Primate could still be found.²³⁰ A visitor of the sixteenth century, an official named Li Mao-yüan,^{ei} came to bathe in the famous springs. He found a stone seat by one of the pools, distinguished by red maculations. A local tradition held that these were premanent traces of the monthly period of Yang of the Grand Verity. And indeed the ghost of the lady appeared to the traveller, whose heart had been deeply moved, after he left the thermae. It seemed to him that her face and figure were surpassingly beautiful, but her flesh a little too abundant for contemporary tastes.²³¹

Situated at a strategic spot on the road eastward from Sianfu, the baths were an important site of hostels and post stations during the Ch'ing period.²³² A Japanese scholar who visited them in

²²² *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 217, comm. of Hu San-hsing.

²²³ *Ibid.* 216. The monarch essayed such a stroll one evening, but was dissuaded by an officer of his guard.

²²⁴ Yao Ju-neng,^{en} *An Lu-shan shih-chi* 80 (in *Hsüeh-hai lei-pien* 80) a, 11a.

²²⁵ *T'ang shu* 5, 3646b-c.

²²⁶ *Ch'ang-an chih* 15, 17a.

²²⁷ *T's'e-fu yüan-kuei* 14, 19b.

²²⁸ *Ch'ang-an chih* 15, 17a.

²²⁹ Chang Chi 84 (933-996), *Chia-shih t'an-lu* 87 (*Shuo fu*), 2a-b.

²³⁰ *Ming i-t'ung chih* 32, 19a.

²³¹ Yang I,^{es} *Kao-p'o i-tsuan* 87 (*Shuo fu hsü* v. 34), 4a-b.

²³² *Hsü-hsiu Shan-hsi-sheng t'ung-chih-k'ao* 80 131, 19a.

recent times says that so many distinguished guests come there that it is unofficially called "The Embassy." He states that while the present structures are chiefly the work of the Ch'ien Lung era (eighteenth century), and new names given to the pools, the Lotus Flower Thermae, paved with marble, is still where it was in T'ang.²³³

²³³ Adachi Kiroku,^{zv} *Chō-an shiseki no kenkyū* ^{zv} (Tokyo, 1937). For another modern description of the

Probably it would be fruitless to speculate about the reflections of Chiang Kai-shek, held prisoner there. It is impossible that he failed to visualize the shadowy figures of an infatuated king, a Tartar rebel, and an incarnate naiad.

baths see Fujinami, op. cit., pp. 78-80. Plate 26 in this study has a photograph of the outdoor pool as it now appears.

NOTES ON A FEW MONGOLIAN RULERS OF THE 15TH CENTURY

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THE NAMES AND DATES of some Mongolian qayans of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries present considerable difficulties. The Mongolian sources sometimes are very confused and defective, and the material found in contemporary Chinese sources such as the *Ming Shih-lu*, or in the History of the Ming dynasty, is at times hard to reconcile with the data of those Mongolian sources.

There is no doubt that Chinese sources as a rule are much more reliable than the Mongolian chronicles. The latter often show much more interest in the spread and the development of Buddhism than in the history of the Mongolian people or of the Mongolian rulers. Perhaps the best known attempt at reconciling Mongolian and Chinese data is that by Henry Howorth in his *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th century* (London, 1876-1928). The inherent difficulties of the problem and the lack of original sources often prevented that author from arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. Many attempts have since been made to correct Howorth's views with greater or smaller success. Some of these attempts will be mentioned here.

In this paper a few notes will be presented regarding the Mongolian qayan Tayisung, or Toytô-buqa, and his successors, covering a period from ca. 1430 to ca. 1480.

According to the Ordos chronicler Sayang-sečen, Tayisung qayan was born in 1422, became qayan 1439, and after his defeat at the hand of Esen-

tayisi, was put to death by his own father-in-law, Čabdan of the Forlas clan.¹

The Chinese translation of Sayang-sečen's *Erdeni-yin tobči*, *Meng-ku yüan-liu*^a (1789) transcribes the qayan's name: Tai-tsung.^b In fact the name is derived from the Chinese imperial name T'ai-tsung,^c and no doubt was the qayan's imperial title, not his personal name, as the commentators of the Chinese translation of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* also hold.² This qayan is known in the Chinese sources as T'o-t'o-pu-hua^e or Toytô-buqa, and this must have been his personal name.

His dates given by Sayang-sečen are certainly wrong. Toytô-buqa, or Tayisung, must have acceded in 1433.³ In the *Ming Shih-lu* he is usually called T'o-t'o-pu-hua wang-tzu,^f or k'o-han,^g and the first time he is mentioned as such seems to be in 1433.⁴ The date of his birth is

¹ See J. I. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, pp. 154-155; 158-159.

² See *Meng-ku yüan-liu chien-cheng*^d 5.13b.

³ This clearly appears from Korean sources. See W. Franke, *History of the Eastern Mongols during the Ming dynasty 1368 to 1634* (by D. Pokotilov), Part II, *Addenda and Corrigenda, Studia Serica*, Monographs, Series 2, No. 3 (1949), p. 32.

⁴ Tamura, Jitsuzô, *Mindai Mammô shiryô*, *Min jitsuroku shô*, *Môko hen* 2,^h p. 325. The fact that he is called here "T'o-t'o-pu-hua of the Oyriad"ⁱ only emphasizes that from the very beginning he was closely associated with the Oyriad, or Western Mongols, and in fact never had any real power of his own. He never was anything but a figurehead controlled by an Oyriad



Rosewood, Dragon's Blood, and Lac

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tathā, thus, so. Future Ś. will be after V. So. U. In this case no attempt at relationship is given.

With Udayana we come to c. 480; and our table shows 15 generations for 350 years, to Adhisimakṛṣṇa: but we have not been able to show any probable succession by grandsons: but in such a long succession, one, or even two, are certainly likely, and if we then assume 16 generations, the figure tallies very closely with the others we have already obtained.

After Udayana comes Vahīnara. Only one MS. makes him born from U., i.e. a son. The Buddhists give Udayana a son Bodhi (but he is not in M. Vāstu or Div.), and don't say if he became king. The Jains say he appointed his sister's son, Keśikumāra (Jain p. 399), and joined the order to the great disgust of his own son (by Prabhavati, who must have been an inferior queen), Abhitikumāra; Vāsavadatta or Padmavati, do not seem to

give U. a son in the plays. Clearly there is no evidence for identification. The next, Daṇḍapāṇi, however is a son, *Vahīnarātma*, and Daṇḍapāṇer Nirāmitro: we take D. as a genitive, understanding "son" from the previous compound, and suggested by the adversative *Nirāmitrāt tu Kṣemakaḥ*, but Kṣemaka comes after him.

Kṣemaka is the last. Udayana was much younger than the other kings Bimbisāra and Pradyota, and probably only came to the throne c. 495, and was young then; he may well have lived till towards 450; so that the kingdom probably survived the Aiksvakus. Kauśambi is not given in Jain's list of Kakavarnin's cities (p. 387); so that the Purana may well be correct in suggesting that the dynasty was destroyed by Mahāpadma Nanda. Our (possible) reconstruction gives 25 generations for c. 600 years, and 7 indirect successions out of 26: both figures very reasonable.

ROSEWOOD, DRAGON'S BLOOD, AND LAC

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THIS LITTLE ESSAY solves no problem of compelling importance, but will, I hope, prove of some value to persons interested in the culture of medieval China by making plain the meaning of some terms which refer to red woods and red resins in early literature, but have been wrongly identified in the standard reference books, and frequently misunderstood by translators.

ROSEWOOD

The word *t'an*^a (Anc. Chin. **d'ân*) is here Englished as "rosewood." This was the name given to a variety of hardwoods, notably those with pinnately arranged leaves, but most conspicuously to breeds of *Pterocarpus* and *Dalbergia*, closely related leguminous races dispersed through the tropics of the world.¹ "Brazilian Rosewood"

(*Dalbergia nigra*) and "Burmese Rosewood" (*Pterocarpus indicus*) are celebrated species. These woods were found attractive and useful in many parts of the ancient world: thus an Indian *Dalbergia* wood is said to have been employed by the ancient Persians.² The choice of the term "rosewood" to translate Chinese *t'an* may perhaps also be supported by etymology. **Tân*^b is a perfect homonym of **tân*^c 'cinnabar; vermilion,' and their cognation is suggested by the alternation of *chan*^d and *chan*^e for "oriflamme," the vermilion pennant of the ancients.³

Present Chinese usage, both linguistic and technological, and the range of possible trees, lead to

¹ Cf., *shih-t'an*,^a the name of a kind of ash, and *ch'ing-t'an*,^b *Celtis sinensis*. Modern usage also has *hei-t'an*^c for ebony. My botanical sources for this study are *Index Kewensis*; D. Prain, "Noviciae Indicae XVIII. The Asiatic Species of *Dalbergia*," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXX, Pt. II (Calcutta, 1902), 39-65;

J. Hugo Kraemer, *Trees of the Western Pacific Region* (West Lafayette, Indiana, 1951); Woon Young Chun, *Chinese Economic Trees* (Shanghai, n. d.); Sun-ching Lee, *Forest Botany of China* (Shanghai, 1935); Kanehira Ryōzō, *Nettai yūyō shokubutsu-shi* (Taihoku, 1926). Especially valuable for linguistic and historical data is I. H. Burkill, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula* (2 vols., London, 1935).

² Burkill, *Dictionary*, I, 753.

³ Possibly **tân*^d 'blush of?' dawn' is also cognate.

the belief that the "rosewood" of antiquity, the material par excellence of the wheelwright, was *Dalbergia hupeana*.⁴ The tree and its wood were much honored in the canonical books of Chou. Its distribution in the eleventh century of our era included all of North and Central China;⁵ Li Shih-chen, the medical encyclopaedist of the sixteenth century, distinguished two varieties, a yellow and a white,⁶ remarking its fitness for the construction of mortars, mallets and similar artifacts. It is still a valuable tree, with heavy close-grained yellow wood, used for axles, pulley-blocks, tool handles and the like.⁷

SANDALWOOD

An aromatic wood, *Santalum album*, became familiar to the Chinese in the wave of Indian influence which swept into the country in the early centuries of the Christian era. This they classified as a variety of rosewood, all the more readily because of the phonetic adaptability of *d'ân to Sanskrit *candana* "sandal." So they coined *chan-t'an*¹ (*tšjân-d'ân) 'oriflamme rosewood' and *chen-t'an*² (*tšien-d'ân) 'true rosewood,' but most often used "rosewood aromatic" (*t'an-hsiang*³). The name *chan-t'an* appears first in literature as a name of a country of the Indies, under date of A. D. 357,⁴ but as the name of the tree only in A. D. 454, an exotic word used by a mountain-climbing monk.⁵

Familiarity with this incense in the Occident has sometimes led sinologists to the startling assumption that the Chinese of the Chou dynasty

made their chariot wheels of sandalwood, an anachronism given wide currency by Legge's *She King* in such passages as "His chariot of sandal wood must be damaged . . ." ¹⁰ Read instead ". . . of rosewood . . ."

SANDERSWOOD

And the navy also of Hiram, that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug trees, and precious stones. And the king made of the almug trees pillars for the house of the Lord, and for the king's house, harps also and psalteries for singers: there came no such almug trees, nor were seen unto this day. (I Kings, x)

The precious almug (or correctly algum) was, some say, red sanders of India, the useful and showy wood of *Pterocarpus santalinus*. This rosewood has such tropical relatives as narra of the Philippines (*Pterocarpus echinatus*), padauk of the Andamans (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*), bloodwood of South Africa (*Pterocarpus angolensis*), "dragon's blood" of South America (*Pterocarpus draco*), and the rosewood of Indochina and Indonesia, *Pterocarpus indicus*. The latter is the source of a red textile dye used in the Indies, and is considered the finest cabinet wood by Chinese joiners,¹¹ who style it "Purple Rosewood" (*tsu-t'an*¹). These woods, and other like them, have long been important articles of commerce: the Indonesians not only sent their native species to China, but must also have imported an African rosewood at one time, since they still use the term *chëndana janggi* "sandal of Zang [Zanzibar]," though they now apply it to the local *Pterocarpus*.¹²

The Chinese name "Purple Rosewood" classes sanders with *Dalbergia* and *Santalum*. This is an inevitable grouping, already emphasized in what appears to be the earliest reference to the wood in Chinese literature: "Purple Oriflamme Wood comes out of Bnam and Prum Irap. Its color is purple-red, and it is likewise styled 'Purple Rosewood.'" ¹³ "Purple Oriflamme" abbreviates

⁴ It is still important to that artisan: see G. Ecke, *Chinese Domestic Furniture* (Peking, 1944), pp. 22-24. Some fifteen species of *Dalbergia* have been described in China, but many are shrubs or climbers; only about half a dozen can be called trees. Nowadays *Dalbergia hupeana* is usually called "Yellow Rosewood" (*huang-t'an*²), thus distinguishing it from the "Purple" (*Pterocarpus*) and the "Black" (*Diospyros*).

⁵ Su Sung, quoted in *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*, 35. (Hereafter this reference will be abbreviated as PTKM.)

⁶ Possibly two native species of *Dalbergia*, or including some imported species?

⁷ Li Ch'iao-p'ing, *The Chemical Arts of Old China* (Easton, Pa., 1948), p. 164 states that the famous paper *hsüan-chih*² was sometimes made of the bark of *Dalbergia hupeana* in lieu of paper-mulberry.

⁸ *Chin shu* 8, 1095c (*K'ai-ming* ed.).

⁹ Chu Fa-chen,³ *Teng Lo-shan shu*¹ (quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 982, 3a).

¹⁰ Nonetheless Legge notes that this seems not to have been the familiar Indian sandal.

¹¹ Ecke, *Chinese Dom. Furn.*, pp. 22-23; G. N. Kates, *Chinese Household Furniture* (New York and London, 1948), passim.

¹² Burkill, *Dictionary*, II, 1828.

¹³ Ts'ui Pao,⁴ *Ku-chin chu*² (quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 982, 3a). Bnam is Mandarin *Fu-nan*¹; this is the Old Khmer word for "mountain," and the name of the ancient kingdom on the Gulf of Siam which was absorbed into historic Cambodia. Prum Irap is Mand.

"Purple Oriflamme Rosewood," that is "purple sandal," registering, in the fourth century, the Chinese reflex of Sanskrit *candana* as the name of a wood, though not of sandalwood proper.

The form "Purple True Rosewood" ("purple *candana*") was employed in the seventh century by Su Kung¹: the learned pharmacologist stated that the tree was native to Malaya, and widely used in China.¹⁴ Indeed red sanders is much spoken of in T'ang literature. The poet Meng Hao-*jan*, for instance, tells of a lute of "purple rosewood," decorated with gold dust.¹⁵ Moreover, the Shōsōin preserves for us a number of artifacts made of this wood, such as would have rejoiced Hiram of Tyre: lutes inlaid with mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell, and amber; a painted arm-rest; a gaming board. Literary traces of later periods reveal that sanders continued to be employed for all purposes where a handsome hardwood was wanted by the noble and wealthy, whether, as in the Sung, it was for the frame of a set of white jade chimes to be struck with a mallet of rhinoceros horn,¹⁶ or, as in the Yüan, it was for the structure of an imperial basilica.¹⁷

Red sanders wood was also the source of a red dye for the medieval Chinese. Such expressions as "purple rosewood garments" (used by the ninth century poet Ts'ao T'ang^k), and "purple rosewood skins" (used by Su Tung-p'o), refer to clothing dyed with sanders.

Though red sanders continued to be imported during Ming times, as attest *T'ung ya*¹: "... it is brought out of Lingnan, but comes by way of outland argosies,"¹⁸ yet we also begin to hear of the presence of the tree in the southern provinces of China:

The Purple Rosewood: the "Torrents and Grottoes" produce it. Its nature is tough. When new the color is pink; when old the color is purple. It has crab-claw

markings. If, when it is new, it is impregnated with water, it is suitable for dyeing things.¹⁹

"Torrents and Grottoes"^m is a name conventionally applied by metonymy to the aborigines of the mountainous regions of Kweichow and vicinity.²⁰ Li Shih-chen also refers to sanders in Yünnan.²¹ It is not clear whether this Chinese sanders is *Pterocarpus indicus*, newly discovered during the Chinese penetration of the wild mountain country of the Southwest, or another species altogether.

ROSEWOOD OF HAINAN

In recent times the name *hua-li*ⁿ 'flowering pear' has sometimes been given to *Dalbergia hupeana*,²² but most commonly it has been the appellation of a wood not native to the Chinese mainland which was much used for making fine furniture in Ming and Ch'ing times. Generally it is assumed that this is some kind of *Dalbergia*, but some specimens have been analysed and proved to be *Pterocarpus*.²³ The source of this wood, and the significance of its name, have been treated as minor mysteries.

The name was explained fully by Li Shih-chen in the sixteenth century:

Lü-wood^o: the nature of the wood is solid, and it is purple-pink colored. The kind with flowered maculations is called "flowered lü"^p wood. It can be made into utensils, bowls, fan-bones [i.e. ribs], and other things. The vulgar construction "flowering pear" is erroneous.²⁴

¹⁹ Ts'ao Chao^s (fl. 1388), *Ko-ku yao-lun*^t (as edited by Wang Tso,^v quoted in PTKM, 34).

²⁰ Another edition of this source refers the tree to South China and Tongking.

²¹ PTKM, 34. Cf. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 459.

²² Also to some species of *Ormosia*; *Ormosia hosiei* of Western China produces a useful hard redwood.

²³ See Ecke, op. cit., Kates, op. cit.

²⁴ PTKM, 35. Lü-wood has been identified as a species of *Pterocarpus* by the editors of *Koku-yaku hon-zō kō-moku*, and as *Pterocarpus indicus* by B. E. Read, *Chinese Medicinal Plants* (London, 1936), though none of these authorities has noted the identity of the name with the vulgarism *hua-li*. The illustration traditionally associated with this tree in the *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* shows a fan-palm, apparently a species of *Trachycarpus*, obviously mistaking the name "lü-wood" for *lü-tsung*,^v the coir-palm (*Trachycarpus excelsus*). The Japanese translators have shown this picture facing their identification of *Pterocarpus* without noticing the discrepancy, or that soft palm wood is absolutely out of the question here. The meaning of *Lü* is a puzzle; I am tempted to see in it the name of the aborigines of Hainan, the Loi.

Lin-i,^m reconstructed as "Prome of the Elephant" by R. A. Stein, *Le Lin-yi* (*Han-hiue*, II, Peking, 1947), p. 233; this is historic Champa.

¹⁴ Quoted in PTKM, 34.

¹⁵ In his *Liang-chou tz'u*.

¹⁶ Chang Chün-fangⁿ (fl. 1001), *Li-ch'ing chi*^o (in *Wu-ch'ao hsiao-shuo*, 35).

¹⁷ T'ao Tsung-i,^p *Yüan-shih i-t'ing chi*^q (in *Hsiang-yen ts'ung-shu*, 10, 8). It was called "Basilica of Purple Rosewood" (*tsu-t'an tien*^r).

¹⁸ Quoted in *Kuang-tung t'ung-chih* (1934 ed.), 96, 1846.

The corruption *hua-li* for *hua-lii* had already appeared in the thirteenth century: Chao Ju-kua states that "flowering pear" was a chief trade article on the Island of Hainan.²⁵ Earlier still, but under its proper name, the wood was described by Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i²⁶ in his *Materia Medica* of 739: "Lü-wood comes out of Annam and Nanhai.²⁶ It is used to make couches and taborets. While it resembles Purple Rosewood [*Pterocarpus indicus*], the color is redder. Its nature is solid and attractive."²⁷

More recently, the *Ch'ung-chou-fu chih*²⁸ describes *hua-li* from the vicinity of Yai-chou²⁸ on Hainan, and the *Kuang-tung t'ung-chih* lists *hua-li* wood among the articles of tribute from Canton, the provincial capital: fourteen pieces are specified as the annual allotment for the court, each seven feet long and weighing two hundred catties.²⁹

This is clearly a Hainanese wood. It has lately been identified as *Dalbergia hainanensis* (*Hainan t'an* is the Chinese neologism).³⁰ This tree yields a beautifully grained red wood, and is unquestionably the "flowered lü" of the early writers. Probably other woods have been sold under the same name by the merchants of Canton, especially species of *Pterocarpus*.³¹

DRAGON'S BLOOD

Milton vocant Graeci miniumque cinnabarim, unde natus error Indicae cinnabaris nomine. Sic enim appellat illi saniem draconis elisi elephantorū morientum pondere, permixto utriusque animalis sanguine, ut diximus; neque est alius colos qui in pictura proprie sanguinem reddat. (Pliny, xxxiii)

²⁵ *Chu-fan chih* (TSCC ed.), b, 40.

²⁶ Possibly to be emended to "Hainan."

²⁷ Quoted in PTKM, 35.

²⁸ Quoted in *Kuang-tung t'ung-chih*, 96, 1846.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 170, 3087. The editors of this gazetteer are sceptical about the statements of the pharmacologists Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i and Li Shih-chen about the red color of this wood. They say that it is actually yellowish white, and that the wood which Ch'en and Li saw had been stained red by Cantonese artisans. No doubt they had good reason to note this practice in the nineteenth century, but how could they know what writers of the 8th and 16th centuries actually saw?

³⁰ Hou K'uan-chao, *Kuang-chou chih-wu chih* (Peking, 1956), pp. 344-5.

³¹ Kanehira Ryōzō, op. cit., pp. 228-9, thinks that *hua-li* may be *Pterocarpus marsupium* of Annam. It may have been occasionally.

The notion that certain red pigments, especially those of a resinous nature, were the congealed blood of animals, was all but universal in antiquity. The "Dragon's Blood" of Pliny is only the most famous of these.³² The true nature of this substance cannot be determined with certainty,³³ but most probably it was the resin of the lilaceous tree *Dracaena draco* of the Canary Islands, or of a close relative such as *Dracaena cinnabari* of the Island of Socotra in the Indian Ocean.³⁴

Nowadays other resins pass under the name "Dragon's Blood." The most important is an exudation from the cane- or rattan-palm *Daemonorops draco*³⁵ and allied species, natives of the East Indies. To this may be added gum-kino, sometimes also called "Dragon's Blood."³⁶

Legends like Pliny's, and the fossil names which survive from them, were also to be found in ancient China. So a red textile dye from Indochina and Yunnan was thought to be the blood of an anthropoid animal;³⁷ carnelian was formed from the

³² The Greek name *kinnabaris* was properly applied to this resin, but was transferred to mercury sulphide (our "cinnabar") through the confusion to which Pliny alludes. *Minium* in turn was displaced from mercury sulphide to red lead oxide, the latter being Pliny's *secondarium minimum*. Dioscorides also tells of *kinnabaris* brought from Africa: "... some thought it to be ye blood of ye dragon." (Transl. John Goodyer).

³³ K. C. Bailey, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on Chemical Subjects* (London, 1929), I, 217, says "... the resin of certain trees, notably the *Pterocarpus draco*." This is an error, frequently repeated in other books. *Pt. draco* is an American tree, though the name may formerly have been applied to an Asiatic species; yet none is a North African tree. Some species of *Pterocarpus* yield a red gum called "kino"; see below.

³⁴ It may be (though I know of no authority who has suggested it) that another red resin, used as a pigment and in varnish making, sometimes passed as "Dragon's Blood" in antiquity. This was the classical *sandaraca*, a name given to the resin of *Callitris quadrivalvis* and other conifers. In ancient times, sandarac was exported through Berenice in Cyrenaica; from *verenice* comes our *varnish*. Sandarac, like cinnabar, was confused with a mineral, our realgar.

³⁵ Formerly also called *Calamus draco*.

³⁶ The resin of *Croton draco* of Mexico is now also called "Dragon's Blood." For gum-kino, see the discussion of "False Dragon's Blood" below.

³⁷ The *hsing-hsing*,^x possibly the Hoolock Gibbon. See *Hua-yang kuo-chih*,^y and PTKM, 35. The actual source of the dye has not been determined.

blood of demons;³⁸ cinnabar was "Blood of the Red Dragon" in the Taoist arcana.³⁹

One or more kinds of "Dragon's Blood" were known to the Chinese of the T'ang dynasty, but not under this name. Instead they were styled "Unicorn desiccate [i. e. dried extract]" (*ch'i-lin chieh*⁴⁰), as if they were the decocted blood of the so-called Chinese unicorn, the *ch'i-lin*.⁴⁰

The syllable *chieh* (Mandarin dialect) is variously written [],^u []^v and [],^w all read **g'jät* in the ancient language. It is obvious that we have here a foreign word etymologized "desiccated substance" in the Chinese transcription. The original of this **g'jät* may be found in an early Malay word, allied to modern Malay *gétah*,⁴¹ Cham *gatak*, Makassar *gatta*, and other cognates, all meaning "sap; resin; gum." To the medieval Chinese, "Dragon's Blood" was "Ch'i-lin Gutta" made sensible as "Ch'i-lin Desiccate."

No myth explanatory of this name survives, though much later Li Shih-chen justified the choice of *chieh* "desiccate" by pointing to the well-known astringent properties of Dragon's Blood, common to the several genera comprised by this name, and prescribed it for hemorrhages by linguistic allopathy: it dries up the blood.

Apparently the earliest reference to "Unicorn Extract" / "Ch'i-lin Desiccate" is in the *Nan Yüeh chih*,^x a book of the fourth or fifth century which survives only as quotations:

Ch'i-lin Desiccate is verily the gum of the purple-mineral tree. If you wish to test whether it is the true or the artificial, chew it, and the sort which does not disintegrate is the superior.⁴²

"Purple mineral" is lac, a resin secreted by in-

sects; it was frequently confused with *ch'i-lin chieh* in medieval China.⁴³

In Sung times, we encounter the term "Blood Desiccate" (*hsüeh chieh*^y) used of an aromatic substance found in the tropical country of Ts'eng-t'an.^z⁴⁴ Since Ming times, the expression has been taken as a simple synonym of "Ch'i-lin Desiccate."⁴⁵ It appears, however, that these were originally different substances, though they may sometimes have been confused. In general, "Ch'i-lin Desiccate" referred to a red aromatic from Southeast Asia and the Archipelago, while "Blood Desiccate" was the name given to a red drug from the Islamic lands of the far West. Therefore the modern authorities who uniformly identify both with the resin of the rattan-palm *Daemonorops* cannot be relied on for historical purposes.

Hirth and Rockhill observed the similarity between the name of the country Ts'eng-t'an (**Dz'ang-d'ân*), the home of Blood Desiccate described in the *Sung shih*, and the name Ts'eng-pa (**Dz'ang-b'wat*), which they correctly equated with Zanzibar. They also noted that the description of the former in the *Sung History* matched the description of the latter in the *Chu-fan chih*.⁴⁶ These scholars, however, were unable to do anything with the form *Ts'eng-t'an*. Possibly it represents an original like *Zangistan ("Zang Country"). Here, at any rate, were found patchuk, asafoetida, frankincense and myrrh, as well as "blood desiccate." The former are all products of western Asia and eastern Africa, where there is no question of the presence of the rattan-palm. Chao Ju-kua elsewhere states that "blood desiccate" is a product of the Tadjik (i. e. Islamic lands), more particularly of a great almost uninhabited mountain on the Somali Coast, which

³⁸ *Shih-i chi*,^z 1, 5b (in *Tzu-shu po-chia*).

³⁹ *Pao-p'u-tzu*, 15, 269 (TSCC ed.).

⁴⁰ Su Kung (7th cent.). The same authority cites the form *chieh-liu*,^{aa} which he compares with *chieh-ping*^{ab} 'lac.' Here *chieh* is clearly the generic word for "gum/resin," followed by specific qualifiers, the word order being of the Malayan type. I have not been able to identify the originals of *liu* and *ping*. Kōichi Kimura gives the term "Unicorn's Blood" (*ch'i-lin hsüeh*) as a synonym of "Unicorn Desiccate," but I have not found this in any early Chinese source. See his *Wa-Kan yaku-mei i*^{ac} (Tokyo, 1946), p. 122.

⁴¹ Cf. English *gutta-percha*.

⁴² As quoted by Li Hsün,^{ad} the 8th century pharmacologist, in turn quoted in PTKM, 34.

⁴³ Part of this confusion may be due to reports of lac and resins obtained from the same tree in remote countries. An actual instance is *Acacia lebbek* of Bengal, whose branches harbor the lac-insect, and whose wood exudes a useful reddish gum. See Hubert Jacob de Cordemoy, *Gommés, résines d'origine exotique et végétaux qui les produisent particulièrement dans les colonies françaises* (Paris, 1900), p. 151. The lac-insect is also found on kino-producing trees; see discussion below.

⁴⁴ *Sung shih*, 490, 5719a.

⁴⁵ As by Li Shih-chen.

⁴⁶ Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua; His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade* (St. Petersburg, 1911), pp. 126-7.

Hirth and Rockhill identify with reason as the Island of Socotra. The Blood Desiccate of the medieval Chinese was, therefore, none other than the Dragon's Blood of antiquity, the sap of *Dracaena cinnabari*.⁴⁷

What then was the Ch'i-lin Desiccate of the T'ang writers, and of the eleventh century pharmacologist Su Sung, who wrote that this was the red exudation of a tree found in Kwantung and South-east Asia, whose leaves resembled those of a cherry?⁴⁸ As for the T'ang drug, we cannot say with certainty; much of it may have come from the Indonesian rattan-palm. Su Sung's description does not fit this tree any more than it does the dracaena; possibly he was describing the resin of one of the rosewoods, that is, gum-kino.⁴⁹

FALSE DRAGON'S BLOOD

In our days the name "False Dragon's Blood" is given to various red gums and resins to distinguish them from whichever substance is locally regarded as the true Dragon's Blood.⁵⁰ Similarly, the medieval Chinese sometimes used the expression "False Blood Desiccate" (*chia hsieh chieh*⁵¹). Chao Ju-kua tells us that this is the sap of a tree whose wood was known in China as *Chiang-chen hsiang*⁵² "aromatic which brings down the True-ones," a well-known incense-wood used in temples. This wood was sometimes called "purple rattan aromatic" (*Tzu-t'eng hsiang*⁵³).⁵¹

⁴⁷ Hirth and Rockhill so state on p. 132, but on pp. 197-8 they contradict themselves with the old and false identification with *Pterocarpus draco*; cf. note 33, above. Tu-ku T'ao,⁵⁴ a Taoist of Sung or perhaps earlier, in his *Tan-fang chien-yüan*⁵⁵ (quoted in PTKM, 34), states that *Ch'i-lin* Dessicate is a product of the "Western hu"⁵⁶. Either he confuses this with Blood Dessicate, or else his text has been altered in transmission, or emended by Li Shih-chen. He also states that this substance forms under the influence of the will-o'-the-wisp. Cf. Burkill, *Dictionary*, I, 857, on Arab trade in Dragon's Blood in the Indian Ocean.

⁴⁸ Quoted in PTKM, 34.

⁴⁹ See below, under "False Dragon's Blood." Rattan-palm Dragon's Blood is collected from the surface of the fruit, not tapped from the trunk as Su Sung tells it. This fact supports the notion that he was referring to gum-kino.

⁵⁰ Cordemoy, *Gommes*, p. 241, for instance, calls the Dragon's Blood of *Dracaena* "false," to separate it from that of *Daemonorops*, though the former has a longer pedigree.

⁵¹ *Chu-fan chih*, b, 30 and 33. "Purple rattan aro-

A great number of plants have been suggested as the originals of this wood, but most probably it was normally a rosewood liana, *Dalbergia parviflora*, of East Indies, whose scented heartwood is still imported into China for "joss-sticks."⁵² It is locally called *kayu laka*, sometimes "laka-wood" in English. Let us look at some Chinese records of this aromatic.

Li Hsün, in the eighth century, pointed out the Taoist character of its name, stated that it resembled sappan-wood, and claimed that it was brought from "the mountains of the Southern Seas," and from Great Ch'in, that is, from Roman Asia.⁵³ T'ang Shen-wei,⁵⁴ in the eleventh century, alleged that it was to be found in Ch'ien-nan,⁵⁵ approximately modern Kweichow.⁵⁶ It is listed among the products of T'ing-chou,⁵⁷ in the mountains of southwestern Fukien, by the Sung geography *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi*.⁵⁸ Li Shih-chen made a distinction between the foreign variety, brought by argosy from Champa, Siam, Borneo, and the Ryukyus, and that found in the provinces of South China; he also records another kind from Hainan.⁵⁹ A late notice compares this wood to the *hua-li* of Hainan, that is, to another *Dalbergia*.⁶⁰

But the sap of this rosewood is no Dragon's Blood, and we remain at a loss to account for Chao Ju-kua's statement about the origin of False Blood Desiccate. Laka-wood is indeed "... the colour of clotted blood,"⁶¹ but could not easily be confused with a resin. The solution may be found in the report that the familiar rosewood of *Pterocarpus indicus* is used locally as a substitute for laka-wood.⁶² This tree also produces a red gum, called "kino" or "gum-kino," and sometimes even "dragon's blood,"⁶³ which is widely used as

matic" is also mentioned early in *Nan-fang ts'ao mu chuang*. Li Shih-chen considers this to be different from that which was also called *chiang-chen-hsiang*. I am not convinced.

⁵² Burkill, *Dictionary*, I, 755.

⁵³ Quoted in PTKM, 34.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi*, 102.

⁵⁶ PTKM, 34.

⁵⁷ *Ch'ung-chou-fu chih*, quoted in *Kuang-tung t'ung-chih*, 96, 1846.

⁵⁸ Burkill, *Dictionary*, I, 755.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 1830.

⁶⁰ Other kinos come from the African Rosewood (*Pterocarpus erinaceus*), from *Pterocarpus marsupium* of India, and from *Butea frondosa* of India.

an astringent in southern Asia. "False Blood Desiccate" is probably gum-kino.

LAC

The female lac-insect (*Tachardia lacca*) secretes two useful substances on the twigs of trees in southern and eastern Asia. One is a resin, the source of commercial shellac, the other is a red pigment, lac in the narrow sense. The insect inhabits a variety of trees, chief among them being species of *Butea*, *Schleichera*, *Zizyphus*, *Acacia*, and *Ficus*, but also a number of others, including a rosewood, *Dalbergia laccifera* of Cambodia.

It has been known for a long time that lac was described in the *Wu lu*^{ag} of Chang Po,^{ah} written early in the fourth century.⁶¹ In this first reference, it was called "red gum" (*ch'ih chiao*^{ai}). Its later name was "purple mineral" (*tzu-k'uang*^{aj} alt. *tzu-keng*^{ak}). Laufer suspected that this was an etymologized loan-word, but no non-Chinese original has been identified.⁶² In T'ang times the Iranian or Indic loan **lak-k'ia*^{al} made its appearance.⁶³

The subject of lac would hardly be worth reopening after Laufer's treatment, if it were not for the fact that it was sometimes confused with Dragon's Blood in medieval China, as we have seen. Here I add a few notes of interest for the history of technology. Lac was mostly imported from Annam or Cambodia. It was valued chiefly as a textile dye, a fact mentioned in the *Wu lu*, but it also provided an adhesive for jewellers,⁶⁴ and played some role in medicine.⁶⁵ The dye was used to redden textiles, deer skins,⁶⁶ and also a cosmetic rouge, sometimes styled "foreign rouge."⁶⁷

⁶¹ See quotation in PTKM, 39, and Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 476. Laufer notes a somewhat earlier mention in the "absurd and fantastic notes of Aelian."

⁶² See *Sino-Iranica*, p. 478.

⁶³ *Yu-yang tsa-tsu* (in *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi*, 414, 3b-4a).

⁶⁴ Su Kung quoted in PTKM, 39. Seventh century.

⁶⁵ Su Sung (eleventh century) says that doctors of his day seldom employed it.

⁶⁶ Su Kung, of the skins of *Elaphodus*, the tufted-deer.

⁶⁷ Gloss on *Li-tai ming-hua chi*; see W. R. B. Acker, "Some T'ang and pre-T'ang and pre-T'ang texts on Chinese Paintings," *Sinica Leidensia*, VIII (Leiden,

As to the confusion with other red resins, it should be remarked that in T'ang and Sung times lac was attributed to Persia as well as to Southeast Asia. From the eleventh century account of Su Sung, it is clear that two different substances were subsumed under the one name. He reports that a Persian envoy told that the resin of his country exuded from the boughs of trees after damp weather, but that a Cambodian envoy stated that the resin of his homeland was deposited on branches by insects. Of these two the Chinese regarded the Cambodian variety as superior.⁶⁸ This latter was certainly true lac; the Persian variety remains a mystery, unless it was a kind of Dragon's Blood (*Dracaena*) or gum-kino (*Pterocarpus*), passed off as lac to increase its value; the genuine article was hard to obtain in China, at least in the twelfth century.⁶⁹

The confusion could have been compounded by the fact that the lac-insect settles on trees of the genus *Butea*, which also yields a kino from its trunk.

* * *

SUMMARY

Woods

<i>T'an</i> ^a	Chinese Rosewood (<i>Dalbergia hupeana</i>)
<i>T'an-hsiang</i> ^b	Sandalwood (<i>Santalum album</i>)
<i>Tzu-t'an</i> ¹	Sanderswood, Indochinese Rosewood (<i>Pterocarpus indicus</i>)
<i>Hua-li</i> ⁿ	Hainanese Rosewood (<i>Dalbergia hainanensis</i>)
<i>Chiang-chen hsiang</i> ^{ab}	Indonesian Laka-wood (<i>Dalbergia parviflora</i>)

Gums and Resins

<i>Hsüeh-chieh</i> ^v	Socotran Dragon's Blood (<i>Dracaena</i> sp.)
<i>Chia-hsüeh-chieh</i> ^{aa}	Indonesian gum-kino (<i>Pterocarpus</i> sp.)
<i>Ch'i-lin chieh</i> ^t	Indonesian Dragon's Blood (<i>Dacmonorops</i> sp.)

1954). The term is *hu-yen-chih*.^{ah} See also quotation from *Kuang-chou chi* (4th cent.?) in PTKM, 39. Li Shih-chen says that imported lac was still used in his day (sixteenth century) to make rouge for the ladies of Wu.

⁶⁸ Quoted in PTKM, 39.

⁶⁹ K'ou Tsung-shih (A. D. 1116), quoted in PTKM, 39.

Chinese Characters

Text

- a. 檀
b. 宣
c. 丹
d. 旃
e. 旃
f. 旃檀
g. 真檀
h. 檀香
i. 紫檀
j. 蘇恭
k. 曹唐
l. 通雅
m. 溪洞
n. 花梨
o. 櫚木
p. 花櫚
q. 陳藏器
r. 瓊州府志
s. 崖州
t. 馬其馬奔竭
u. 竭
v. 竭
w. 竭
x. 南越志
y. 血竭

- z. 層檀
aa. 假血竭
ab. 降真香
ac. 紫藤香
ad. 唐慎微
ae. 黔南
af. 汀州
ag. 吳錄
ah. 張勃
ai. 赤膠
aj. 紫釧
ak. 紫梗
al. 勒佉

Notes

- a. 石檀
b. 青檀
c. 黑檀
d. 且
e. 黃檀
f. 蘇頌
g. 宣統
h. 竺法真
i. 登羅山疏
j. 崔豹

- k. 古今注
l. 扶南
m. 林邑
n. 張若房
o. 麗情集
p. 陶宗儀
q. 元氏掖庭記
r. 紫檀殿
s. 曹昭
t. 格古要論
u. 王佐
v. 櫚棕
w. 侯寬昭
x. 猩猩
y. 華陽國志
z. 拾遺記
aa. 渴留
ab. 渴留
ac. 和漢藥名彙
ad. 李珣
ae. 獨孤沼
af. 丹房鑑房
ag. 胡
ah. 胡燕脂



BRILL

War Elephants in Ancient and Medieval China

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WAR ELEPHANTS IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL CHINA

by

Edward H. Schafer

University of California

In honor of Leonardo Olschki

The Asiatic Elephant (*Elephas maximus*), taken, tamed, and trained for civil and military purposes in India and Indochina since antiquity, was once widespread in China, and occasionally employed in battle there. Archeological and literary remains attest to its presence in the valley of the Yellow River in Shang times, but none seem to have survived in the dominions of the kings of Chou. Indeed tradition credited the heroic founders of that dynasty with driving these behemoths from the realm of the Sons of Heaven (see *Meng tzu*, Hao-pien, and *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, Ku-yüeh p'ien). During the Han dynasty they were regarded as characteristic animals of Southern Yüeh, that is, of modern Lingnan (*Shuo wen*). Nonetheless many individual beasts and sometimes even herds are reported from central as well as southern China during the first ten centuries of the Christian era. Groups of elephants were seen in Honan and Hupeh in the fifth century (*Sung shu* 31.1515b; *Nan Ch'i shu* 18.1701b; K'ai-ming edition), while large herds still roamed the forests of northern Kwangtung (Wang Shao-chih, *Shih-hsing chi*, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 890.8a). In the sixth century, several hundreds ravaged the crops in Huai-nan (*Nan shih* 8.2567d), a small group appeared at Chien-k'ang (*Liang shu* 2.1769b), and, astonished by the appearance of a solitary straggler in central Honan, the Toba overlords declared a new era, named "Primal Elephant" (*Yüan hsiang*; *Wei shu* 112b.2186b). Elephants were still abundant in the mountainous parts of Kwangtung in the ninth century (Liu Hsün, *Ling-piao lu-i* 1.8a), and we are not surprised to read of herds in coastal Lingnan in the tenth (*Sung shih* 287.5264b. See also the inscription of the Chen-hsiang Pagoda 鎮象塔 in Wu Lan-hsiu 吳蘭修, *Nan Han chin-shih chih* 南漢金石志. 2.21, edition of *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng*). Less expected are individuals seen in northern and southern Honan, Hupeh, and Hunan in the same age (*Sung shih* 1.4498a; *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 311.7a).

Such matters as these, related to the history of the elephant in China, may be studied in greater detail in Berthold Laufer, *Ivory in China* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropology Leaflet 21, Chicago, 1925), and in Hsü Chung-shu 徐中舒, "Yin-jen fu-hsiang chi hsiang chih nan-ch'ien", *Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology*, Academia Sinica, 2.1.60-75 (Peiping, 1930). The latter scholar has adduced elaborate and convincing literary evidence to demonstrate that wild elephants were captured and tamed by the people of Shang. This custom perished with the disappearance of the pachyderms from North China at the end of the bronze age. Yet trained elephants had a place in imperial corteges, processions, and ceremonies in most periods of Chinese history from Han to Ch'ing, for examples see: *Hsi-ching tsa-chi* 5.2a; *Chin shu* 25.1150c; *Sung shih* 148.4833c-d; the last named source gives an historical account of their use in earlier periods. These animals, accompanied by native trainers, had been sent to the Chinese court with tribute missions from Annam, Champa and Cambodia, beginning in the Han dynasty. Champa in particular was a source of trained elephants.

Before the tenth century only two instances of the employment of elephants in military operations by the Chinese have come to light. When the maritime state of Wu attacked Ch'u in 506 B.C., the Ch'u commander sent elephants with torches bound to their tails into the ranks of the Wu soldiery (*Tso chuan*, Ting 4). This remains an isolated instance of such a tactic. At the battle of Chiang-ling in December of A.D. 554, two armored elephants, carrying towers, guided by Malayan slaves, and armed with swords lashed to their trunks, were sent against the army of Western Wei by the Liang defenders of the city. These elephants had been sent to the Liang court from Lingnan (*Chou shu* 19.2292c; *San-kuo tien-lueh* quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 890.5b). They were turned back with flights of arrows. This use of sharp weapons by war elephants is characteristic of oriental practice, as contrasted with the occidental (P. Armandi, *Histoire Militaire des Éléphants, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'introduction des armes à feu*, Paris 1843, p. 258). But it too is an anomalous case in the history of Chinese warfare.

The only nation on Chinese soil ever to maintain a line of elephants as a regular part of its army was Southern Han, which had its capital in Canton in the tenth century. This development may be attributed to two factors. First, geographical: the local abundance of elephants. Second, cultural: the proximity of Annam and Champa, where war elephants were in ordinary use. The Han elephant corps was commanded

by an officer who bore the title of "Legate Digitant and Agitant of the Gigantic Elephants" 巨象指揮使 (*Wu Tai shih* 65.4469c). The beasts had been captured and trained in Han itself. Each carried ten or more men, presumably on some sort of platform, and all were stationed in line before the host (*Sung shih* 481.5699b). This battalion, under the command of Wu Hsün 吳珣, was effective during the Han invasion of Ch'u in A.D. 948, especially at the battle for Ho 賀 (*Wu Tai shih* 65.4469c). However it was finally broken in the unsuccessful defense of Shao 韶 on January 23, 971, by the crossbows of the victorious army of Sung (*Sung shih* 481.5699b). Thereafter this exotic introduction into Chinese culture passed out of history, and the tactical habits of the North prevailed.

Possibly further instances of the employment of elephants in battle will appear from a more thorough study of post-Sung literature than I have undertaken. I note however the use of elephants by Wu Shih-fan 吳世璠 against the Manchu generals in Yunnan in 1681 (*Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan* 80.9a).



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FALCONRY IN T'ANG TIMES

BY

EDWARD H. SCHAFER

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I. INTRODUCTION

The place of origin of the art of hawking is unknown. It is generally supposed to have been somewhere in "Turkestan" or "Central Asia". From this conjectural center the craft is thought to have spread eastward into China, southward into India, and westward through Persia into the Mediterranean world and Europe. But Mongolia, for instance, might, with equal probability, have been the region where the first hawk was tamed, especially if we rely on the intensity of the practice of falconry as a criterion. Or perhaps it was Manchuria ¹).

Archeological evidence, however, gives the palm for antiquity

¹) B. Laufer, in *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty* (Leiden, 1909), p. 231, favors Turkestan, but Hans J. Epstein, in "The Origin and Earliest History of Falconry", *Isis*, 34 (1943), 497-500, states his belief that, "only a wealth of leisure, great patience, sensitivity and ingenuity, not ordinarily shown with regard to animals by primitive people, will make a successful falconer". Falconry is, he says, "... definitely the product of an advanced civilization". While recognizing as necessary the qualities he demands of a trainer of hawks, I cannot agree with Epstein that these would probably be absent among the nomadic peoples of Asia.

to the Assyrians of the eighth century B.C.¹⁾. Although Aristotle, in his *Historia Animalium*, observed the practice of hawking in Thrace ²⁾, the earliest references in Western Europe are no earlier than the fifth century A.D. ³⁾, after which hunting with birds-of-prey grew in popularity in the West to a peak in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, attaining its greatest prestige among the upper classes after the example of the Emperor Frederick of Hohenstaufen pointed the way, especially after the publication of that learned monarch's masterpiece *De arte venandi cum avibus*, containing the newest information on Oriental methods. Since then, this true "sport of kings" has continued in high esteem almost until modern times, no less in the countries of the East than in Europe.

As for the Far East, the literary evidence has heretofore pointed to the introduction of hawking to the Chinese during the Han period, more particularly during the first or second century of the Christian era ⁴⁾. There is, however, a tale, seemingly well known in medieval China, about the "Cultivated King" (Wen Wang) of the State of Ch'u in the seventh century B.C., which tells how that prince hunted at Yün-meng with a goshawk ⁵⁾. But there is no contemporary evidence for the truth of the story.

¹⁾ Epstein, "Origin", p. 498. T. G. Pinches, in his "Antiquity of Eastern Falconry", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1897, pp. 117-8, thinks the evidence from the Assyrian sculptures inconclusive, but still gives Assyria priority in the West on the basis of "omen tablets". In my lay opinion, his evidence is inconclusive.

²⁾ Epstein, "Origin", p. 501.

³⁾ Epstein, "Origin", p. 505.

⁴⁾ Non-specialists have, however, not hesitated to give a gloriously remote date to the knowledge of falconry in China; for instance, George Dock, Jr., author of the article "Falconry" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1956 ed.), states: "It appears to have been known in China some 2,000 years B.C." His informant must have been a very patriotic Chinese. Eduard Erkes notes a tradition that a Chou king of the 9/8 cent. B.C. kept eagles and ospreys in his gardens, but there is no evidence of their use in hunting. See his "Vogelzucht im alten China", *T'oung Pao*, 37 (1943), 19.

⁵⁾ In *Yu ming lu* 幽明錄, attributed to Liu I-ch'ing 劉義慶 of the fifth

More convincing evidence points to the last half of the third century B.C., that is, to the Ch'in Dynasty. The Sung encyclopaedia of quotations, *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, gives the following passage as from the *Shih chi*: "When Li Szu's punishment was imminent, he called to mind how he had gone forth from the East Gate of Shang-ts'ai, with yellow dog on leash and gray hawk on arm, but this was now unattainable ¹⁾". This passage appears, with minor differences, in modern editions of the *Shih chi* (ch. 87), except that the words "and gray hawk on arm" (*pi ts'ang ying* 臂蒼鷹) are always omitted. The same story of the great statesman and his last words to his son, but including his recollection of his hunting hawk, again as from the *Shih chi*, is also quoted in the thirteenth century encyclopaedia *Ho pi shih lei pei yao* 合璧事類備要 ²⁾. This same version of the story of Li Szu's execution was also current in T'ang times, as we may judge from the language of an anonymous "Rhapsody on the Gray Goshawk" (*Ts'ang ying fu* 蒼鷹賦), which says that the hawk "... will not return with Li Szu to the gate of Shang-ts'ai ³⁾". All of this points to the existence in T'ang and Sung times of a manuscript edition of the *Shih chi*, then recognized as authentic, but different from the one on which later printed versions were based. This lost edition contained the three critical words ⁴⁾.

Falconry, then, was practised in China in the 3rd century B.C.

century A.D. (pp. 9a-b in the *Lin-lang pi shih ts'ung shu* 琳琅秘室叢書 edition), and in the *K'ung shih chih kuai* 孔氏志怪, a book of the Six Dynasties period, but of uncertain date and authorship. Epstein, "Origin", p. 499, treats this story as apocryphal.

¹⁾ *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 926, 2a.

²⁾ Hsieh Wei-hsin 謝維新, *Ho pi shih lei pei yao* (*pieh chi* 別集), 65, 1b.

³⁾ Quoted in *T'u shu chi ch'eng*, "ying pu" (鷹部), i-wen, 1, 5b.

⁴⁾ I had imagined myself to be the discoverer of this lost passage, but have learned that the *T'ai p'ing yü lan* version was noticed by the eminent bibliographer Wang Chung-min, whose discovery was published by Dr. A. W. Hummel, in George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 3 (Carnegie Institution of Washington, Baltimore, 1947), 234.

It is interesting that Shang-ts'ai, the home-town of Li Szu, was in the old domain of Ch'u. It may even be, then, that the early medieval tradition about the hawking of King Wen rested on a solid foundation, though it would be surprising to find the first Chinese falconers in a region so remote from the steppes, the supposed homeland of the art.

The only reference to falconry in the Early Han period (last two pre-Christian centuries) which I have been able to find is an anecdote in the *I lei chuan* 異類傳¹⁾, a book of indeterminate date, about the gift of a black goshawk from the "Western Regions" to Wu Ti, who reigned in the 2nd century B.C. But here again, though the event seems probable, the source is of uncertain reliability.

It is only with the second century of our era that we begin to get an abundance of reliable information about the popularity of hunting with goshawks, in conjunction with dogs, among the princes and aristocrats of China²⁾.

The earliest pictorial representation of a tamed hunting hawk in China which can be dated with some certainty is in a bas-relief of the second century A.D., found at Hsiao T'ang Shan in Shantung by Edouard Chavannes, who photographed and studied it³⁾. This

¹⁾ Quoted in *Ko chih ching yüan* 格致鏡源, 79, 20b.

²⁾ See the biography of Yüan Shu 袁術 in *Hou Han shu*, 105, 0867d; biography of Liang Chi 梁冀 in *Hou Han shu*, 64, 0772b; story of the dowager empress Teng 鄧 in *Tung kuan Han chi* 東觀漢記 (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), 6, 47-8. These and other Han references have been discussed by other scholars, especially by W. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China*, 1 (Suppl. to *T'oung Pao*, vol. 37 [1942]), 67, and Epstein, "Origin", pp. 499-500. The *Hsi ching tsa chi* 西京雜記, ordinarily regarded as an unreliable source, describes both goshawks and sparrowhawks with accuracy (*Szu pu ts'ung k'an* ed., 4, 6b).

³⁾ E. Chavannes, *La sculpture sur pierre en Chine au temps des deux dynasties Han* (Paris, 1893), p. 77 and plate 38. Early representations of hunting hawks, some said to be as

bird, shown on the fist of the hunter, is plainly a goshawk, the favorite hunting bird of the Chinese.

In the four centuries intervening between the Han and the T'ang, falconry continued popular in North China, probably even more so than before under the dominion of "Tatar" rulers. The lords of the Northern Ch'i state, as we shall see later, were particularly devoted to this form of hunting, and it is even reported that the last monarch of that dynasty bestowed a patent of enfeoffment on a favorite goshawk ¹⁾. But the history of hawking in the Far East during these centuries remains to be written. That work, when it is finished, should prove to be of special interest, in that tradition assigns the introduction of falconry to Japan by way of the Korean kingdom of Paikche to the year A.D. 355 ²⁾.

2. THE HAWKS OF T'ANG

When, in the autumn of A.D. 608, all of the professional austringers of the realm—they are called "Masters of the Goshawk" (*ying shih* 鷹師) in Chinese—were ordered to assemble in Lo-yang, the Eastern Capital, more than ten thousand persons responded to the summons ³⁾. This was only a few years before the founding of the great T'ang empire. It may reasonably be assumed that this

early as the third century B.C., are reproduced in W.C. White, *Tomb Tile Pictures of Ancient China* (Toronto, 1939), p. 59, plates 28, 108, 109. These are discussed in Epstein, "Origins", p. 500. Duyvendak, in his review of *Tomb Tile Pictures* (in *T'oung Pao*, 35 [1939], 373), states his belief that Bishop White's tiles are not as early as alleged, and thinks that Chavannes' example remains the earliest.

¹⁾ According to Tung Szu-chang 董斯張, *Kuang po wu chih* 廣博物志, 44, 35a. This Ming encyclopaedia gives no source for this story, but it ordinarily quotes T'ang and Sung books. The hawk's title was "Lord of Ling-hsiao-chün" (凌霄郡君). I find no *chün* of this name, and suspect that it was imaginary, created for the hawk. *Ling-hsiao* means "empyrean scendent".

²⁾ *Nihon shoki*; discussed in Epstein, "Origin", p. 500.

³⁾ *Pei shih*, 12, 2782d.

number increased during the prosperous century between the reigns of T'ai Tsung and Hsüan Tsung, in part due to the example of these two illustrious princes, who were themselves enthusiastic falconers. We may also assume, though I have not yet found contemporary quotations to support the assumption, that the markets of the great cities of the north thronged with vendors of hunting hawks, many of them Turks and other foreigners from the northern frontier ¹⁾, cheek by jowl with Persian gem dealers, Annamese vendors of aloes-wood, and Hindus selling sacred relics.

The birds offered for sale to the nobles and franklins of T'ang were often native to Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia and Turkestan, but many had been taken in the northernmost Chinese provinces, that is, in those now named Hopei, Shansi and Shensi. Particularly famous were the hawks and eagles which bred north of Tai 代 in Shansi, among them the "noble goshawks whose young are born with feathers entirely red", mentioned by the poet Tu Fu ²⁾, and the eagles whose white feathers were sent as annual "tribute" to the imperial court ³⁾. Prime eagles and falcons were taken at Ling-chou 靈州 on the Yellow River, in what is now eastern Ning-hsia ⁴⁾, sparrowhawks and raven-black falcons at Hua-chou 華州 in southeastern Shensi ⁵⁾, and sparrowhawks at Chin-chou 晉州 on the Fen River in southern Shansi ⁶⁾. Pei-t'ing 北廷, on the Dzungarian frontier, was a celebrated source of eagles,

¹⁾ There was a "Goshawk Bazaar" (*ying tien* 鷹店) in K'ai-feng in the early part of Sung. There merchants (called *k'o* 客 "strangers; visitors", i.e. non-natives) sold hawks and falcons. See Meng Yüan-lao 孟元老, *Tung ching meng hua lu* 東京夢華錄 (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), 2, 41.

²⁾ In the poem "Sung Li Chiao-shu erh shih liu yün shih" 送李校書二十六韻詩.

³⁾ *T'ang shu*, 39, 3723b-c.

⁴⁾ *T'ang shu*, 37, 3720c.

⁵⁾ *T'ang shu*, 37, 3719d.

⁶⁾ *T'ang shu*, 106, 3925c.

falcons and accipiters ¹⁾). To these regions, Tuan Ch'eng-shih 段成式, the author of the treatise on hawks whose translation is the important part of the present essay, adds the mountains of northwestern Hopei. In these arid, stony, and almost inaccessible places, the Chinese austringers took young hawks from their nests and trained them as eyases. Further south, they were captured with decoys as passage hawks, during the fall migration ²⁾).

3. HAWKS IN T'ANG LITERATURE

Both wild hawks and trained hawks are abundantly represented in T'ang poetry. The great poets Tu Fu and Yüan Chen 元稹 in particular, to judge from their frequent descriptions of the raptors, were interested in falconry. But many lesser writers treated this subject in fine verses. I venture here a translation of a quatrain about a hunting hawk bound to her perch, forgotten by her master, as an example of these.

The Lay of the Hungry Hawk

by

Chang Hsiao-p'iao

She imagines the level plain afar
 where the hares are plump just now;
 She turns her honed bill a thousand times
 and shakes her feather coat;
 Just let her peck loose
 this knot in her silken cord - - - !
 But unless she got the call of a man
 she would not dare to fly ³⁾.

Little need be said about the role of the hawk in metaphor and

¹⁾ Wang Ming-ch'ing 王明清, *Hui chu ch'ien lu* 揮麈前錄 (Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng ed.), 4, 136. This is a Sung source.

²⁾ Li Shih-chen, *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, ch. 49. This Ming authority states only what is obvious. Tuan Ch'eng-shih makes it clear that haggards (hawks taken and trained as adults) were much preferred to eyases (hawks taken as fledglings) in China, a preference which agrees with the opinion of the rest of the world.

³⁾ Chang Hsiao-p'iao 章孝標 (fl. A.D. 826), "Chi ying tz'u" 飢鷹詞 (in *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 8, ts'e 4, p. 4b).

simile: the flashing eye, the lightning attack, the paralyzing blow, are as familiar in Chinese verse as in Western. So also is the image of the hawk as a ruthless predator, liable to sententious treatment in verse.

One convention, however, is peculiarly Chinese: by tradition, the hawk, like the tiger, is a symbol of the West, and of Autumn, and allusions to this artificial association are common in T'ang literature. The underlying metaphysical assumptions need not concern us here; suffice it to note that the association was justified by the observation that autumn (therefore necessarily "West", as spring is "East") was equally the time when the young hawk was sufficiently grown to hunt for itself, and the time when the hawks left their boreal eyries to migrate southward over the plains of China. This conception is registered in the *Hou Han shu*: "At the onset of autumn, the hawks and falcons strike ¹⁾".

4. HAWKS IN T'ANG ART

Hunting hawks were favorite subjects for the painters of the T'ang era ²⁾. By virtue of rank, at least, the most eminent falcon

¹⁾ *Li ch'iu erh ying chun chi* 立秋而鷹隼擊. *Han shu*, 27a, 0406a.

²⁾ The earliest Chinese representations of hawks known to me are the Han bas-reliefs already mentioned. There must have been painted pictures of them made by the bird painters of the Six Dynasties period, but only one such artist is definitely known to have specialized in the depiction of hawks. Characteristically, this was a prince of the Northern Ch'i, a dynasty whose sovereigns were passionate devotees of falconry, as Tuan Ch'eng-shih indicates in his anecdotes, translated below. This lord, Kao Hsiao-heng 高孝珩, was a talented artist, and is said to have painted a goshawk on the walls of an audience hall so realistically that "spectators thought that it might be real, while doves and sparrows did not dare to come near" (Chang Yen-yüan 張彥遠, *Li tai ming hua chi* 歷代名畫記, *Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed., 8, 249; *Pei Ch'i shu*, 11, 2215a). Unfortunately no pre-Sung paintings of falcons and hawks survive. B. Laufer, in *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, p. 233, refers to a picture of a falconer, said to be based on an illustrated *Erh ya*, in G. Pauthier, *Chine* (Pt. I, Pl. 11), and states rather carelessly that this "... may lay just claim to the honor of being the oldest graphic book-illustration of falconry in the world...". He is certainly mistaken: the picture is patently modern, and Pauthier (pp. 55-6) is himself cautious about attributing an age to it.

painter of that age was Li Yüan-ch'ang 李元昌, son of the first emperor of the dynasty and younger brother of Li Shih-min, canonized "Grand Ancestor" (*T'ai tsung*), a monarch devoted to the hawking art, as we shall see. Li Yüan-ch'ang painted goshawks and falcons in a style said to have been superior even to that of the illustrious brothers Yen Li-pen and Yen Li-te. His paintings, though still extant in the ninth century, when the *Li tai ming hua chi*, the book which describes his artistry, was written, were apparently lost before Sung times ¹).

Later, during the reign of Hsüan Tsung, another patron of falconry and of painting, there were several eminent painters of hunting birds, including the masters Feng Shao-cheng 馮紹正, Wei Wu-t'ien 韋無忝, and especially Chiang Chiao 姜皎, a favorite of the sovereign. This latter craftsman, ennobled as "Commonlord of Ch'u" (*Ch'u kung* 楚公), was fortunate enough to have his representation of a "horned goshawk" on the arm of a hunter celebrated in a poem by Tu Fu himself ²).

Judging from the listings in early Sung catalogues of painters and their works, no falcon paintings done in T'ang times survived to influence the great Sung bird-painters. The earliest great depicter of raptorial birds whose works remained then was Kuo Ch'ien-hui 郭乾暉, a native of the tenth century state of Southern T'ang, who specialized in painting sparrowhawks. Among his pictures were "Sparrowhawklet Chasing Birds" (*Chu ch'in*

¹) *Li tai ming hua chi*, 9, 267-8.

²) *Li tai ming hua chi*, 9, 289-90, 295; Tu Fu, "Chiang Ch'u Kung hua chüeh ying ko", 姜楚公畫角鷹歌, see E. von Zach's translation of the poem in *Tu Fu's Gedichte* (Harvard University Press, 1952), 1, 304. Other painters of hawks in the T'ang era were Pei Chün 貝俊, Li Shao 李韶, Wei Chin-sun 魏晉孫, K'uai Lien 蒯廉, and Po Min 白旻. See *Li tai ming hua chi*, 10, 311-12. For the "horned goshawk", see below.

yao-tzu 逐禽鵠子), and "Sparrowhawklet on its Perch" (*Chia shang yao-tzu* 架上鵠子), but he also did goshawks, and at least one falcon ¹⁾).

5. ROYAL HAWKERS

He has also a great multitude of eagles which are very well trained to hunt; for they take wolves and foxes and buck and roe-deer, hares and other small animals, and take plenty of them. But those which are trained to take wolves are very extremely large and of great strength, for you may know that there is no wolf so large as to escape before those eagles without being taken . . . And he takes with him quite ten thousand falconers riding, and carries quite five hundred gerfalcons, and peregrine falcons and saker falcons and other kinds of birds in very great abundance, for such creatures are infinite and good in his domains; and they also carry goshawks in great quantity to catch birds on rivers ²⁾).

Marco Polo's famous description of the hunt of the Great Khan cannot be matched with any similar passage in medieval *Chinese* literature, but the hunts of the T'ang emperors must have been no less magnificent than those of the Yüan overlords.

But it was not all beer and skittles for these flamboyant monarchs. Royal lovers of the chase had always to cope with the chilly morals and dour adages of their advisors, steeped in Confucian tradition. Hawking, in short, was frivolous:

He took no pleasure in reading books,
His only joy was in hawks and horses ³⁾).

The first representative of the T'ang dynasty was hardly seated firmly on his throne, in the second decade of the seventh century, when he was sternly admonished by one of his austere magistrates for his acceptance of the gift of a young sparrowhawk. "A depraved practice of the preceding generation," said that counsellor, referring to Sui Yang Ti, for whom the myriad of austringers had

¹⁾ Kuo Jo-hsü 郭若虛 (11th cent.), *T'u hua chien wen chih* 圖畫見聞誌 (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), 2, 73; Hsüan ho hua p'u 宣和畫譜 (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), 15, 409-142.

²⁾ A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot, *Marco Polo; The Description of the World*, 1 (London, 1938), 92-94.

³⁾ *Chin shu*, 122, 1390b.

assembled at Lo-yang. It is not recorded whether the High Forefather of the dynasty purged his mews as a result of this advice.

His successor, the Grand Ancestor (T'ai Tsung), had a similar problem. This virile prince, the renowned conqueror of the Turks, was subjected to the formal censure of his minister Wei Cheng, who took pains to point out that while the first years of his lord's reign had been unblemished by such giddy sports as hunting, it eventually transpired that "... since his resolution could not be stiffened, tribute in hawks and dogs came from as far as the Four Barbarians" ¹⁾. During these early years, the emperor stood in some awe of his mentor, like a schoolboy before a strict but revered teacher. The story is told how he was hunting one day with a favorite sparrowhawk, when he saw Lord Wei approaching, whereupon he hid the bird in the bosom of his garment. Wei Cheng, who had observed this act, was tactless and unimaginative enough to conceive that he might teach the monarch a lesson by stringing out a rambling discourse on political affairs, with the result that the hawk died of suffocation ²⁾.

This effort must have failed, since when Kao Tsung, the successor of T'ai Tsung, moved into the palace, he found the old hunting park well stocked with hawks and hounds. He gave them their freedom forthwith. Moreover, the new ruler, in the second year of his reign (A.D. 651), issued an edict terminating the annual

¹⁾ *T'ang shu*, 103, 3919d (biography of Sun Fu-ch'ieh 孫伏伽).

²⁾ *T'ang shu*, 97, 3907d (biography of Wei Cheng 魏徵). Compare *T'ang shu*, 51, 3753c, where it is stated that in the first years of T'ai Tsung's reign, presents of horses, hounds and hawks, along with certain other trifles, might not be offered to the young sovereign without a special permissive edict.

³⁾ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 193, for A.D. 628.

⁴⁾ *T'ang shu*, as quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 926, 3b. This quotation, as well as the ones of p. 304, n. 4 and 310, n. 1, are presumably from the original *T'ang shu*, whose reconstructed text is now called the "old" *T'ang shu* (see R. des Rotours, *La Traité des Examens*, Paris 1932, 69-70).

tribute in hawks and falcons from the states of P'o-hai and Silla in the northeast ¹⁾).

The royal sport experienced a revival with the accession of Hsüan Tsung early in the eighth century ²⁾, but after the troubles of mid-century, the old splendors never returned to the court, and this kingly art had various fortunes thereafter, mostly, it seems, dismal. We can detect some traces of these changes in the historical records: in the closing years of the century, Te Tsung 德宗 released the royal hawks along with the royal actors; though Hsien Tsung 憲宗, reigning early in the ninth century, held annual winter hunts with hawks and hounds ³⁾, he is reported to have returned a gift of twelve falcons from an imperial legate in Shantung ⁴⁾, perhaps from motives of economy or ostensible incorruptibility, rather than puritanism; early in A.D. 823 his successor, Mu Tsung 穆宗, after an accident in a ball game, suddenly decreed the freedom of all hawks in the imperial mews and the burning of all imperial hunting gear ⁵⁾.

To sum up, the great periods of T'ang falconry, at least as far as imperial example and encouragement are concerned, were the first half of the seventh and the first half of the eighth centuries. During these good years, falcons of patrician breeding poured into the forbidden city in the trains of embassies from friendly and tributary states. Outstanding among these donors were the, nations of Manchuria and Korea: the Mo-ho "Tatars" (韃靼),

¹⁾ *T'ang shu*, 3, 3638,

²⁾ See, for instance, *K'ai yüan t'ien pao i shih* 開元天寶遺事 (*T'ang tai ts'ung shu* ed.), 3, 68a, for the anecdote about the two princes who carried "a red goshawk from Koryo" and a "yellow falcon from the Northern Mountains" on the royal hunts. The sovereign named these peerless birds his "Cloud Bursters" (決雲兒).

³⁾ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 13, 3105b.

⁴⁾ *T'ang shu*, as quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 936, 4a; See p. 303, n. 4, above.

⁵⁾ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 15, 3110b.

⁶⁾ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 16, 3116d.

Silla, and above all P'o-hai, straddling eastern Manchuria and northern Korea. This last nation sent at least six missions bearing hawks and falcons as royal gifts during the reign of Hsüan Tsung ¹⁾. We may imagine that the trade in less regal birds was enormous.

Such presents to the throne, whether "goshawks, falcons, dogs, or leopards ²⁾", were formally received at the Hung-lu Office 鴻臚寺, and suitable gifts made in return ³⁾. They were then turned over to the palace officers who governed the emperor's mews and kennels ⁴⁾. These latter were the "five quarters" (*wu fang* 五坊). One of them was for the hounds, while the names of the other four corresponded to the names of the four great classes of hunting birds recognized by the medieval Chinese ⁵⁾. These were eagles, falcons, sparrowhawks and goshawks, the same classes of raptors which have proved best for the chase everywhere in the world ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ *Ts'ê fu yüan kuei*, chs. 971-2 (the old names of Manchurian peoples, such as Su-shen 肅慎 and Fu-yü 扶餘, appear even in the T'ang tribute lists); *T'ang shu*, 204, 4107a; Tou Kung 竇鞏, "Hsin-lo chin po ying" 新羅進白鷹, *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 4, ts'ê 10, p. 23a; Su T'ing 蘇頲, "Preface to 'Shuang po ying tsan'" 雙白鷹讚, *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 256, 12b.

²⁾ Hunting leopards, to judge from the context.

³⁾ *T'ang shu*, 18, 3746a.

⁴⁾ These officials were not much liked by the commons. The T'ang history reports the great resentment against the hordes of courtiers who descended upon the countryside like locusts during the annual autumn trials of the imperial hawks and hounds (*an ying ch'üan* 按鷹犬) held in anticipation of the winter hunts. See *Chiu T'ang shu*, 170, 3519c, for the early ninth century. For further discussion of this subject see S. Naitō 内藤雋轉, "Kōrai jidai no hōyō ni tsuite", 高麗時代の放鷹について, *Chōsen gaku* 8 (October, 1955), 65, 70 (note 1). This article sketches the history of the imperial mews through T'ang, Liao, and Chin, to the climax in Yüan, then their development in Koryo from the thirteenth century.

⁵⁾ *T'ang shu*, 47, 3743a. Cf. Robert des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires et Traité de l'armée*, 1 (Leiden, 1947). 222.

⁶⁾ Thus A. von Le Coq, *Von Land und Leuten in Ostturkistan* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 80, observes that the four kinds of birds used by the hunters of Kucha in 1913 were "Sperber", "Habicht", "Edelfalke", and "Steinadler", that is, the sparrowhawk, goshawk, falcon,

6. TYPES OF HUNTING HAWKS

1. EAGLES (*tiao* 鵟). These handsome birds have been used and are still used for hunting large mammals, such as wolves, foxes and gazelles, by the peoples of Central Asia, including the Mongols and Turks ¹). The T'ang emperors also used them. Probably the Golden Eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*) was the species most commonly trained, possibly also the Imperial Eagle (*Aquila heliaca*), the Steppe Eagle (*Aquila nipalensis*), and the Spotted Eagle (*Aquila clanga*) ²). Among the important hunting eagles of the Chinese

and eagle. Modern usage differs in many respects from medieval in regard to the Chinese names of hawks, and it has not always been easy to arrive at their meaning with certainty. Modern references, for instance, identify *yao* 鵟 variously as "harriers" (gen. *Circus*), "kites" (gen. *Milvus*), and "sparrowhawks" (gen. *Accipiter*). I have relied on the following modern authorities, in conjunction with medieval Chinese descriptions, to arrive at my identifications. Everyone interested in Far Eastern falconry is advised to consult them: Sten Bergman, *Zur Kenntnis nordostasiatischer Vögel* (Stockholm, 1935); Cheng Tso-hsin

鄭作新, *Chung-kuo niao-lei fen-pu mu-lu* (Peking, 1955); Armand David and E. Oustalet, *Les Oiseaux de la Chine* (Paris, 1877); Hans J. Epstein, "The Origin and Earliest History of Falconry", *Isis*, 34 (1943), 497-509; Louis Agassiz Fuertes, "Falconry, the Sport of Kings", *National Geographic Magazine*, 38 (1920), 429-460; J. E. Harting, *Bibliotheca Accipitraria; a catalogue of books ancient and modern relating to falconry with notes, glossary, and vocabulary* (London, 1891); A. von Le Coq, "Bemerkungen über türkische Falknerei", *Baessler-Archiv*, 4 (1913), 1-13; D. C. Phillott, *The Bāz-nāma-yi Nāširi; a Persian Treatise on Falconry* (London, 1908); Bernard E. Read, "Chinese Materia Medica, VI, Avian Drugs", *Bulletin*, Peking Society of Natural History, 6 (1932), 1-112; E. Denison Ross, "Polyglot List of Birds—Turki, Manchu and Chinese", *Memoirs*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 2 (1907-1910), 253-340; Tsen-Hwang Shaw, "The Birds of Hopei Province", *Zoologica Sinica*, Ser. B., 15/1 (Peking, 1936); Arthur de Carle Sowerby, "Shooting and Fishing", *China Journal*, 7 (1927), 105; Casey A. Wood and F. Marjorie Fyfe, *The Art of Falconry being the De Arte Venandi cum Avibus of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (Stanford University, 1943). These have proved basic to me, but a great many other titles might be added. See Harting, *Bibliotheca*, for bibliography of the nineteenth century and earlier; for later publications see the bibliography in Wood and Fyfe, *Art of Falconry*.

¹) See David and Oustalet, *Oiseaux*, p. 8; Le Coq, "Bemerkungen", p. 4; Marco Polo, as cited above, et al.

²) Other genera of eagles and eagle-like birds recognized by various authorities as occurring in the Far East are *Hieraaetus*, *Circus*, *Haliaeetus*, *Thalassoaetus*, *Spilornis* (*Haematornis*), *Ictinaetus*, and *Ichthyophaga* (*Poliocetus*). Many of these, especially the Sea Eagles, would be useless to most hunters. Bonelli's Eagle (*Hieraaetus fasciatus*) has been described, however, as "... the best eagle in which the falconer can invest" (Wood and Fyfe, *Art of Falconry*, p. 525). Possibly it was used in China. As to the possibility of the use of the "White-tailed Sea-Eagle", see discussion of the *hai-tung-ch'ing* falcon, note 2, p. 309 below.

must be numbered the "Hawk Eagle" or "Crested Eagle" (*Spizaëtus* [= *Nisaëtus*] *nipalensis*), though the Chinese named it "Horned Goshawk" (*chiieh ying* 角鷹). This species preys chiefly on pheasants and squirrels ¹⁾. This, according to Phillott, may also have been the "Royal Goshawk" (*Shāh-bāz*) of the Persian falconers' handbooks; tradition tells that one of those was brought from *Chīn* (China? Mongolia?) to King Bahrām-i Gūr of the Sassanian Dynasty ²⁾. However, judging from the infrequency of references to the use of hunting eagles by the Chinese—indeed I have observed them only as inhabitants of the *imperial* mews—it must be assumed that they were a type of *imperial* gift, but not widely employed by them, as they were among the nomads. Their feathers, however, were demand for the court fletchers ³⁾.

2. FALCONS (*hu* 鵠) ⁴⁾. These are the long-winged hawks, the dark-eyed hawks, the "hawks of the lure", which stoop to strike

¹⁾ David and Oustalet, *Oiseaux*, p. 11; Kiyosu Yukiya 清棲幸保, *Nihon chōrui daizukan* 日本鳥類大圖鑑 (Tokyo, 1952), 2, 464. *Nihon dōbutsu zukan* 日本動物圖鑑 (2nd ed., Tokyo, 1949), p. 149, states that *Spizaëtus* has been used for falconry in Japan. There is actually a "Crested Goshawk" (*Accipiter* [*Astur*] *trivirgatus*) in southern Asia. It sometimes reaches southwestern China, but can hardly have been the crested "hawk" so well known to the Northern Chinese, though, according to Phillott, it was formerly trained in India.

²⁾ Phillott, *Bāz-nāma*, pp. 1-2.

³⁾ Eagle feathers, especially white ones, are listed in several places in the geographical section of the *T'ang shu* as token tribute from the northern provinces. Li Shih-chen, *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 49, takes particular notice of their use in feathering arrows.

⁴⁾ This character is sometimes read *ku*. In the sense of "falcon" it should be read *hu* (*γuət); see *Kuang yün*. The word is also written 鵠 by Yen Shih-ku in his gloss on *chun* 隼 in *Han shu*, 27ca, 0415b, and 鵠 by Tuan Ch'eng-shih. Rotours' translation "vautours" would astonish any falconer; "faucons" would have been correct. *Hu* was the T'ang equivalent of classical *chun*, as Yen Shih-ku points out, though the latter word was still used, apparently rather poetically, in medieval literature. Wan Mao 王樛 (1151-1213) states, in his *Yeh k'o ts'ung shu* 野客叢書 (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), 20, 201-2, that many of his contemporaries thought that *hu* was a new word, absent in ancient literature, but Wang was able to find it (possibly in a different sense) in several classical books.

their prey in mid-air with clenched fist. They were the aristocratic hunting birds of medieval Europe. Their prestige was equally great among the Eastern Turks, for in the year 809 the Uigurs adopted, as the official Chinese version of their tribal name, *hui-hu* (**γuāi-yuāt*) 迴鶻 “whirling falcons¹⁾”. In China, however, though appreciated as kingly birds, they were not as highly valued as goshawks²⁾. Among the falcons, it was the saker (*Falco cherrug*), a hunter of herons and other large game-birds, which was most favored in China, as among orientals generally³⁾, but the peregrine was also flown, especially at ducks and such lesser fowl⁴⁾. But it was the white falcon that was regarded as the most beautiful and noble of hunting birds—a perfectly suitable gift to a royal person. The white falcon of the medieval Chinese texts must have been the gerfalcon⁵⁾. The Far Eastern variety of this magnificent bird is a race of the Greenland Falcon, the most esteemed of all hunting hawks in medieval Europe, and venerated equally by the medieval Turks⁶⁾. T'ang T'ai Tsung himself possessed a white falcon—

¹⁾ In place of the earlier *hui-ho* 迴紇. *T'ang shu*, 217a, 4141a.

²⁾ So also elsewhere in eastern Asia. Thus Le Coq, in “Bemerkungen”, p. 6, states that when he was in Kucha a peregrine falcon cost 1/10 the price of a goshawk on the open market.

³⁾ Among the Arabs, the saker falcon and the goshawk are styled *hurr* “free-born; noble”. Phillott, *Bāz-nāma*, p. 52.

⁴⁾ The hobby (*Falco subbuteo*) and the merlin (*Falco columbarius*) also occur in China, but seem not to have been much used in falconry. The word *chan* 鷂, which occurs frequently in early literature, though only rarely for a hawk trained for hunting, is not now current. B. Read, in his *Avian Drugs*, takes it to refer to the kestrel, but since the literature describes the *chan* as similar to the sparrowhawk, and a swift attacker of pigeons and smaller birds, I feel fairly confident that it is the merlin, our “pigeon hawk”. Other falcons recorded for China are the Red-legged Falcon (*Erythropus amurensis* = *Falco vespertinus*), the Kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus* = *Cerchneis tinnunculus*), the Lesser Kestrel (*Falco naumanni* = *Cerchneis naumanni*), and the Falconet (*Microhierax melanoleucus*).

⁵⁾ *Falco gyrfalco grebnitzkii* (= *Falco rusticolus candicans* = *Falco rusticolus obsoletus*), found in Manchuria and elsewhere in northeastern Asia. See Cheng Tso-hsin, *Chung-kuo niao-lei*, pp. 66-67, Bergman, *Kenntnis*, pp. 90-2, and Kiyosu, *Nihon chōrui*, 2, 446-7.

⁶⁾ Le Coq believes that modern Turki *tīyūn*, which he renders “white goshawk”, is cognate to the *toyan* of the Blue Turk inscriptions, and to the form *tuiyūn* which Radloff

a gerfalcon as I suppose—which he named *chiang chiün* 將軍, “Leader of the Army”, which was so well trained that it habitually struck down game-birds in front of one of the palace buildings, which was therefore named “Basilica of the Fallen Geese” (*Lo yen tien* 落雁殿)¹). A kind of falcon held in the highest regard during Sung and Yüan was called “East of the Sea Blue” (*hai tung ch'ing* 海東青, or simply “Sea Blue” (*hai ch'ing* 海青); this too seems to have been a variety of the Manchurian gerfalcon²). The “Frosted Falcon” (*shuang hu* 霜鶻), often referred to in T'ang and Sung literature, must also have belonged to this species.

3. SPARROWHAWKS (*yao* 鵟). These are the smaller of the accipiters, which are the short-winged hawks, the yellow-eyed hawks, the “hawks of the fist”. Accipiters kill their prey, not by a blow as the falcon does, but in the clutch of their great needle-like talons, usually pinning it to the ground. The sparrowhawks are used for hunting small birds, such as quail, in wooded places³). In China there are two species, *Accipiter nisus* and *Accipiter*

translates “white falcon”. Indeed the old Turkish nobles delighted to name themselves *toγan* (Le Coq, “Bemerkungen”, pp. 2, 10). Although white goshawks occur occasionally (see below), I believe that the *po hu* 白鶻 of the Chinese and the *toγun* of the Turks was the famous gerfalcon.

¹) *Ch'ao yeh ch'ien tsai* 朝野僉載 (*T'ang tai ts'ung shu* ed.), 53b.

²) Cf. Ross, “Polyglot List”, pp. 273-4. *Sung shih*, 5, 4505b, speaks of tribute of A.D. 992 in the form of a “falcon called East of the Sea Blue”. Despite this clear definition, which is verified in other medieval sources, it has been alleged that the *hai tung ch'ing* was actually no falcon, but a White-tailed Sea-eagle (*Haliaeetus albicilla*); see the remarks of P. A. Pichot, translated by J. E. Harting, in *The Zoologist*, 3rd ser., 9 (Dec., 1885), 447. This latter bird is, it is true, used as a decoy by hawk-catchers, and its tail feathers are much desired for fans (La Touche, *Handbook*, 1, 168; Shaw, *Birds of Hopei*, p. 264). It may even have been trained occasionally. But I cannot believe that it was the great falcon which delighted the Jurchen and Mongol kings.

³) The sparrowhawk was evidently popular in China, and indeed everywhere in Asia, in contrast to the low esteem in which it was held in Europe. Epstein's opinion that this preference for sparrowhawks is “a Persian peculiarity” is too narrow. H. J. Epstein, “Review of Hakan Tjerneld, *Moamin et Ghatrif, Traité de l'auconnerie et des chiens de chasse*”, *Isis*, 37 (1947), 103.

virgatus (= *Accipiter gularis*). Perhaps the small "goshawk" (*Accipiter* [= *Astur*] *soloensis*) was also grouped with them. Apparently white individuals occur, since it is reported that in A.D. 798 a white sparrowhawk taken at Ts'o-ê 嵯峨 Mountain in Shensi was presented to the court ¹⁾.

4. GOSHAWKS (*ying* 鷹) ²⁾. These are the large accipiters, in China limited to one species, *Accipiter* [*Astur*] *gentilis* ³⁾. This was the hunting hawk par excellence of the Chinese, hence the typical Chinese hunter was not a falconer but an austringer. Unlike the falcon, the goshawk makes no spectacular kill in the upper air, but it is incomparable for taking the traditional game of the Chinese, rabbits and pheasants ⁴⁾. It resembles the sparrowhawk in everything but size—it is much larger. This was also the practical man's hawk in the West, "... the fiercest and most competent killers of all, and therefore used principally by the 'yeomanry' as meat getters ⁵⁾". In western Asia, too, the goshawk, not the aristocratic falcon, was the type of the hunting bird, so much so that Persian books on falconry were called *Bāz-nāma* "Goshawk Books", just as their Chinese analogues were called *Ying ching* "Goshawk Canons ⁶⁾". The goshawk is sometimes called *ch'ing-ch'iao* 青 鵞

¹⁾ *T'ang shu*, as quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 926, 8a. See note 4, page 303 above

²⁾ The name *huang ying* "yellow goshawk" is sometimes applied to the young saker falcon in modern Peking. Rotours has "faucons" for *ying*; "vautours" would be correct. "Goshawk" appears to be the correct translation of skt. *śyena*, to judge from the metathetic transcription of Li Shih-chen: *Szu-na-yeh* 斯那夜. See also *Mahāvīyutpatti*, Sakaki ed. (Kyoto, 1916), 4903: Chinese *t'u-hu* 兔鶻, Tibetan *sre(ste)*.

³⁾ The Crested Goshawk (*Accipiter* [*Astur*] *trivirgatus*) and the Annamite Shikra (*Accipiter* [*Astur*] *badius*) have been found in southwestern China.

⁴⁾ In Chou times, before the introduction of falconry, rabbits and birds were taken in nets. According to Shaw, *Birds of Hopei*, p. 236, the larger female goshawk is used for hares, the male for pheasants and partridges.

⁵⁾ Fuyertes, "Falconry", p. 444.

⁶⁾ See Harting, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 198-202. The Turkish word *yaraq/yarak* "accipiter" even reached England, and was incorporated into the technical language of the hawkers: a hawk in keen hunting condition was said to be "in yaraq". Le Coq, "Bemerkungen", p. 2.

"Blue Shins", a term which goes back to the Han dynasty¹). White goshawks, like white falcons, were particularly valued, but there is no species of goshawk whose ordinary color is white, as is the case with the gerfalcon. But a white color variation does occur in northeast Asia; this white phase of the common goshawk has been styled *Accipiter gentilis albidus*²). The Manchurian nations were known to the T'ang Chinese as the best source of white goshawks, especially the country of the Mo-ho, which abounded in them³).

7. HAWKING EQUIPMENT

The apparatus of hawking has been remarkably uniform in all times and places. This is a conservative art. Timetested methods and equipment are jealously maintained, and so appear little different in China from what they are in England. The chief articles needed by the Chinese hawker are listed below; their Chinese names may be found in the glossary.

I. MEW. This is a cage in which the hawk is kept during the

¹) See J. J. L. Duyvendak, "Review of W. C. White, *Tomb Tile Pictures of Ancient China*", *T'oung Pao*, 35 (1940), 373-5. Duyvendak regards the expression as a hunter's euphemism, of magical import. The extended form "blue shinned goshawk" (*ch'ing ch'iao ying* 青 絞 鷹) appears in a notice of a gift of these birds to the emperor from a legate stationed at Sha-chou (Tun-huang) in A.D. 866 (*Chiu T'ang shu*, 19a, 3135a). Another old name, obsolete long before T'ang, was *shuang-chiu* 爽鳥鳩. The reduced form *chiu* 鳩 occurs in the *Li chi* in passages which are incomprehensible if we take *chiu* to mean "dove", as Couvreur does in his translation "... quand la colombe était changée en épervier", for *chiu hua wei ying* 鳩 化 爲 鷹. The word seems actually to describe a color-change in the hawk, related to the molting periods. See *Li chi*, Wang chih 王制 and Yüeh ling 月令; also *Ta Tai Li chi*, Hsia hsiao cheng 夏小正. Compare the use of *ko* "pigeon" as a name for a goshawk in its first plumage in the *Jou chüeh pu*, translated below.

²) Bergman, *Kenntnis*, p. 97. Phillott observes that "albino" goshawks were known in Persia, where they were called *kāfūrī* "camphors" (i.e., camphor-colored); he says that in Turkestan these were named *lāziqī*, after a white flower. *Bāz-nāma*, pp. 3-6.

³) *T'ang shu*, 219, 4146d.

molting period. It must often have been quite handsome, to judge the epithets given it in T'ang poetry: one poet speaks of it as *ts'ai lung* 綵籠 "polychrome (painted) cage", another as *tiao lung* 雕籠 "carved cage ¹⁾".

2. PERCH. The usual resting place of a hawk, this is a kind of rack or frame, whose principal member is a horizontal pole, which may be 冂-shaped (supported at both ends), or T-shaped (supported at the center) ²⁾. This too could be finely ornamented; the poet Chang Chü 張莒 refers to a hawk's "golden frame" (*chin chia* 金架) ³⁾. It should be noted that, by virtue of their natural habitats, falcons, which nest on rocky ledges, are ordinarily perched on solid wooden blocks, while accipiters, which roost on the branches of trees, are perched on horizontal poles. That the latter are frequently referred to in Chinese literature, but the former never (to my knowledge) is strong evidence of the pre-eminence of the goshawk, as opposed to the falcon, in the Far East.

3. LEASH. This is a long cord, one end of which is fastened to the jesses on the hawk's legs, while the other is bound to the perch, to prevent the bird's escape ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ P'u-yang Kuan 濮陽權, "A Falcon comes from the Mew" (*ch'u lung hu* 出籠鶻), *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 11, ts'e 8, Yüan Nan-ming 員南溟 *chüan*, 3b; Chang Chü 張莒 (fl. A.D. 774), "Rhapsody on a Goshawk Freed from her Mew" (*fang lung ying fu* 放籠鷹賦), in *Yü ting li tai fu hui* 御定歷代賦彙, 132, 6b-7a.

²⁾ The latter type is technically a "crutch". A mural painting at Idiqutschähri, near Turfan, shows a pair of hawks leashed to a crutch. See A. Grünwedel, *Alt buddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan* (Berlin, 1912), p. 33. The former kind is shown in part, with a white hawk leashed to it, in a painting attributed (with little probability, I am told), to the Emperor Hui Tsung of Sung in E. A. Strehlneck, *Chinese Pictorial Art* (Shanghai, 1941), p. 107.

³⁾ *Chia* 架 "frame; scaffold", is the usual word for a perch. See Chang Chü, "Rhapsody".

⁴⁾ Hawks sent as tribute, leashed to a perch or to a carrying pole, are counted with the classifier *lien* 聯 "binding; bond", e.g. *po hu erh lien* 白鶻二聯 "two [bindings of] falcons".

4. SWIVEL. A device at the end of the leash, where it fastens to the jesses, to prevent twisting. It was evidently often made of precious substances; a poet, for instance, writes of a "jade swivel"¹⁾

5. JESSES. These are straps attached to the hawk's feet. They remain there while the bird is in flight; on her return the leash is fastened to them. These are ordinarily made of leather²⁾, but more costly materials were also used, for we read of "jesses of pease-green silk-thread"³⁾, and "clouded brocade jesses"⁴⁾.

6. BELL. Unlike the falcons, which hunt the sky over open plains, the accipiters (goshawks and sparrowhawks) hunt the woods. Since there is danger that their jesses will become entangled in branches or shubbery, they wear bells to help their masters find them⁵⁾. Unlike most matters pertaining to falconry, there is considerable variation in local practice as to where the bell is tied. In Europe it is normally attached to the leg⁶⁾; the Turks of Central Asia hang it from a neck-band⁷⁾; but the Chinese and Japanese uniformly bind it to the medial tail-feathers⁸⁾. We

¹⁾ P'u-yang Kuan, "Falcon".

²⁾ Wei Yen-shen 魏彥深 (Sui dyn.), "Rhapsody on the Goshawk" (*ying fu* 鷹賦), in *Yü ting li tai fu hui*, 132, 4a-5a: "they knot long thongs to both of her feet".

³⁾ Chang Hsiao-piao, "The Goshawk" (*ying fu* 鷹), *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 8, ts'e 4, p. 3b.

⁴⁾ Yüan Chen 元稹, "Yin shan tao yüeh fu", 陰山道樂府, *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 6, ts'e 10, ch. 24, 11a.

⁵⁾ Su Shih 蘇軾, *Ai tzu tsa shuo* 艾子雜說 (in *Shuo fu*, han 36), 4b-5a.

⁶⁾ Wood and Fyfe, *Art of Falconry*, p. 143.

⁷⁾ Le Coq, "Bermerkungen", p. 6. Only sparrowhawks normally wear a neck-band, but both Le Coq and Phillott (*Bāz-nāma*, p. 2) note their occasional use on goshawks among the Persians and Turks, presumably only for the bell, not as a steadying collar as in No. 7, below.

⁸⁾ *Ai tzu tsa shuo*, 4b-5a; *Kokon yōran kō* 古今要覽稿, 185, 77 ff. The Emperor Frederick II knew of this custom, but disapproved of it. See Wood and Fyfe, *Art of Falconry*, p. 143.

read of "gold bells" ¹⁾, "jade bells" ²⁾, and "finely chased goshawk bells" ³⁾.

7. COLLAR. This neck-band, with a lead held between the falconer's fingers, was to steady the bird as it prepared to take flight. Generally it was worn only by sparrowhawks ⁴⁾. A sparrowhawk's embroidered collar is mentioned in a poem by Yüan Chen ⁵⁾.

8. HOOD. Since only falcons, not goshawks, are hooded, references to the hood are rare in Chinese literature ⁶⁾. An actual falcon's hood of leather, probably of the ninth century, has been found in Chinese Turkestan ⁷⁾.

9. GAUNTLET. Falconers wear a heavy glove or wristlet to protect their arm from the sharp talons of the hawk. This is basically of leather ⁸⁾, but in medieval China was often elegantly

¹⁾ P'u-yang Kuan, poem cited above. This poem is about a falcon, which does not need a bell; did the poet err, or was the custom not rigid?

²⁾ Chao Hsia 趙嘏 (ca. 810-856), "Hua ch'ing kung ho Tu she jen" 華清宮和杜舍人, *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 9, ts'e 1, ch. 2, p. 1b.

³⁾ A courtly gift from the king of Silla. *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 971, 5a.

⁴⁾ Phillott, *Bāz-nāma*, p. 2; Harting, *Bibliotheca*, p. 224. The use of the sparrowhawk collar was observed by William of Rubruck in Mongolia in the thirteenth century. See W. W. Rockhill, trans., *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-55, as narrated by himself* (London, 1900), pp. 69-70.

⁵⁾ Yüan Chen, "T'ai chung chü yü i K'ai yüan chiu shih" 臺中鞠獄憶開元舊事, in *Yüan shih Ch'ang-ch'ing chi* 元氏長慶集 (Szu pu ts'ung k'an ed.), 5, 5a.

⁶⁾ Su Shih, *Wu lei hsiang kan chih* 物類相感志. (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), p. 26, refers to a "crow-black falcon wearing its hoodlet", (*ya hu tai mao erh* 鴉鵲帶帽兒). Laufer notes that the hood was first introduced into Europe by Frederick II, and adds that it was known in China "since times of old", whatever that may mean. He gives the name *p'i t'ao* 皮套 to it. *Chinese Pottery*, p. 231.

⁷⁾ Le Coq, "Bermerkungen", p. 1. This was in the ruins of Chotscho (İdīqutschähri).

⁸⁾ Lu Kuei-meng 陸龜蒙 (ninth century), "Water Bird" (*shui niao* 水鳥), *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 9, ts'e 10, ch. 5, p. 3b, has *wzi kou* 韋鞬 "leather gauntlet".

decorated, as indicated by such verses as "The barbarian goshawk with the green eyes treads the brocaded gauntlet" ¹⁾. The Chinese name (see Glossary) is an old word for an archer's cuff. I cannot determine whether it had finger stalls in T'ang times.

8. HAWKING TECHNIQUES

It is possible to glean from the early records a few facts about Chinese hawking practice which are not alluded to in Tuan Ch'eng-shih's book. I note them here.

1. SEELING. This is sewing up the hawk's eyelids during training, a practice well known in the West. It was also done in China: Wei Yen-shen 魏彥深 of the Sui Dynasty, in his "Rhapsody on the Goshawk" (*ying fu* 鷹賦), wrote, "they stitched light threads in her paired eyelids".

2. CALLING. The falconer must be able to call his hawk to the attack or to himself: "Cry havoc!" But sometimes he whistles instead of shouting, and may even use a manufactured whistle ²⁾. In any case, the hawk must be trained to the appropriate sound. I have not found any T'ang references to hawk-whistling ³⁾, but there are frequent references to calling with the voice. Tu Fu uses, in a poetic simile, the image of a falcon, which "hearing the call, dashes towards the fowl ⁴⁾"; Yao Ch'ung 姚崇, in answer to an inquiry by the young ruler Hsüan Tsung, said, "When your

¹⁾ Hsüeh Feng 薛逢 (fl. 853), "Hsia shao nien" 俠少年, *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 8, ts'e 10, p. 18b.

²⁾ As the hawkers of Kublai Khan: "Every man of them is provided with a whistle and hood, so as to be able to call in a hawk and hold it in hand". Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian* (3rd ed. rev. by H. Cordier, London, 1903), I, 402.

³⁾ The art of attracting birds by whistling was certainly known in medieval China. See *Hsiao chih* 嘯旨, in *T'ang tai ts'ung shu*, 10.

⁴⁾ "Sung shuai fu Ch'eng lu shih huan hsiang" 送率府程錄事還鄉 translated in von Zach, *Tu Fu's Gedichte*, I, 133.

vassal was twenty years old, he dwelt by the Kuang-ch'eng Mere, and found happiness in calling goshawks to chase the beasts ¹⁾".

3. CARRYING. It is traditional in Europe to carry one's hawk to the hunt on the left arm. In many Asiatic countries the right arm is preferred ²⁾. Judging from what little evidence can be found in art and literature, the medieval Chinese and their immediate neighbors preferred the right: "on his right, his goshawk on arm: on his left, his hound on leash ³⁾".

9. CHINESE BOOKS ON HAWKING

Over a decade ago, George Sarton wrote, "It is known that the Chinese have always practised hawking, but I am not aware of the existence of a single medieval book on falconry (*fang ying shu*) ⁴⁾". The *Jou chieh pu*, translated just below, was such a book,

¹⁾ *T'ang shu*, 124, 3959b. The eleventh century book *Wu lei hsiang kan chih* (see note 6, p. 314) has this curious statement about a falcon which flies off still wearing her hood: "If you call to her standing, she will go away high up, but if you call to her crouching, she will come to you".

²⁾ Contrary examples can be found, and Frederick II was sublimely indifferent to both traditions. He recommended that the hawk be carried on whichever hand happened to be on the leeward side of the body. Wood and Fyfe, *Art of Falconry*, p. 143.

³⁾ Written of a young man hawking in the fifth century, *Nan shih*, 31, 2622c (biography of Chang Ch'ung 張充). The Yüan painter Yen Hui 顏輝 shows hawks carried on the right arm in his painting reproduced in *Yün hui chai tsang T'ang Sung i lai ming hua chi* 韞輝齋藏唐宋以來名畫集. Wiillam of Rubruck states that the Mongol falconers carried their birds on the right arm, but his translator, W. W. Rockhill, says that nowadays they prefer the left. See *Journey of William of Rubruck*, p. 70, n. 1. On the other hand, a painting of a "Mongol" horseman, supposed to be of Sung date, shows a hawk borne on the left. See O. Siren, *Chinese Paintings in American Collections*, (Paris and Brussels, 1928), 2, pl. 9.

⁴⁾ *Introduction to the History of Science*, 3 (Carnegie Institution, Baltimore, 1947), 233. Laufer was rather careless in following Harting when he stated that the earliest Chinese book on falconry was the "Rhapsody on the Goshawk", a descriptive poem written by Wei Yen-shen in the Sui dynasty (see note 2, p. 313). Laufer, *Chinese Pottery*, p. 234; Harting, *Bibliotheca*, p. 207. The ultimate source for this mistaken opinion is a very rare and (it is said) beautifully illustrated book: Schlegel and Wulverhorst, *Traité de fauconnerie* (Leiden, 1844-1853). I have not seen this work nor can I say what was the source of the authors' mistake. The poem in question is not the earliest of its kind, nor is it a treatise in any sense. (see addendum, pag. 338).

but others existed in medieval times which are now lost. Indeed a "Goshawk Canon" (*ying ching* 鷹經), from its title a general account in prose of the goshawk, for the use of hunters, existed during the Han period ¹⁾. This may well be the same as the book of that name listed in the official bibliography of T'ang ²⁾. The latter, whether written in Han or not, failed, it seems, to survive into Sung times, for it is missing from the bibliography of that dynasty, though the names of two treatises on veterinary medicine for the goshawk and sparrowhawk are preserved in the *History of Sung* ³⁾.

The most comprehensive extant treatise on hawking in the Chinese language which has come to my attention is, surprisingly, not about Chinese falconry at all. This is the "Discourses on Goshawks" (*ying lun* 鷹論), authored by one Li Lei-szu 利類思, and preserved in the encyclopaedia *T'u shu chi ch'eng* ⁴⁾. The name Li Lei-szu disguises the eminent Jesuit missionary Ludovicus Buglio, a Sicilian who went to China in 1637, resided first in Ch'eng-tu, and later in Peking with Fathers Verbiest, Schall and Magalhaens. The Reverend Buglio knew the Chinese language well, and wrote many books in that tongue, mostly on religious subjects. The *Ying lun* was written in 1679 to inform the K'ang-hsi Emperor about European falconry ⁵⁾. Of particular interest in this book are the Chinese phonetic transcriptions which

¹⁾ *San Kuo chih* (Wei), 9, 0947a.

²⁾ *T'ang shu*, 59, 3769a; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 47, 3265d.

³⁾ *Sung shih*, 206, 4999d.

⁴⁾ "Ch'in ch'ung tien" 禽蟲典, ch. 12, "ying pu" 鷹部, hui k'ao 彙考, 12b-19a.

⁵⁾ Louis Pfister, "Notices biographiques et bibliographiques", 1 (*Variétés sinologiques*, No. 59; Shanghai, 1932), 230-243. In this reference, the book on falconry is entitled *Chin ch'eng ying shuo* 進呈鷹說. Both titles are respectably Chinese in containing the word *ying* "goshawk", but the book itself shows an aristocratic European preoccupation with the true falcons.

the author has used for the names of favorite European hunting hawks ¹⁾).

Po-le-ki-no 百勒基諾 Ital. *Pellegrino* or *Peregrino* (Peregrine Falcon).

[Y]a-ki-la 雅基辣 Ital. *Aquila* (Eagle) ²⁾.

Ju-erh-fa-erh-küeh 入而發兒學 Ital. *Girfalco*, or Lat. *Gyrfalco* (Gerfalcon).

When, in the future, the general history of falconry in the Far East is written, its author will be obliged to consult a considerable literature in Japanese. Texts of various date are reprinted in the *Gunsho ruijū* 羣書類從, 12, 440-517, and in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 續羣書類從, 19, 590-907. The former of these contains the text of the *Shinshū yōkyō* 新修鷹經 "Newly Revised Goshawk Canon", written in the Chinese language and bearing the date A.D. 818. Possibly this derives from the lamented "Goshawk Canon" written in Han China, and seemingly lost in that country during T'ang ³⁾).

10. THE *Jou chüeh pu* OF TUAN CH'ENG-SHIH

Though Tuan Ch'eng-shih 段成式 is best known as a ninth century man of letters ⁴⁾, his short study of hunting hawks, the *Jou chüeh pu* 肉攫部, is (unlike my own) not based on literary sources, but on direct observation and actual experience. He was, in short, extravagantly devoted to hunting, and especially to

¹⁾ Though he writes of eagles and falcons, Rev. Buglio does not use the old Chinese name *tiao* "eagle" and *hu* "falcon".

²⁾ Glossed as *yü wang* 羽王 "king of feathered (kind)", and also styled *shen ying* 神鷹 "divine goshawk".

³⁾ Other important Japanese materials appear in Yashiro Hirokata 屋代弘賢, *Kokon yōran kō* 古今要覽考 (1821-1840), chs. 179-188 and 473-490.

⁴⁾ Date of birth unknown; died A.D. 863. He has biographies in *T'ang shu*, 89, 3896a and in *Chiu T'ang shu*, 167, 3515a, the latter a very brief one.

hunting pheasants and hares, the traditional quarry of the goshawk. In other words, he was an amateur austringer. His notes on the several varieties of goshawk known to him, along with his remarks on a few other matters pertaining to falconry, are here translated ¹⁾.

TRANSLATION

THE DIVISIONS OF THE PREDATORS OF FLESH ²⁾1. *The Manner of Taking Goshawks*

The twentieth day of the seventh month ³⁾ is the superior time—then the ones in our inner land are abundant, while those beyond the frontier are quite few.

¹⁾ The book is noted in the annotated bibliography in Wood and Fyfe, *Art of Falconry*, p. 607, as "TUAN CH'ENG-SHIH (9th century A.D.). *Jou kuo pu*. Description of birds of prey, such as eagles, and the way to catch them". These authors were misinformed: the book is almost entirely devoted to goshawks, and far more with distinguishing the racial and individual varieties of that bird than with the manner of capturing them. A small section of the book has been translated by E. D. Edwards, in *Chinese Prose Literature of the T'ang Period*, 1 (London, 1937), 199-200. The book appears in modern editions in three forms: (1) as a separate work, with the title *Jou chüeh pu* 肉攫部, printed in *T'ang tai ts'ung shu*, *Shuo ju* (cheng hsü), and *Wu ch'ao hsiao shuo*. These versions are fundamentally the same; (2) as a separate work, with the title *Ying p'in* 鷹品 "Sorts of Goshawks", in some versions of the (Ming) Ch'ung-chen (A.D. 1628-1643) edition of the collectanea *Po ch'uan hsüeh hai*. Unfortunately not all sets of the latter are alike: a Ch'ung-chen edition in the Library of Congress does not contain the text, though it apparently exists in the Tsinghua University Library's copy of the Ch'ung-chen edition. There is also a copy of a Ch'ung-chen edition in the *Jimbun kagaku kenkyūjo* in Kyoto, but there the title is *Jou chüeh pu*. I have inspected all of these, and they are virtually identical, even in points requiring emendation, and therefore appear to descend equally from a late T'ang or early Sung exemplar. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Edwin G. Beal, Jr., of the Library of Congress, for helping me to untangle these matters; (3) as *chüan* 20 of the various modern versions of Tuan Ch'eng-shih's *Yu yang tsa tsu*. I suspect that the *Jou chüeh pu* did not originally form part of this book, but was added editorially in post-T'ang times to round out the traditional twenty chapters.

²⁾ The title of the book indicates that it purports to classify the several kinds of hunting hawks.

³⁾ This might fall anywhere in the period from mid-August to the first week in September according to our calendar. This is the time when the fall migration of hawks southward from Mongolia and Manchuria is at its peak.

The upper decad of the eighth month is the second-rate time.

The lower decad of the eighth month ¹⁾ is the inferior time, when the goshawks from beyond the frontier come no longer.

The eyes of a goshawk net are 1.8 inches square, with eighty eyes vertically and fifty eyes horizontally. It is dyed with yellow phellodendron ²⁾ mixed with oak liquor ³⁾, which makes it like the color of earth ⁴⁾. The locust insects like to eat the nets, but they are protected by the phellodendron.

There are net poles, pickets and stakes ⁵⁾, "centipedes" ⁶⁾, and two split poles, one being the quail pole and one the pigeon pole ⁷⁾.

A pigeon in flight can discern things from afar, and regularly sees a goshawk before a man does; so when it quivers its body and moves its eyeballs, watch for [the hawk] in the direction of its gaze ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Any time from mid-September to mid-October. Then the fall migration comes to an end.

²⁾ *Huang po* 黃蘗, *Phellodendron amurense*, whose inner bark was used both as a yellow dye and as an insect repellent.

³⁾ *Chu chih* 杼汁, a black dye prepared from the acorn cups of *Quercus serrata* (= *Q. acutissima*) of North China. See *Erh ya i shu* 爾雅義疏.

⁴⁾ So as to be invisible from the sky.

⁵⁾ *Tu i* 都杙. *Tu* was a dialect word for *chüeh* 櫪 east of the lower Yangtze. See *Fang yen chu* 方言注.

⁶⁾ *Wu-kung* 吳公. Clearly a device connected with the decoy-and-net arrangement, but I have been unable to identify it. Kimura Kōkyō 木村孔恭, *San-kai mei-san zu-e* 山海名産圖會 (Osaka, 1799), II, describes the use of a painted artificial snake, made of jointed wood, to keep a decoy starling agitated enough to draw the attention of a hawk overhead. The "centipede" may have played a similar role.

⁷⁾ Apparently the quail was the decoy bird. The pigeon was the sentry bird, as the next sentences show. However, Richard F. Burton reported that "In India... a pigeon is generally the bait for falcons or long-winged hawks, a quail for the short-winged birds". See his *Falconry in the Valley of the Indus* (London, 1852), pp. 7-8. A variety of birds have been used in different parts of the world to lure hawks to the net. In Persia, for instance, trained owls have been used as decoys (Phillott, *Bāz-nāma*, pp. 18-20). See Wood and Fyfe, *Art of Falconry*, pp. 439 ff. for various methods, including the use of pigeon poles.

⁸⁾ By its agitation, the pigeon warns the netter of the approach of the hawk. In the West, this sentry role is most often performed by a shrike.

2. *Taking Sparrowhawks for Wood Fowl and Wood Sparrows*¹⁾

The eyes of this net are two inches square, with thirty eyes vertically and eighteen eyes horizontally.

3. [*Taking Eyases*]²⁾

All raptorial birds are kindly disposed towards the chicks at their birth. After these have emerged from their shells, they are immediately free of the nest and will go outside this den. The great raptors, fearful lest they fall down, or lest they incur injury from siriasis in the violent heat of the sun, take the branches of leafy trees and bring them to insert in the parapet of the nest, which keeps them from falling down, and also makes it shady and cool. Now if you wish to assay whether the chicks are large or small, you should attend to these inserted leaves. Should it be one day or two days, the leaves will still carry some green color, though wilted. In six or seven days, the leaves will be slightly yellow. After ten days they will be withered and spent. By this time the chicks have grown big enough to be taken.

4. [*Protective Coloration*]

All birds and beasts must, by their similarity to various kinds of objects, conceal and cover shadow and shape. Thus the color of a snake goes with the earth; the grass³⁾-rabbit is sure to be red; the color of the goshawk takes after the trees.

¹⁾ *Mu chi mu ch'üeh yao* 木雞木雀鵲, i.e. "Wood-fowl Sparrowhawks and Wood-sparrow Sparrowhawks", non-specific names for sparrowhawks trained to catch medium game-birds (quail, partridge, etc.) and small game-birds (sparrows, thrushes, etc.) respectively.

²⁾ Subject titles in brackets have been supplied by the translator to facilitate reading and reference. Although passage hawks netted during the fall migration were preferred as hunting birds, eyases (i.e. hawks raised in captivity from the nestling state) were also used.

³⁾ *Mao* 茅 "floss-grass", esp. gen. *Imperata*.

5. [*Technical Terms*]

The goshawk's nest is also named the goshawk's "eyrie" ¹⁾, and what we call an "eyas" ²⁾ is the chick goshawk.

6. [*Molting and Mewing*]

On the first day of the fourth month ³⁾, casting the goshawk is suspended, and during the upper decad of the fifth month ⁴⁾ she is put in her cage to molt her feathers ⁵⁾.

This molting of feathers starts first from the head, and will, by the coming of a dawn, have gone from crown to belly ⁶⁾. (A quail, on the other hand, goes only from the nape down past the "soaring feathers" ⁷⁾, stopping when it reaches the tail. The feathers under the root of the tail are named "soaring feathers"). The feathers of the back, along with the great pinions ⁸⁾ and covering quills ⁹⁾ in the pair of wings, and also the twelve feathers of the tail—she molts them all. The great feathers of the pair of wings combined are forty-four, while the covering quills and pinions are also forty-four.

¹⁾ Emending *ch'u ying* 取鷹 to *ying ch'u* 鷹取. 取 is normally *tsou* (*tʂʊu), but *Kuang yün* gives also the reading *tʂʊ, defined as "bird's den". This would be Mand. *ch'u*. Clearly cognate are 芻 *ch'u* (*tʂʊ) "hay" and 雛 *ch'u* (*dʒʊ) "chick".

²⁾ *Ch'u tsu* 取子. "Eyas" is ultimately from Latin *nidus* "nest" (French "niais")

³⁾ In late April or early May.

⁴⁾ Late in May or during the first two weeks of June.

⁵⁾ The word *mao* 毛, also used of a mammal's body-hair, means, with reference to birds, the small contour feathers as opposed to the large flight feathers, though it is occasionally used more broadly.

⁶⁾ "Belly" is conjectural. The text has *fu* 伏, but no suitable meaning is registered in the dictionaries. The common meanings "brood; incubate", however, suggest that it refers to the underside of the body.

⁷⁾ *Yang mao* 陽毛. A name for the under tail coverts, as explained by Tuan.

⁸⁾ *Ling* 翎, i.e. the primaries and secondaries.

⁹⁾ *Ho* 翮, i.e. the wing coverts.

In the middle decad of the eighth month ¹⁾, she leaves the cage.

Casting of eagles, horned goshawks ²⁾, and the like, is suspended on the first day of the third month ³⁾; these are placed in their cages in the upper decad of the fourth month ⁴⁾.

If the casting of falcons is suspended when the north-ward-returning goshawks have all passed ⁵⁾, and they are put in their cages in the upper decad of the fourth month, they will not molt their feathers. Casting of falcons should be suspended in the upper decad of the fifth month ⁶⁾, and they are put in their cages to molt their feathers in the upper decad of the sixth month ⁷⁾.

7. [*Plumage Phases*]

All raptorial and aggressive classes are "dove-hawks" in their first phase, and "sore-hawks" in their second phase, when they evolve into "gray-hawks"; in their third phase they are true "gray-hawks". After this, having achieved the sum of their phases, they are always true "gray-hawks" ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Mid- or late September.

²⁾ The listing of this crested "hawk" here confirms the identification of *chiieh ying* as the eagle *Spizaetus nipalensis*.

³⁾ Late March or early April.

⁴⁾ Late April or early May.

⁵⁾ I.e., the spring migration is over.

⁶⁾ Late May or early June.

⁷⁾ End of June to mid-July. The falcons molt, our author says, a month later than the goshawks.

⁸⁾ The three plumage phases are, in Chinese, (1) *ko* 鴿, lit. "pigeon", (2) *p'ien* 鵑 "reddish plumage", and (3) *ts'ang* 蒼 "slate-gray or blue-gray hawk". As for my translations, *ko* evidently refers to the dove- or pigeon-gray color of the goshawk chick; for this I have adopted English "dove-hawk", which is properly a dialect word for the hen harrier, a very different kind of hawk. "Sore-hawk" is the traditional falconer's name for a young hawk in sorrel plumage, and suits the Chinese perfectly; it is used properly even if the hawk should *not* turn reddish in its first change, as is the case with albino hawks. "Gray-hawk" is a coined word in the sense I have given it (the term is sometimes used of a plumage phase of the peregrine falcon in English) as equivalent to Chinese *ts'ang* 鵑, which is cognate to *ts'ang* 蒼 "slate-gray; blue-gray; glaucous". Mature goshawks have slate-gray backs, and are called *ts'ang ying* 蒼鷹. To the phase-names employed

8. *The White "Dove-Hawk"* ¹⁾

If they have white beak and claws, when, in the next phase, they are sore-hawks and then achieve the sum of their phases, they will be wholly fixed in their white color. There will be no further alteration or change.

If beak and claws should be black, there will be the slightest trace of yellow color in the vertical patterns ²⁾ on the front of the breast and in the spotted sections of the pinions and tail. When, in the next phase, they become sore-hawks, their feathers will appear purplish white in the region extending from the top of the hump of both wings as far as both thighs. Elsewhere the white color will be unaltered ³⁾.

Kao Wei, Prince of Ch'i, in the sixth year of "Martial Tranquility" ⁴⁾, obtained a white dove-hawk, sent him by P'an Tzu-kuang of Ho-tung ⁵⁾, Servant-Toxophilite of the Circuit Tribunal in Yu-chou ⁶⁾. The whole of its body was like the color of snow. It showed imperceptible vertical patterns of "white" spots on the

by Tuan Ch'eng-shih, those used in *Kuang chih* 廣志 (4th century? As quoted in *Ko chih ching yüan*, 79, 20a-b) should be compared. This earlier text calls the bird in its first phase "yellow goshawk", in its second "fondled(?) goshawk" (*fu ying* 撫鷹), and in its third "blue goshawk" (*ch'ing ying* 青鷹).

¹⁾ This section deals with white and other light-colored nestlings, and their subsequent color changes.

²⁾ The immature plumage (red stage) of the goshawk shows vertical bands of breast spots. In the mature plumage (slate-gray stage), the breast is horizontally banded.

³⁾ Cf. Bergman, *Kenntnis*, p. 98, of a variety of white goshawk, "Die Schulterfedern sind schwach braun marmoriert". Chinese *tzu* "purple" includes some shades of dull red and brown.

⁴⁾ This was the last ruler of "Northern Ch'i". The year was A.D. 575.

⁵⁾ Ho-tung P'an Tzu-kuang 河東潘子光. He was son of P'an Le 潘樂. His name appears as Tzu-huang 子晃 in his father's biography in *Pei Ch'i shu*, 15, 2220c.

⁶⁾ Yu-chou *hsing t'ai p'u yeh* 幽州行臺僕射 second ranking officer at the provincial magistracy in Yu-chou, region of modern Peking.

front of the breast; the color of these patterns was indistinctly pinkish. The color of the base of the beak was faintly tinged with blue-white, but toward the tip it tended to become raven-black. The claws were just the same as the bill. Both cere ¹⁾ and shanks were yellow and whitish red. Such is the supreme quality.

If it is yellow hemp-colored, there will not be much change or alteration in the next phase, when it becomes a sore-hawk, though the vertical spottings on the front of the breast will tend to become broader and shorter. After its evolution and emergence from the sore-hawk state, when it has achieved the sum of its phases, a blue color is faintly added on the back, while the vertical patterns on the front of the breast turn shorter and finer, and a clear white tends to be added above the knee. Such is the second-rate quality.

If it is blue hemp-colored, the colors of its phases are altogether the same as those of the yellow hemp sore-hawk. Such is the inferior quality ²⁾.

(We also have "netted raven-black falcons" and "netted hemp-colored falcons") ³⁾.

9. *The White Rabbit Goshawk* ⁴⁾

If they have white beak and claws, when, in the next phase, they are sore-hawks and then achieve the sum of their phases,

¹⁾ The soft yellow area at the base of the bill of a bird-of-prey, into which the nostrils open. Curiously, the cere ("wax") is called *la* 臘 "wax" in Chinese also.

²⁾ Emending the "color" of the *Szu pu ts'ung k'an* edition to "quality", conformably to the earlier analogues.

³⁾ These are color varieties of falcons, taken in nets. Cf. *T'ang shu*, 37, 3719d, for tribute of "sparrowhawks and raven-black falcons" from Hua-chou 華州. Bergman, *Kenntnis*, p. 90, reports that he saw a peregrine falcon from Kamchatka whose upper parts were almost black.

⁴⁾ Our author notes later that "pheasant goshawks" are normally males (tiercels), while "rabbit goshawks" are normally females. I take it that this section is devoted to the larger white females.

they will be wholly fixed in their white color. There will be no further alteration or change.

If beak and claws are black, tinged faintly with a bluish white color, there will be a faint yellow color in the vertical patterns on the front of the breast and in the spotted sections of the pinions and tail. In the next phase a faint ash color will appear on the back, the pinions, and the tail, while the vertical patterns on the front of the breast will be transformed into horizontal patterns. The color in this phase is faint and scant, almost non-existent. The region of the shanks will remain white. After it has achieved its evolution from the sore-hawk state, this ashy color will become faintly brown, tending gradually towards white.

If beak and claws are black in the extreme, it will be spotted on the top of the body like a yellow magpie, the color being rather deep. In the next phase it will become a bluish white sore-hawk, and after its evolution from sore-hawk, when it has achieved the sum of its phases, the horizontal patterns on the front of the breast will turn finer, and it will gradually take on the color of a gray-hawk.

Kao Yang, Prince of Ch'i, in the third year of "Heavenly Conservation" ¹⁾, acquired a ²⁾ white rabbit goshawk. The place where it was taken is unknown. Feathers and plumage over the entire body were like snow. The color of the eyes was purple. The claws were white at the base, but became a pale raven color towards the tips. Both cere and shanks were yellow. In that time it was called "Gold Feet".

Moreover, at the beginning of the Ch'i Theocrat's "Martial

¹⁾ Wen Hsüan Ti 文宣帝 of Northern Ch'i; the year was A.D. 552.

²⁾ The translation here does not reveal the use of the classifier *lien* 聯 "binding; bond", used to count hawks, pictured as tied to a perch. The phrase "white rabbit goshawk, one binding" (白兔鷹一聯) occurs in the next paragraph.

Tranquillity" ¹⁾, Chao Yeh, Army Captain Commanding an Army ²⁾, also presented a white rabbit goshawk. Viewed from afar its head was entirely white up to the crown, but studied thoroughly from close by, there were traces of purple in the hearts of the feathers. On its back, the hearts of the feathers were dotted with purple on a white ground. The purple was encompassed and girded on the outside with whitish red, and beyond the white there was a border of black. The wing feathers also had a white ground, sectioned in purple color. There was a ground of white on the front of the breast, with imperceptible vertical patterns in pinkish red. The yellow of the eyes was like true gold. The color at the base of the bill was rather white, tending to raven-black towards the tip. The cere was a pale yellow color, and the color of the shanks and toes was also yellow. The color of the claws was the same as that of the beak.

10. *The "Scattered Flower White"*

If they have black beak and claws, faintly tinged with a blue-white color, they become purple-patterned white sore-hawks in the next phase. After the evolution from sore-hawk, when they have achieved the sum of their phases, the horizontal patterns turn finer, and the purple on the front of the breast tends to disappear and become white.

If beak and claws are black in the extreme, it will become a blue-white sore-hawk in the next phase. After the evolution from sore-hawk, when it has achieved the sum of its phases, the horizontal patterns will turn finer, and the front of the breast will tend to take on an ashy white color.

¹⁾ This would be about A.D. 570.

²⁾ *Ling chün Chiang chün* 領軍將軍, at this time a commander of the imperial household guards.

11. *The "Red Colored"*

As a sore-hawk in the next phase, the color is tinged with black. After the evolution from sore-hawk, when it has achieved the sum of its phases, the horizontal patterns turn finer, and the front of the breast tends imperceptibly to whiten. The color of the back is unaltered.

These are superior colors ¹⁾).

12. *The "White Engouted" ²⁾*

When, in the next phase, it becomes a sore-hawk, it is faintly tinged with ash color. After evolving from sore-hawk, and achieving the sum of its phases, the horizontal patterns turn finer, and the front of the breast tends imperceptibly to whiten.

13. *The "Skylark Yellow" ³⁾*

As a sore-hawk in the next phase, it is colored like the plumes of an adjutant ⁴⁾). After the evolution from sore-hawk, when it has achieved the sum of its phases, the horizontal patterns turn finer, and the front of the breast tends gradually and imperceptibly to whiten.

¹⁾ Referring to the two varieties just above.

²⁾ "Engout" is an old falconer's word: "to show black spots on the feathers" (see Wood and Fyfe, *Art of Falconry*, p. 618). The Chinese word is *t'ang* 唐, explained later in the text as meaning "black-blotched". This variety of hawk, then, is basically white, with black gouts.

³⁾ *Yen-lan-tui* (**an-lân-tuâi*) 鷺爛堆, thought to mean "skylark", appears in other literature as *yen-lan-tui* (**ân-lâm-tuâi*) 鷺濫堆 and *e-lan-tui* (**â-lâm-tuâi*) 阿濫堆. Since both 爛 and 濫 show archaic *GL-, we may surmise an early form like *ARGLANTOI, evidently a loan-word from a non-Chinese tongue.

⁴⁾ *Ch'iu ch'ang* 鷺鵬. Compare *ho ch'ang* 鶴鵬 "crane plumes", especially as used in medieval China for feather capes and ceremonial pennants. The *ch'iu* 鷺 (or *t'u ch'iu* 秃鷺) appears to be *Leptoptilos javanicus*, the adjutant of South China, with "... parties supérieures du corps et plumes occipitales d'un noir foncé à reflets verts métalliques ..." (David and Oustalet, *Oiseaux*, pp. 449-450).

14. *The "Yellow Colored"*

After the next phase, and when it has achieved the sum of its phases, its color suggests the plumes of an adjutant, but the color is slightly deeper. By and large, it is the same as the phase-color of the "Skylark Yellow".

15. *The "Blue Spotted" ¹⁾*

It is a blue . . . ²⁾ sore-hawk in the next phase. After the evolution from sore-hawk, when it has achieved the sum of its phases, the horizontal patterns turn finer, and the front of the breast tends imperceptibly to whiten.

These are second-rate colors ³⁾.

16. *The "White [Spot] ⁴⁾ Engouted"*

("Engouted" is a black color). This means that there is a black color on the spots. In the next phase it is a blue-white sore-hawk, tinged at random with black color. After the evolution from sore-hawk, when it has achieved the sum of its phases, the horizontal patterns turn finer, and the front of the breast tends gradually and imperceptibly to whiten.

17. *The "Red Spot Engouted"*

This means that there is a black color on the spots. When, in the next phase, it is a sore-hawk, its color is tinged with bluish black. After the evolution from sore-hawk, when it has achieved

¹⁾ "Blue" is here, as elsewhere, *ch'ing* 青.

²⁾ The text has *ju* 父 "father", but no emendation suggests itself, except possibly *wen* 文 "patterned".

³⁾ The four varieties above.

⁴⁾ The text has only "white engouted", but clearly there is a lapsus of *pan* 斑 "spot" here; cf. article 12 above, and 17 and 18 below.

the sum of its phases, the horizontal patterns turn finer, and though the black on the front of the breast tends to become brown, still men commonly name it "black gray-hawk".

18. *The "Blue Spot Engouted"*

This means that there is black color on the spots. When it is a sore-hawk in the next phase, its color is tinged with bluish black. After the evolution from sore-hawk, when it has achieved the sum of its phases, although the horizontal patterns are finer, the color of the front of the breast remains smudged with night-black.

These are inferior colors ¹⁾.

19. *[Male and Female Goshawks]*

The female and the male of the goshawk may be distinguished only by greater or smaller size. They can not, in the end, be set apart or discriminated by anything else in form or aspect. Thus, though the "pheasant goshawk" is small, yet it is the male goshawk. Since from the first and through its phases, the several colors of the feathers in its coat are the same as those of the "rabbit goshawk", there is nothing further to be told by way of discriminating them ²⁾.

When the "pheasant goshawk" has broad vertical patterns on the front of its breast in the first year, its common name is "Falcon Spotted" ³⁾. When it has achieved the later phases of sore-hawk and gray-hawk, and the vertical patterns on the front of the breast

¹⁾ The three above.

²⁾ It appears from this that the "pheasant goshawk" and the "rabbit goshawk", named for their normal prey, are the male and female respectively, in technical language the "tiercel" and the "falcon" (the latter word was formerly reserved for a female hunting hawk).

³⁾ *Hu pan* 鵟斑. The young male goshawk is sometimes, it seems, patterned like a saker or peregrine.

become horizontal patterns, they will still be broad and large. If the vertical patterns on the front of the breast are fine from the first, when it has achieved the later phases of sore-hawk and gray-hawk, the horizontal patterns on the front of the breast will still be fine.

20. *The "Redbud Den White"* ¹⁾

It is large, though short of body, being five catties and over. It is swift, and suited to birds ²⁾. Its alternate name is "Sandy Interior White" ³⁾. It breeds in the interior of the sandy waste, north of Tai ⁴⁾, in its den in a redbud. It flies towards Goose Gate and Horse City ⁵⁾.

21. *The "Tai Metropolis Red"* ⁶⁾

It is purple of back, black-bearded, white of eyeball, and white feathered. It is three and a half catties and over, to four catties and under ⁷⁾. It is suited to rabbits. It breeds within the red cliffs

¹⁾ *Ching k'o po* 荆窠白. *K'o* is the "den" of a bird or mammal, having wider connotations than *ch'ao* 巢 "nest". This variety of hawk nests in the redbud tree (*ching* 荆). Most plants included under the name *ching* belong to the genus *Vitex*, which is restricted to Central and South China. However, the *tsu ching* 紫荆, the redbud or Judas Tree (genus *Cercis*) grows in the arid north, the region here described. There is even a "Purple *Cercis* Mountain" (*tsu ching shan* 紫荆山), named for the many redbuds on it, in Tai-chow. See *Ch'ing i t'ung chih* 清一統志, 114, 1b. The preceding list of goshawk varieties is a classification based on color and pattern. With the present item, a new list begins, classifying the goshawks native to North China, especially to northern Shansi and Hopei, with notes on their size, normal prey, and breeding and hunting ranges.

²⁾ I.e. best used as a hunter of birds.

³⁾ *Sha li po* 沙裏白, i.e. the white hawk which dwells in the interior of the desert.

⁴⁾ Tai-chow 代州 in northern Shansi. The breeding range of the hawks described in this and the immediately following sections is north of about 39° N. latitude, across Shansi and Hopei.

⁵⁾ *Yen men Ma i* 雁門馬邑, both being towns in northern Shansi, west of Tai.

⁶⁾ *Tai tu ch'ih* 代都赤.

⁷⁾ About five or six pounds.

on the Tai River ¹⁾, and flies toward Empty Hill ²⁾, Chung-shan and Po-chien ³⁾.

22. *The "North of the Waste White" ⁴⁾*

Its body is long and large, being five catties and over. In fineness of spotting and shortness of shank, it is foremost among the goshawks. It breeds north of the sandy waste, but I do not know whether far or near. It flies towards the Tai River and Chung-shan. Its alternate name is "Western Road White" ⁵⁾.

23. *The "Fang-shan White" ⁶⁾*

It is purple of back and finely spotted. It is three catties and over, to four catties and under ⁷⁾. It is suited to rabbits. It breeds east of Tai on the white linden-poplar trees ⁸⁾ of Fang-shan, and flies towards Fan-yang ⁹⁾ and Chung-shan.

¹⁾ *Tai ch'uan* 代川, apparently the modern Hu-t'o 滹沱 River, which flows from the eastern mountains past the city of Tai towards the southwest.

²⁾ *Hsü ch'iu* 虛丘, perhaps a misprint for *Ling ch'ü* 靈丘.

³⁾ 白巘中山. Po-chien is probably the "White Gorge Mountains" (白澗山) south of Tai in Shansi; Chung-shan "Central Mountains", is eastward, across the mountains in Hopei.

⁴⁾ *Mo pei po* 漠北白.

⁵⁾ Cf. item 25 below, the "Eastern Road White".

⁶⁾ *Fang shan po* 房山白. Fang-shan is modern P'ing-shan 平山, across the eastern mountains in Hopei. This and the previous variety of hawk, then, inhabit the vicinity of the Wu-t'ai Mountains on the Shansi-Hopei border.

⁷⁾ Five or six pounds.

⁸⁾ *Po yang tuan shu* 白楊椴樹. *Yang tuan* should be *tuan yang* "linden-poplar", a local name for the Hopei poplar (*Populus hopeiensis*), and has been so emended. The prefixed "white" may mean, however, that the author had in mind the white poplar (*Populus alba*).

⁹⁾ 范陽, also in northwestern Hopei.

24. *The "Yü-yang White"* ¹⁾

Both belly and back are white. Large ones are five catties ²⁾. It is suitable for rabbits. It breeds from Hsü-wu to the East and West Bights ³⁾, which are alternately named "Great Bight" and "Small Bight". It lives on the white-leaved tree ⁴⁾, and flies towards Chang-wu, Ho-k'ou, and Po-hai ⁵⁾.

25. *The "Eastern Road White"*

Both belly and back are white. Large ones are six catties or more ⁶⁾. This is the largest among the goshawks. It breeds north of Lu-lung and Ho-lung ⁷⁾, but I do not know whether far or near. It flies towards Huan-lin, Chü-hei, Chang-wu, Ho-k'ou and Kuang-chou ⁸⁾. Although it is rather weak, if you come by a swift one, it surpasses the previous goshawk ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ *Yü yang po* 漁陽白. Yü-yang is in northern Hopei, near the Great Wall.

²⁾ About seven and a half pounds.

³⁾ *Hsü wu chi tung hsi ch'ü* 徐無及東西曲. Hsü-wu is the name of a mountain and town in northern Hopei. The Bights remain unidentified.

⁴⁾ Unidentified.

⁵⁾ Chang-wu 章武 and Ho-k'ou 合口 are in eastern Hopei, near the coast. I can not find the name Po-hai 博海; it may be an error for Po-ling 博陵, Po-p'ing 博平, or P'o-hai 渤海.

⁶⁾ About nine pounds.

⁷⁾ Lu-lung 盧龍 is in northeastern Hopei, near the Manchurian border. I have not been able to find Ho-lung 和龍.

⁸⁾ 渙林巨黑章武合口光州. Some editions have *chü-mo* 巨墨 for *chü-hei*, and *kuang-ch'uan* 光川 for *kuang-chou*. I can not find them in any case, nor Huan-lin either, nor do any probable emendations occur to me. Possibly they were in southern Manchuria.

⁹⁾ I.e. the "Yü-yang White".

26. *The "Earth Yellow"*

It occurs everywhere in the mountain valleys. It lives on the oak trees ¹⁾. Some are large, some are small.

27. *The "Black Inky Black" ²⁾*

Large ones are five catties. It breeds in the mountains of Yü-yang, on pine and fir trees ³⁾. Most of them die ⁴⁾. At times there is a swift one. They fly to Chang-wu.

28. *The "White Inky Black" ⁵⁾*

Large ones are five catties. It breeds at Yü-yang and Po-tao ⁶⁾. It occurs everywhere on the sunside of the Ho ⁷⁾ and north of the waste. It lives on thuja trees ⁸⁾. It is suitable for birds. It flies towards Ling-ch'iu ⁹⁾, Chung-shan, Fan-yang and Chang-wu.

29. *The "Blue Spotted"*

Large ones are four catties. It breeds from north of Tai to the Tai River, on the white poplar trees. The finely spotted ones are swiftest. It flies towards Ling-ch'iu Mountains and Fan-yang.

¹⁾ *Tso li shu* 柞櫟樹. This is a collective term for the deciduous oaks of North China, including *Quercus mongolica*, *Quercus liaotungensis*, and *Quercus acutissima*.

²⁾ *Hei tsao li* 黑皂驪. *Tsao* is the black dye derived from oak-galls and other vegetable sources, hence "inky". *Li* is a black horse, a "Black" in horseman's language; the name is sometimes applied to other black animals.

³⁾ *Sung sha shu* 松杉樹. Collective for needle-leaved conifers, excluding scale-leaved gymnosperms such as the arborvitae, juniper and cypress. *Sha* includes yews, hemlocks, larches, etc., as well as the firs.

⁴⁾ This black variety is not normally viable.

⁵⁾ *Po tsao li* 白皂驪.

⁶⁾ 白道, in northern Shansi.

⁷⁾ Ho-yang 河陽, e.i. north of the Yellow River.

⁸⁾ The *po k'u shu* 栢枯樹 of the text is incomprehensible. Perhaps *k'u* 枯 should be emended to *sung* 松. *Po* 栢 (= 柏) probably refers here to *Thuja orientalis*, the arborvitae of northeastern China.

⁹⁾ 靈丘, east of Tai, in northeastern Shansi.

30. *The Sore-Goshawk "Perilla Seed"* ¹⁾

The bluish black ones are swiftest.

31. [*Signs of Good and Ill Health*]

If the exuviae ²⁾ are clean and the eye is luminous, such a one has not been raised from a chick and is especially swift. But if the eye is much bleared and the exuviae are not clean, it will have been raised from a chick, and will not bear use; many such die.

Furthermore, if the head of the mutes ³⁾ lacks flowers, and if they are congealed even though cast afar ⁴⁾, or if they make a sound like "kou!" as they issue, the prognosis is a short destiny.

But if the interior of the mouth is red, and if the heat of the reversed sole transfuses to a person through the partition of his garment, the prognosis is a long destiny.

If, when it folds its tail, it shakes it out and furls it so as to strike the frame ⁵⁾, and stands apart to preen the feathers of its face, and hides its head when sleeping, the prognosis is a long destiny.

¹⁾ *P'ien ying jen tzu* 鵞鷹荏子 appears in all accessible editions. If this is not corrupt, it may refer to a variety of hawk with seedlike spots in the sore-hawk stage. But indeed the remainder of the book has a mangled look.

²⁾ *Shui* 蛻, i.e. molted feathers.

³⁾ The character *t'iao* 條 appears five times in the following paragraphs. The term *ying t'iao* 鷹條 is defined in ch. 9 of *Pen ts'ao kang mu shih i* 拾遺 as "hair (or feathers, *mao* 毛) in the feces, which have not been completely transformed (i.e. digested)". From the context in our present text, however, I take this to be a falconer's word for the hawk's excrement, like English "mutes". A cognate word would be *hsiu* 滷 "stinking liquor" (in *Huai nan tzu*), and "urine" (in *Hsün tzu*); related also is *niao* 溺 (see *Chung hua tu tzu tien* 中華大字典).

⁴⁾ These clauses are unclear: 又條頭無花, 雖遠而聚. In a healthy hawk, "... the mutes should be cast clear away to a distance". Phillott, *Bāz-nāma*, pp. 153-4. This seems to bear on the issue, but I can't tell just how.

⁵⁾ *Ko* 格, alternate for *chia* 架, in the sense of "perch".

In all raptorial birds one dreads in particular the complication ¹⁾ of a disease of the trachea entering the “fork” ²⁾; not one in ten will survive. The “fork” is under the skin which overlies the trachea-bone ³⁾ in the throat. It is inside the “broken basin”-bone ⁴⁾, and below the crop.

32. *The Suction Pipe* ⁵⁾

It is made of silver leaf ⁶⁾, and is as large as the wing-tubes ⁷⁾ of the horned goshawk. For goshawks and below ⁸⁾, it is large or small in proportion to the wing-tube.

33. [*A Fatal Symptom*]

Mutings at night should not exceed five. When mutings are numerous, it shortens the destiny. If the mutes are like the juice of the red little beans ⁹⁾, mixed with white, it will die.

34. [*Defects to be Watched for*]

Injuries got in the net; wounds from preening ¹⁰⁾; wounds from

¹⁾ My translation of the first part of this sentence is somewhat conjectural.

²⁾ Apparently the bifurcation of the trachea above the lungs. Here written 叉, in the next sentence written 汊.

³⁾ The author uses “bone” also for cartilaginous structures.

⁴⁾ *Ch'üeh p'en ku* 缺盆骨. The syrinx, or “lower larynx”?

⁵⁾ *Hsi t'ung* 吸筒. This looks like a drinking tube, but I have not been able to ascertain its use. The Japanese falconers carry a tube storing the hawk's drinking water; this is called 水筒 (*Kokon yōrankō*, 183, 60, has a picture). But “suction” seems inappropriate for such an object.

⁶⁾ *Yin yeh* 銀鑠, i.e. a thin sheet of silver, rolled up.

⁷⁾ *Ch'ih kuan* 翅管, apparently the primary quills.

⁸⁾ Goshawks and other hawks smaller than the “horned goshawk”.

⁹⁾ *Ch'ih hsiao tou* 赤小豆, the “red mung bean” (*Phaseolus mungo* var. *radiatus*).

¹⁰⁾ ? *pai shang* 擺傷.

the treading of hares, and from the "weapon-talons" of cranes ¹⁾; all these are maladies.

GLOSSARY OF FALCONER'S TERMS

<i>an</i> ⁴	按	"try out; test a hunting hawk"
<i>chan</i> ¹	鷟	"merlin?"
<i>che</i> ⁴	韞	"sparrowhawk's collar"
<i>chi</i> ¹	羈	"leash"
<i>chia</i> ⁴	架	"perch"
<i>chih</i> ⁴	鷲	"raptorial; a raptor"
<i>ch'ih</i> ⁴	翅	"wing"
<i>ch'u</i> ²	取	"eyrie" (hence <i>ch'u</i> ² <i>tzu</i> ³ 取子 "eyas")
<i>ho</i> ²	翮	"quill"
<i>hsieh</i> ⁴	紲	"leash"
<i>hsüan</i> ⁴	銚	"swivel" (often misprinted 鏃 "arrowhead")
<i>hu</i> ²	鵂	"falcon"
<i>ko</i> ¹	鴿	1. "pigeon"; 2. "dove-hawk" [nestling hawk]
<i>kou</i> ¹	鞬, 鞬	"gauntlet"
<i>la</i> ⁴	蠟	"cere"
<i>ling</i> ²	鈴	"bell"
<i>ling</i> ²	翎	"pinion; flight feather"
<i>mao</i> ²	毛	"contour feathers"
<i>pa</i> ²	拔	"molt"
<i>pien</i> ⁴	變	"coat; phase of plumage"
<i>p'ien</i> ³	鵄	"sore-hawk" [immature hawk]
<i>t'ang</i> ²	唐	"engouted"
<i>t'ao</i> ¹	條, 緇, 緇	"jess"
<i>tiao</i> ¹	鵬	"eagle"

¹⁾ *Ping chao* 兵爪, a name for the first claw on the crane's foot. See *Yü yang tsa tsu*, 16 (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), 126.

<i>t'iao</i> ²	條	"mutes"
<i>ts'ang</i> ¹	鵂	"gray-hawk" [mature hawk]
<i>yao</i> ⁴	鵂	"sparrowhawk"
<i>ying</i> ¹	鷹	"goshawk; accipiter; hunting hawk"

ADDENDUM

p. 316, n. 4. — The *Traité de fauconnerie* by G. Schlegel and J. A. Verster van Wulverhorst (vi + 90 + viii pp., 5 + 12 plates — 71.5 cm. high and 54 cm. wide) contains i.a. a brief description of falconry in China (p. 65), as well as the titles of four Chinese works on the subject on p. V of the appendix, entitled "catalogue raisonné des ouvrages de fauconnerie". These were collected and (partly) translated for the authors by J. Hoffmann, professor for Japanese at Leiden University, who had found them quoted in the Japanese encyclopedia the *Wa Kan san-zai zū-e* of 1714. The *Ying-fu* is described as a "classification des faucons", with the remark that this poetic effusion is only of little scientific interest. However, Hoffmann does *not* say that this Sui work is the earliest Chinese book on falconry. — A.H.



Eating Turtles in Ancient China

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the translation of Skt. *daśabala*, which in B is *śkamaiyya*, in A, *śkatampeyūm*, while the word for 'ten' is B *śak*: A *śāk*.

Following Bernhard (*op. cit.*, 46), Krause takes this B *a*: A *a* to be a generalization of the reflex of PIE *o*, as found in a number of IE languages (cf. Bernhard, p. 47). This is a rather surprising assumption in view of Krause's contention that B *a* (*ā*), that is, B /ə/, never represents PIE *o* (*op. cit.*, 88); for, the -*a*- in B compounds stands beside variants with -*ā*-: the accusative of *śkamaiyya* is attested as both *śkamaiyyai* and *śkūmaiyyai* (B 252 [MQR] a 3, b 3). Besides, the normal reflex of PIE *o*, B *e*, survives when the first part of a compound is an old **o* stem; cf. *kārtsevere* 'of good fragrance' in B 308 (Š) b 6 and numerous other examples in Bernhard's study

(186 ff.). It is therefore absolutely necessary to reject the assumption made by both Bernhard and Krause that the connecting vowel -*a*- (-*ā*-) in B reflected old **o*.

On the other hand, the -*a*- found in the same position in A may well be of such origin: it does occur with old **o* stems (cf. *atrataṃpe* 'possessing the strength of a hero' beside A *atār*: B *etre* 'hero'), and it does represent the regular development of PIE *o*.

What follows is that B -*a*- and A -*a*- at the transition point of compounds are different in nature (B /ə/: A /a/) and of different origin (A -*a*- is from PIE *o*, B -*a*- is not); to treat them as alike only serves to confuse the picture.

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Eating Turtles in Ancient China

The earliest Chinese literature is enthusiastic about eating turtles, and the popular favorite from ancient times has been the Soft-shelled Turtle (*Amyda* [*Trionyx*] *sinensis*),¹ which is abundant in fresh water everywhere. "Roast Soft-shell" was a fortunate addition to a feast in Chou times (middle of the first millennium B.C.),² and later too. The Giant Soft-shell (*Pelochelys bibroni*),³ which lives in deep sluggish rivers and along the coast of South China, made a lordly gift, and a prized ingredient in soups. A notice of this handsome dish survives from the seventh century B.C.⁴ These, then, were the old reliable kitchen turtles. But we know that the ancient Chinese ate others. The *Ch'u tz'u*, an old collection of poetry, full of the South, refers (for instance) to "broth of sea-turtle," but we cannot be sure what species was used.⁵

Such was the situation in antiquity. It does not seem to have changed much in later times. T'ao Hung-ching, the fifth century pharmacologist, recommended turtle broths and soups for their excellent tonic properties,⁶ and indeed we still have a fifth century recipe for making broth of the common soft-shelled turtle: it was cooked with mutton, onions, bean-relish, rice, ginger, magnolia, and wine.⁷ An eleventh century source⁸ tells how enormous Soft-shells (*Pelochelys*) were captured in the large rivers and lakes of the South and eaten—as were their eggs, which were pickled in salt. Another book, probably written in the fourth century,⁹ tells of a deliciously edible tree-climbing turtle of Kwangtung.¹⁰

of tropical seas seems to appear in Chinese literature as the almost legendary *ao*.²

¹ Quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu* [Shanghai, 1916; hereafter cited as PTKM], 45, 33b. Sun Szu-miao, in the seventh century, listed several taboos—turtle should not be eaten with pork, or melons, or wild rice, or pigweed. See *loc. cit.*

² Chia Szu-hsieh, *Ch'i min yao shu* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), 8, 182.

³ The pharmacologist Su Sung, quoted in PTKM, 45, 35a. He observes that boiling the eggs of this turtle does not congeal the whites.

⁴ Shen Huai-yüan, *Nan Yüeh chih*, a lost book, here as quoted in *T'u shu chi ch'eng*, "Ch'in ch'ung tien," 151.

¹⁰ Our source says that its name was *shen*² *wu*¹, or

¹ *Pieh*¹.

² *Shih ching*, "Hsiao ya; Lu yüeh": "roast turtle and minced carp" (Legge's translation).

³ *Yüan*². It grows up to four feet long.

⁴ *Tso chuan*, Hsüan 4 (605 B.C.); *Shih chi*, 42, O148d (K'ai ming ed.), "Cheng shih chia."

⁵ The word used is *hsi*¹, which later, especially in the form *tsu*¹ *hsi*¹ or *hsi*¹ *kuei*¹, refers specifically to the Loggerhead Turtle (*Caretta caretta olivacea*). But this animal makes rather poor eating. However it resembles the Hawksbill and Green turtles, and it may be that *hsi*¹ was used as a collective term for these three sea-turtles. The giant Leatherback (*Dermochelys coriacea*)

Of the sea-turtles, the best known in China was the Hawksbill or Tortoise-shell Turtle of the seas off Kwangtung,¹¹ which supplied an abundance of tortoise-shell to decorate artifacts used by the well-to-do. Two similar turtles are often referred to in literature. One, the *tzu¹ hsi¹*, is reported as native to the waters and coasts of Kwangtung; its carapace provided an inferior substitute for true tortoise-shell. This must have been the Loggerhead Turtle.¹²

Less often we find the name of a turtle called *kou¹-pi⁴*,¹³ a sea-turtle from southern waters.¹⁴ Sometimes this rather mysterious creature was identified with the Loggerhead,¹⁵ but some authorities say that it resembles the Hawksbill, and that even the natives of the southern coasts confused it

yüan² chu⁴, or *shen² kuei¹*; it was golden colored, and the size of a fist; the edges of its carapace were saw-toothed, and it climbed trees in search of cicadas. It is possible that this was *Platysternon megacephalum*, which is an edible tree-climber, best known for its long tail and large non-retractable head.

¹¹ *Eretmochelys imbricata*, Chinese *tai⁴-mei⁴*.

¹² It has this name today, but, as suggested in note 5, unqualified *hsi¹* may have been a general word for "sea-turtle," comprising the Hawksbill, Loggerhead and Green Turtles. T'ao Hung-ching places the *tzu¹ hsi¹* at Canton; Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i (eighth century) tells of it along sea-coasts (both quoted in PTKM, 45, 34a). *Ling piao lu i* (Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng ed.), c. 23, says *tzu¹ hsi¹* were common (in the ninth century) around Ch'ao-chou and Hsün-chou, both in eastern Kwangtung, and that men could ride on their backs.

¹³ Ancient Chinese **kau-piek*; and as *hsi⁴-pi⁴*, Ancient **iei-piek*, in *Yu yang tsa tsu*.

¹⁴ See *Pei shih*, "Liu ch'iu chuan," which tells of a "*kou¹-pi⁴* islet" on the way to Liu-ch'iu (Formosa?). *Yu yang tsa tsu* (as quoted in PTKM, 45, 34a) says that "... it lives in the South Sea." The received edition of *Yu yang tsa tsu* (Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng ed., 17, 139) omits the word "South."

¹⁵ *Ta ming jih hua pen ts'ao*, of the late tenth century, as quoted in PTKM, 45, 34a, says "the *tzu¹ hsi¹* is the *kou¹-pi⁴*."

with the latter.¹⁶ The classical reference to this reptile is in the *Wu tu fu* of Tso Szu (end of third century). Commenting on its name in this passage, the T'ang scholiast Liu Liang quoted the old book of Liu Hsi-ch'i, the *Chiao chou chi*, which describes the *kou¹-pi⁴* as a clawless sea-turtle, with a patterned carapace, like the Hawksbill,¹⁷ and adds that "its flesh resembles the flesh of [fresh water] turtles, and can be eaten, being rich and delicious." Again, the anonymous *Lin hai shui t'u chi*, after stating that the *kou¹-pi⁴* is two or three feet long, with a shiny yellow-spotted carapace, adds, "Its flesh may be eaten, being as tasty as that of the Giant Soft-shell (*Pelochelys*). The eggs are as large as duck eggs, and perfectly round. When eaten fresh they are more delicious than birds' eggs." A turtle from warm seas which was confused both with the Loggerhead and the Hawksbill, and had extremely tasty flesh could hardly have been anything but the famous Green Turtle (*Chelonia mydas*), the gourmet's delight. A commercial product called "[*kou¹-*] *pi⁴* skin," which was submitted as tribute to the T'ang court by the city of Canton,¹⁸ must have been sections of the carapace of this animal, from which the gelatinous essence used in soups is extracted. Indeed the editors of *Kuang-tung t'ung chih*¹⁹ say that the taste of "*pi* skin" is extremely rich and savory.

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¹⁶ See *Lin hai shui t'u chi*, apparently an old book, but author and date unknown, quoted in PTKM, 45, 34a.

¹⁷ "The shell has black beads, and is patterned in colors like the Tortoise-shell; it may be used to decorate objects." I do not know how appropriate "black beads" is.

¹⁸ E. H. Schafer and B. E. Wallacker, "Local Tribute Products of the T'ang Dynasty," *Journal of Oriental Studies*, 4 (1957-58), 225, No. 223.

¹⁹ Edition of 1864, 98, 29a.

GLOSSARY

ao ² 鰐	shen ² kuei ¹ 神龜	tzu ¹ hsi ¹ 嘴蠋
hsi ⁴ -pi ⁴ 係臂	shen ² wu ¹ 神屋	yüan ² 龜
kou ¹ -pi ⁴ 龜臂, 蚶蜆	tai ⁴ -mei ⁴ 瑤瑁	yüan ² chu ⁴ 元佇
pieh ¹ 鼈		



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NOTES ON T'ANG CULTURE

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1. Miniature Gardens

The early history and the cultural meanings of miniature gardens in the Far East are now well known through the scholarship of R. A. Stein.¹ Stein detected a kind of ancestral or embryonic bowl-garden in the form of a natural stone set in a basin to make an incense-burner of the ancient and well documented Universal Mountain type — a gift from the Korean state of Paekche to the Empress Suiko of Japan at about the beginning of the seventh century. But he found no trace of the expression “bowl mountain” (*p'en shan*) 盆山 in T'ang literature, though soon afterwards this became the usual term for little non-utilitarian rock gardens.

In the tenth century jewel-like miniature mountains made of blue or green minerals such as azurite and malachite — and even one of camphor — were being devised for eminent personages.² Perhaps less gaudy ones than these were also being made — small versions of the rough rockeries of such T'ang connoisseurs of gardens as Niu Seng-ju 牛僧孺 and Li Te-yü 李德裕. But, though we should expect the transition from the ancient montiform brazier to the non-functional rockery built in a dish to have taken place in the seventh or eighth century, as yet no such ancestral form has been discovered.

That such miniature gardens of a “natural” sort actually did exist in mid-T'ang times is proved by the text of a rhapsodic dissertation (*fu*) 賦 of exceptionally rich texture written by Hao

1) R. A. Stein, “Jardins en miniature d'Extrême-Orient,” *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 42 (1942), 1-104.

2) Discussed in E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand; a Study of T'ang Exotics* (U. C. Press, 1963), pp. 229-230.

Hsü-chou 浩虛舟.³ This man, to judge from the internal evidence of his writings, was working ca. A. D. 780. His poetic essay is entitled "Rhapsody on a Bowl Pool," using the term *p'en ch'ih* 盆池, which is a precise analogue of the missing phrase *p'en shan*. The composition is indeed about a miniature garden in a bowl — in this case a garden whose chief and central feature was a little lake.

The rhyme scheme adopted by the poet consists of the words "accumulate/water/fill/vessel//as if/watch/deep/pool" (以積水盈器如望深池爲韻). These words suggest the theme of the Rhapsody, namely that the owner of such a creation, necessarily a gentleman of leisure, finds his delight in the illusion of small things made large in the imagination:

Though the ripples are strikingly like billows,
They will hardly drench and soak an inch of earth.

So it becomes possible that

Fellows who love bold deeds

May darkly take up the fancy of wading over the Ho;
Gentlemen who are not yet bored

May covertly cherish in their hearts the wish to plumb
the Sea.

This long composition indicates that the pool was made by filling a large pottery vessel with water. It was kept in the ground out of doors, where it would catch the reflections of clouds, moon, stars, and the garden trees. A bit of rock, or earth, or moss might be added to give the illusion of dry land. Han Yü's "bowl pool" had water flowers growing in it, and it attracted little frogs. An ingenious man might even

Sink spider's filaments to make a net, avid for fish.

3) Hao Hsü-chou, "P'en ch'ih fu," *Ch'üan T'ang wen* (1814 ed.), 624, 3b-4a. There are also several short poems on the same theme by poets of late T'ang. Five are by Han Yü (in *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, *han* 5, *ts'e* 10, *ch.* 8, 9a-9b; translated by E. von Zach, in *Han Yü's Poetische Werke* [Cambridge, Mass., 1952], p. 253); and one each by Tu Mu 杜牧 (*Ch'üan T'ang shih*, *han* 8, *ts'e* 7, *ch.* 4, 12b) and Chang Pin 張蘋 (fl. 901) (*Ch'üan T'ang shih*, *han* 10, *ts'e* 10, 1b).

or

Float mustard leaf to make a boat, loosed from hawser.

Some of these miniature water gardens seem to have been treated as toys, like the model machines so much in vogue in our own time. We even read that

A taffeta fan stirs wind, and waves arise.

Such mobile confections were not at all like their modern Japanese descendants, fixed compositions of moss and pine.

2. Colored Glass Windows

Late in the ninth century, Wang Ch'i 王 榮 wrote a "Rhapsody on *Veluriya* Windows" (*Liu-li ch'uang fu* 琉璃窗賦),⁴ using the Indic loan-word in the sense of "opaque or translucent, colored lead-glass," considered as a semi-precious gem. The rhyme scheme of his Rhapsody, which also sets its theme, is "sun/gleam/smoky/fused//as if/lack/obstacle/partition" 以日燦烟融如無礙隔爲韻, or, as we might say, "Gleaming with sunlight, fused with haze, as if there were no obstacle nor anything between." The composition begins

Gorgeous that window lattice, with its working of *veluriya*—
Hollow-seeming, translucent, lighted as autumn water
congealed,
Empty-seeming, luminous, colored as clear sky with smoke
commingled.

Here we seem to see gem-like bits of colored glass, showing the sunlit world wavering and indistinct, as if seen through haze or smoke. The last part of the composition makes much of the extravagant luxury of such constructions, and we may suppose that they were far from being as common as the colored panes in our windows of the Victorian age.⁵

4) *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 770, 8b-9b.

5) See also Chang Yü-ch'ing 張餘慶, "Ch'ing yü an fu 青玉案賦," *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 951, 19b-20a, which refers (p. 20a) to "windows of *veluriya*."

Other elegant windows of the T'ang period were often covered with light silk. The window of the minister Li Lin-fu 李林甫 was "paned" with scarlet gauze, studded with jewels;⁶ that of Sui Wen Ti (just before the founding of T'ang) was panelled with green silk, with lotuses appliquéd in gold, and "netted shutters, with *veluriya*."⁷ Here, at least, the glass pieces seem only to have been glittering decorations. Another kind of window was covered with oiled paper; that of a certain Yang Yen 楊炎 employed a fancy variety called "Peach Flower Paper" 桃花紙, which, like fine silk, admitted light and kept out cold.⁸

But windows ornamented with bright-colored paste were no novelty in T'ang times. An historical romance puts them in an apartment of Han Wu Ti,⁹ along with "coral windows" and "mica windows," which, even if they were not really made in the second century B. C., must have been an ideal of splendor and luxury some few centuries later, when the book was written. We also find *veluriya* windows attributed, by a quite respectable source,¹⁰ to the palace of Chin Wu Ti in the third century A.D.

Glassed windows continued to be made after the fall of T'ang too. There is a description of such windows in a book which I cannot identify, but appears to have been written between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries:¹¹

In the capital city, in the winter months, when they paste paper in the window frames, they use slips of *veluriya*, on

6) Wang Jen-yü 王仁裕, *K'ai yüan T'ien pao i shih* 開元天寶遺事 (T'ang tai ts'ung shu, 3, 52b).

7) Feng Chih 馮贇, *Nan pu yen hua chi* 南部烟花記 (T'ang tai ts'ung shu, 8, 71b).

8) *Feng ch'ih pien* 鳳池編, quoted in *Ko chih ching yüan* 格致鏡原, 20, 18a. I have not been able to identify this book. Yang Yen was a T'ang official; *feng ch'ih* "phoenix pond" was a popular T'ang epithet for the "Secretariat" (*Chung shu sheng* 中書省); the T'ang shu literary catalogue lists a *Feng ch'ih lu* 鳳池錄, by one Ma Yü 馬宇. I cannot tell if this is the same book.

9) *Han Wu ku shih* 漢武故事, quoted in *Ko chih ching yüan*, 20, 17b.

10) *Shih shuo hsin yü* 世說新語, also quoted in *Ko chih ching yüan*, 20, 18a. These quotations all occur in the "Window" section of this Ch'ing source book on the history of material culture and technology.

11) *Ch'un yü tz'u hua* 純敝詞話, quoted in *T'u shu chi ch'eng*, K'ao kung tien 考工典, 136, tsa lu, 2a.

which are fashioned flowers, herbs and human beings in paint, as insets in them. Looking towards the outside from within the room, there is not the slightest thing which is not observable, while watching from the outside, there is nothing to be seen. This is what Ou-yang, Lord of Ch'u,¹² has alluded to as "the flowered shutters of oiled windows" in his *Shih erh yüeh yü chia ao tz'u* 十二月漁家傲詞. Apparently this prevailed already among the practices and customs of the Yüan period.

There is no evidence, of course, that during T'ang there were little painted "panes" like those of Yüan and Ming, but these latter were certainly the legitimate progeny of the "berylline" (cognate to *veluriya*) glass panels of T'ang.

3. The Alligator and the Crocodile

Our standard references are not very reliable when it comes to identifying the indigenous Chinese saurians. The drums of "iguana" (t'o 鼉) skin and "lizard" skin in Legge's translation and notes to the ode *Ling t'ai* 靈臺 in the *Ta ya* part of the *Shih ching* actually had heads made of the skin of the native alligator, while the definition of the word *e* (鱷, 鰐) in both Giles' and Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionaries is given ambiguously as "crocodile; alligator," though it should be simply "crocodile" (in modern times the term has been extended to cover the crocodilians generally). This note is an attempt to clear up the confusion.

The crocodilians of the world include the Indian gavial, the false gharial of Indonesia, the caymans of America, two unique genera in West Africa, the crocodiles proper (the Egyptian crocodile, the mugger of India and Indonesia, the American crocodile, and the crocodile [*Crocodylus porosus*] of South and Southeast Asia and Oceania), and the Chinese and American species of alligator.

12) Ou-yang Hsüan 歐陽玄, the Yüan dynasty writer (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries).

Alligator sinensis, a lover of fresh water like its American cousin, is now quite rare, but may occasionally be found in the rivers and lakes of Central China. Its Chinese name is *t'o*² 鮑, 鼉.

Crocodylus porosus is a reptile widespread in tropical Asiatic waters, but has now disappeared from the coast of South China. Its Chinese name is *e*⁴ 鱷.

Let us look at both animals briefly as they were a thousand years ago, under the T'ang empire. It will be seen that the rare species of alligator (from the world-wide point of view) was then, paradoxically, the more familiar of the two to most Chinese, and rejoiced in rich mythological and poetic associations, while the common Asiatic crocodile was hardly known in its northernmost lairs on the shores of Kwangtung, though it came to enjoy international fame, solely because of the threatening "prayer" written by Han Yü.

a. *Alligators*

To the men of T'ang, the alligator was akin to the dragon, or, perhaps, was a mediocre avatar of the dragon:

In form it is like a dragon, and its sounds are very awe-inspiring. When it is a ten-foot in length, it is able to exhale a vapor which forms clouds and brings rain. But although it is one of dragon-kind, we may rightly get rid of this fish.¹³

Nowadays this fearful lizard is found, but uncommonly, "... only in the lower Yangtze Valley where it is known chiefly from the vicinity of Wuhu and the Taihu,"¹⁴ but in the eleventh century Su Sung 蘇頌¹⁵ said that it was "extremely abundant in the Chiang [Yang-tze] and its great lakes." The gradual decrease of its numbers since medieval times must be attributed to the

13) Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i 陳藏器, the T'ang pharmacologist, as quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 43, 22a.

14) Clifford H. Pope, *The Reptiles of China; Turtles, Crocodiles, Snakes, Lizards* (Natural History of Central Asia, Vol. X, American Museum of Natural History, New York, 1935), p. 66.

15) The Sung pharmacologist, quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 43, 22a.

erosion of its breeding grounds and ordinary habitat as a result of the expansion of the human population, and to the purposeful destruction of the beast for its skin, especially for the traditional alligator drums.

In T'ang times it was certainly not confined to the Yangtze basin. Popular stories¹⁶ tell of it in Tung-t'ing Lake, which is no surprise, but also much further north, in Huainan.¹⁷ And if the name of "Alligator Mole Island" in P'eng-lai-hsien 蓬萊縣 on the north coast of Shantung (an island famous for high quality palette stone) is not the result of a sailor's dream, the reptile sometimes wandered that far north.¹⁸ But indeed Tu Fu places wind-compelling alligators in a lake in Ch'i-chou 齊州 in southern Shantung:

Alligators roar — the wind makes the waves run!
Fishes leap — the sun makes the mountains shine!¹⁹

The alligator, because of its dismal bray which echoed in the rumble of war-drums covered with its hide, was an ancient but still viable symbol of war:²⁰

A thousand-fold the alligator drums — redoubled the metal gongs.²¹

Equally strong was the association between alligator and rain — a natural alliance if the alligator was imagined to be a relation of the cloud-driving dragon who masters the rain. The notion is not uncommon in T'ang literature, as in Chang Chi's 張籍 poem "The Cry of the White Alligator":²²

16) In the *Tu i chih* 獨異志, and *Ch'uan ch'i* 傳奇, reproduced in *T'u shu chi ch'eng*, Ch'in ch'ung tien 禽虫典, 132.

17) At the gates of the chief city of that province, presumably Yang-chou, in the mid-eighth century. *T'ang shu*, 141, 3988c.

18) The name appears in *Ming i t'ung chih*, 25, 6b; I do not know how much older it is.

19) Tu Fu, "Chan ju Lin-i chih Ts'o-shan hu t'ing..." 暫如臨邑至嵯山湖亭, text of *A Concordance to the Poems of Tu Fu*, II (Cambridge, 1940), 273.

20) *T'ang shu*, 141, 3988d.

21) Lo Pin-wang 駱賓王, "Ts'ung chün chung hsing lu nan 從軍中行路難," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 2, ts'e 3, ch. 1, 6a.

22) Chang Chi, "Po t'o ming 白鼉鳴," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 6, ts'e 6, ch. 1, 7a.

The heavens yearn to rain — there is a wind in the East ;
 The white alligator of South Torrent cries out within its lair.
 In the sixth month there was no water in any householder's
 well —

Now hearing the sound of the alligator by night, every man
 gets up.

Or the reptile is heard, in a poem by Li Ho 李賀, calling up the
 rain of plum-ripening time from a tower by the Yangtze :

Alligators drone at the estuary mouth, and make the "plum
 rain" fly!²³

So he was invested with a supernatural aura, as in this poem of
 Li Chiao 李嶠 about drums :

Sylphine crane goes up, dispelling clouds ;
 Numinous alligator cries out, zoned with rain.²⁴

(The crane is the symbolic vehicle of the cloud-riding Taoist
 "immortals," "sylphine" [*hsien* 仙] in the lightness of their in-
 corruptible, dew-nourished bodies, and in the ease with which they
 fly up to the palaces of the air. "Numinous" [*ling* 靈] — or
 perhaps "holy" — is the quality of things which have spiritual
 powers beyond the ordinary — often said of animals, plants, and
 even stones, whose inner resources have been weirdly enriched
 and energized.)

It accompanies the giant soft-shelled turtle (*Pelochelys bibroni*)
 in a common literary cliché, *yüan t'o* 鼃鼃, both being types of
 monstrous fresh-water animals.

b. *Crocodiles*

The name of the crocodile became familiar to the men of
 T'ang as a result of the imprecations against the monster by
 Han Yü, an exile in Ch'ao-chou 潮州 in the remote south, a
 region which seems to have been infested with crocodiles in the

23) Li Ho, "Chiang lou ch'ü 江樓曲," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 6, ts'e 7, ch. 4, 8b.

24) Li Chiao, "Ku 鼓," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 2, ts'e 1, ch. 3, 7b.

eighth century.²⁵ But there are two other, less well known accounts of crocodiles written in T'ang times. One is the ninth century description of Liu Hsün 劉恂, which goes:

Its body is an earthy yellow color; it has four feet, and a long tail. As to its form, it has the appearance of an alligator, though its startings and stoppings are more agile and quick. Its mouth is thick set with sawlike teeth, and time and again it is hurtful to man. In the South, deer are abundant, and are much in fear of this creature. When the deer walk along the tops of cliffs and banks, the crocodile herd bawls and cries below them. The deer fall from the cliff in fear and terror, and many are the ones which are taken by the crocodiles. This is another instance of how creatures are attracted from ambush.

This account is followed by an anecdote about the great Li Te-yü, like Han Yü an exile in Ch'ao-chou; he lost his whole collection of paintings and vertu in the shallow water, but the attempt to recover them by employing Malayan divers failed because of the "extreme abundance" of crocodiles.²⁶

We have also an eighth century account in Cheng Ch'ang's 鄭常 book *Hsia wen chi* 洽聞記. This tells of the crocodiles kept in the moat of the palace of the King of Bnam, in what is now southern Cambodia: criminals were thrown to them, but the innocent were not eaten. The same book also tells how bears capture and devour crocodiles. These southern crocodiles were named, we are told, **χuət-luâi* 忽雷 or **kuət-luâi* 骨雷.²⁷ They turn into three-clawed tigers in the autumn. As for China, the same book says:

25) *T'ang shu*, 176, 4051c-d (Biography of Han Yü); the text of Han Yü's anti-crocodile message is translated as "The Crocodile of Ch'ao-chou" in H. A. Giles, *Gems of Chinese Literature: Prose* (Shanghai, 1923), pp. 128-130.

26) Liu Hsün, *Ling piao lu i* 嶺表錄異 (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), c, 18.

27) These should register something like **kollai* or **hurrai*, which are quite unlike Khmer *krápœu* (a French romanization) "crocodile." But if the people of Bnam (modern Chinese Fu-nan 扶南) spoke an Indonesian language, as the neighboring Chams did, we should expect something like Proto-Austronesian (Dempwolff) **buhaja* "crocodile." This is little better, though Ceramese has the form *huwai*. (See E. Aymonier and A. Cabaton, *Dictionnaire Cam-Français* [Publ. de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, VII, Paris, 1906].)

They come from the two *chou* of En 恩 and Lei 雷 in Nan-hai ["South Seas" Province]; the village of Ying-p'an 英潘, overlooking the sea, has them in abundance.²⁸

These two "counties" are in Kwangtung, well down the coast from Canton towards the Annamese border.

Crocodiles were still common in coastal Kwangtung as late as the seventeenth century,²⁹ but can not be counted among the animals of China in the twentieth, though one investigator found the dead bodies of two near Hong Kong during the early years of this century,³⁰ presumably stragglers from Indochina.

4. The God of the South Sea

The official cult of medieval China, upon whose proper and seasonable observances the welfare of the nation (and indeed of the whole world) depended, was preeminently a cult of nature. The state religion of T'ang was "Confucian" only in the sense that its rites were prescribed by and performed by state officers of high and low degree, men who accepted, nominally at least, the morality, the view of history, and the standards of criticism laid down in a body of classical exegesis widely accepted as the norm for educated and reputable men. The name of Confucius was and is associated with this ethic in greater or less degree, though he was only a minor god in the approved pantheon: his stature was that of an Aesculapius or an Orpheus rather than that of an Apollo or a Zeus — or even of a Prometheus (for all of whom we might find convenient analogues in the religion of Chinese antiquity). But the great gods of this pantheon were

28) *Hsia wen chi*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, 464, 5a-5b.

29) A. A. Fauvel, "Alligators in China; Their History, Description and Identification," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n. s. 13 (1879), 1-36, quoting reliable sources. Fauvel's article is a good general review, and should be consulted for the oldest Chinese references to the alligator. But his philology is weak, and unfortunately the author finally gives both *t'o* and *e* as "alligator," despite clear evidence to the contrary.

30) Rudolph Mell, "Beiträge zur Fauna sinica. I. Die Vertebraten Südchinas; Feldlisten und Feldnoten der Säuger, Vögel, Reptilien, Batrachier," *Archiv für Naturgeschichte*, 88, Abt. A, Heft 10 (1922), 1-134.

spirit-kings who ruled the metaphysical realms shown phenomenally as the dominant features of the Chinese landscape.

The respectable deities of T'ang were arranged in order of dignity as follows:

1. The uranian and chthonian gods.
2. The ancestral gods.
3. The chief star-spirits.
4. The chief spirits of mountains, seas and great rivers.
5. Lesser gods of mountains and waters.
6. Spirits of inferior stars, mounds and tumuli.³¹

In this scheme, the paramount sea-gods figure below the star-spirits and above the spirit-lords of ordinary rivers and lakes, but on a par with the kingly deities of great mountains associated with the cardinal directions, and those of the four mighty rivers, called "The Four Conduits" (*ssu tu* 四瀆), which drained the realm of the Son of Heaven and emptied into the circumambient ocean.³²

Of the gods of the Four Seas (named according to the Four Directions) the God of the South Sea was most important to the men of T'ang. He presided over the watery roads which brought the wealth of nations to T'ang, and the center of his cult was appropriately in Canton (*Kuang-chou* 廣州),³³ where the merchant vessels of Indochina, Indonesia, India and the Persian Gulf came to dock. He was a summer spirit, because he was God of the South, and his official sacrifice was performed in Canton on the first day of summer.³⁴ As a sea-god his powers were the powers of Water, but he was an ambivalent being, because he had been

31) *T'ang liu tien* 唐六典, 14, 21b-22a. This text designates these groups under the following names: *shen ch'i* 神祇, *tsung miao* 宗廟, *hsing chih wai kuan* 星之外官, *yüeh chen hai tu* 嶽鎮海瀆, *shan lin ch'uan tse* 山林川澤, and *chung* *hsing chi ch'iu ling i hsia* 衆星及丘陵已下.

32) These were the Chiang (Yangtze), the Ho (Yellow River), the Huai (now no longer a recognizable river, but a mass of interlocking waterways), and the Chi 濟 (no longer a major river pouring into the sea).

33) *T'ang liu tien*, 4, 38b; *T'ang shu*, 16, 3667b; *T'ung tien* (Shanghai, 1935), 46, 263c.

34) *T'ang liu tien*, 4, 38b.

identified, because of his southern affiliations, with the old fire and furnace god of the vanished southern state of Ch'u, Chu-jung 祝融.³⁵ In consequence, he had dominion over Fire as well, an element usually considered antipathetic to Water — this made him a very powerful spirit indeed.³⁶

The cult of this god was older than T'ang, as we shall see presently, when we come to talk about the foundation of his temple, but exactly how old we cannot tell. A monarch of Han established regular seasonal worship of the important rivers and seas in 61 B. C., "... in order that there might be bountiful years in the Subcelestial Realm,"³⁷ but there is no evidence that the South Sea was clearly discriminated in these sacrifices, though we may imagine him implicitly present as a result of the pioneering activities of the Han soldiery and officialdom in the remote South.

As an important divinity in the religion supported by the state his career really begins in T'ang. Annual sacrifices to the Four Seas were instituted early in the seventh century.³⁸ Offerings to them were the same as those made to the greatest mountains and rivers. These were vegetables, cereals, dried meats, salt, and the like, offered in ten fruit-panniers, ten trenchers, two cereal-hampers, two cereal-scuttles, and three meat-trays.³⁹ Wine was offered in "mountain goblets,"⁴⁰ more dignified than

35) See scholia on pp. 1a-1b of Han Yü's stele (p. 207). Although tradition puts the association back to the time of Chou Wu Wang, no reliable basis for Han Yü's equation is known. The meaning of the name Chu-jung is uncertain. There are many old etymological proposals, among them "Great Shining One," but most of these seem to be ad hoc idealizations of this ancient deity. The first element in the name gives the most trouble; if we can accept the gloss which makes *chu* (Archaic *t'iók) a variant of *ch'u* 俶 (Archaic *t'iók) "first; inaugural," we get the (to me) plausible name of "First Smelter," a fitting appellation for a smith god.

36) Cf. Mori Seitarō 森清太郎, *Kanton meishō shiseki* 廣東名勝史跡 (Canton, 1922), p. 51.

37) *Han shu*, 25b, 0397d.

38) *T'ung tien*, 46, 263c. Offerings to the Eastern Sea were made at Lai-chou 萊州 in Shantung, to the Western Sea at T'ung-chou 同州 (in Shensi), and to the Northern Sea in Honan-fu 河南府. Cf. *T'ang shu* 15, 3667b.

39) *T'ang shu*, 12, 3661d.

40) *Shan tsun* 山尊.

the "dragon-mollusk goblets"⁴¹ in which libations were given to the lesser hills, lakes and rivers.⁴²

Jade tablets and ceremonial silks were also offered to the sea- and river-gods, but these were sunk in the water, in contrast to those offered to Heaven and to the stars and planets, which were burned, and to those given to Earth, the fertility spirits, and the mountains, which were appropriately buried in the ground.⁴³

Hsüan Tsung, sovereign during a considerable part of the eighth century, instituted many religious reforms. For instance, believing that the five sacred mountains were honeycombed with passages to the grotto-heavens of the Taoist supermen, he established the official worship of the "True Lords" (*chen chün* 真君) of these five mountains in 731.⁴⁴ But most important was a general reform and codification of official ceremonies, completed late in 732, midway through his reign. This work was first in the hands of Chang Yüeh 張說, and then, after Chang's death, supervised by Hsiao Sung 蕭嵩.⁴⁵ These men produced a systematic digest of ritual procedures which became a model followed by magistrates and religious officers for many generations. Much later in his reign, in 751, Hsüan Tsung elevated the gods of the Four Seas to the rank of Prince (*wang*), thus guaranteeing them the appurtenances and formalities due to lords of that dignity. The God of the South Sea was patented as "Widely Profitable Prince" (*Kuang li wang* 廣利王) — a very appropriate title in view of his unique relationship to the profitable sea-lanes leading to the Indian lands of the West.⁴⁶ This ennoblement was described by

41) *Ch'en tsun* 歷尊.

42) *T'ang liu tien*, 14, 22a. Since these records tell of the institutes of the eighth century, in the reign of Hsüan Tsung, we cannot be certain that this distinction was always made in early T'ang times.

43) *T'ang liu tien*, 14, 20b. We should expect, accordingly, that archeological finds of such cult objects would be revealing only of the various rites for terrestrial deities, and tell us nothing of the sky-gods or the great sacrifice to Heaven. As for the sea- and river-spirits, perhaps the new art of under-water archeology will someday yield interesting results.

44) *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 213, 14b.

45) *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 213, 15b.

46) *T'ung tien*, 46, 263c.

Han Yü in a eulogy he wrote while in exile at Ch'ao-chou. This was engraved on a stele erected on November 10, 820, in the grounds of the god's shrine near Canton. Fortunately the text of this eulogy has been preserved,⁴⁷ and indeed the monument itself still stands in the eastern part of the temple precincts.⁴⁸ This is what it says:⁴⁹

Stele at the Temple of the God of the South Sea

The seas are the most immense of entities between heaven and earth. Not one of the kings of genius in the Three Dynasties did not offer sacrifice to them. Study this matter in our tradition and records: the God of the South Sea has the most noble place there, above the three gods of North, East and West, and the Sire of the Ho. He is called Chu-jung. During "Heavenly Treasure" the Son of Heaven took note that in the ancient peerage none were nobler than the "Commonlords" and the "Marklords,"⁵⁰ wherefore, in prayers to the Seas and Holy Mountains, and in the numbering of victims and token currency, we had relied on this as precedent, that we might in so doing convey reverence in the extreme to such great gods. But now, since a "Prince" is also a peer, if, in the ceremonies for Seas and Holy Mountains, we still follow the service for a Commonlord or Marklord, leave vacant the formalities due a Prince, and do not employ them, we annul the conception of "conveying reverence in the extreme." In consequence of this, he honored the God of the South Sea by patent as "Widely Profitable Prince," and his prayers and invocations, his sacrifices and

47) See *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 561, 5a-7b.

48) Mori, *Kanton*, 52.

49) I have used *Hsin k'an wu po chia chu yin pien Ch'ang-li Hsien-sheng wen chi* 新刊五百家註音辯昌黎先生文集 (1763). The text of the inscription is in *chüan* 31. This is a critical edition, taking account of textual variations, including those between printed versions and the epigraphic version.

50) Attempts to approximate the sense of the old titles *kung* 公 and *hou* 侯. For the second of these, which connotes "Target-[lord]" or "Archer-[lord]" — hence my "Marklord," see Ch'en P'an 陳榮, "Hou yü she-hou [侯] 與 [射侯]," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, 22 (1950), 121-126.

formalities, and matters of precedence, were all elevated. For the same reason, his temple was altered and renewed in its place southeast of the present administrative see of Kuang-chou,⁵¹ eighty *li* by the sea road, at the mouth of the Fu-hsü⁵² by the Bay of Yellow Wood. Regularly, when the airs of the onset of summer⁵³ come, the Inciting Notary⁵⁴ of Kuang-chou was required to enact this service below the place of worship, and, these things done, to send report by post.

Now the Inciting Notary must, in regular manner, moderate and rule the several armies of the Five Passes,⁵⁵ and at the same time watch over and scrutinize their cantons and cities — there is no affair in the Southern Quarter which is not under his unifying sway. This land is large, and distant withal, wherefore it is usual to select men of weight for employment there. Though these are both noble and rich, yet they are not conversant with the affairs of the seas. Moreover, at the season of sacrifice there are regularly many great winds,⁵⁶ and all are anxious and grief-stricken at the prospect of going there. After they proceed thither, they look before them and behind, shaking with terror. Therefore they habitually give illness as a way of extricating themselves, delegating the affair to a subordinate.⁵⁷ So it was now long since one had come here. Therefore

51) Modern Canton.

52) The Fu-hsü 扶胥 River was in the estuary, southeast of P'an-yü-hsien 番禺縣.

53) A Sung gloss (p. 1b) says that after the religious reform of K'ai-yüan, the sacrifice was offered on the seventeenth day of the third month, which would usually be late in April. But compare note 64 below, which puts it in the fourth month — also according to regulations of the K'ai-yüan reign! The latter is more plausible.

54) *Tz'u shih* 刺史. Title of the governor of a *chou* "Isle" — one of our counties, more or less.

55) The land of the Five Passes was Lingnan 嶺南, i. e. modern Kwangtung and Kwangsi. The "Inciting Notary" of Canton "moderated and ruled" all of Lingnan; the words appear in his other title, a military one: "Envoy who Moderates and Rules" (*Chieh tu shih* 節度使). Moreover he was "Envoy who Watches over and Scrutinizes" (*Kuan ch'a shih* 觀察使) the civil affairs of the province — see the next clause of the text.

56) The bad weather at the normal time of sacrifice corresponds to the onset of the southwest monsoon in the South China Sea, about the beginning of May.

57) The difficulty of finding devoted civil servants for this despised and unhealthy tropical outpost was enormous, and still a problem many centuries later. Note the complaints of Wu Lai 吳萊 about the venality and self-pity of Cantonese officials in the fourteenth century: E. H. Schafer, "A Fourteenth Century Gazetteer of Canton," *Oriente Poliano* (Rome, 1957), pp. 67-93. For the record of "good" and "bad" governors of Canton during T'ang, see K. Nakamura 中村久四郎, "Tō-jidai no Kanton 唐時代ノ廣東," *Shigaku zasshi*, 28 (1917), 242-258, 348-368, 485-495, 552-576.

Luminous palace and huts for austerities,⁵⁸
 Were windy above, on either side,
 Lacking anything of cover or screen.
 Victims and wine were scrawny and sour ;
 When the gear was taken out as the time drew near.
 The various goods of water and land
 Lay helter-skelter in basket and trencher ;
 Oblation, libation, elevation, obeisance —
 None meeting good usage and form.
 Nutriment for the officiants were not supplied ;
 The God gave no regard to the sacramental food.
 Blind winds and weird rains
 Came into being, all out of joint,
 And men suffered under such woes.

Then in the twelfth year of "Primal Accord,"⁵⁹ first and finally came the edict to employ the Right Minister Presiding over Documents, Sacrificer of Wine to the Nation's Scion, K'ung, Lord of Lu Nation, in the role of Inciting Notary in Kuang-Isle, concurrently Magnifico of the Autocrat's Notaries,⁶⁰ so that he might make firm the southern demesne. This lord

Was just and straight and right and strict,
 But in his heart of hearts⁶¹ pleasant and easy ;
 Respectful and prudent in duties assigned,
 Giving order to men through inner light,
 And service to gods through inner truth —
 Both out and in simple to the end,

58) "Luminous palace" is the sanctuary of the god himself ; "huts for austerities" are ancillary buildings for meditation, fasting, and purification before the sacrifice.

59) A. D. 817.

60) This was K'ung K'uei 孔戣, who governed the region during 817-819, while Han Yü was in exile at Ch'ao-chou. His biography is in *T'ang shu*, 163, 4025b-c. This should be consulted for his many reforms and charities. He was one of the "good" governors.

61) Chinese *chung hsin* 中心. Giles gives "impartial ; fair-minded" for this phrase, which otherwise connotes "in the very center and heart of." But I have no authority for this interpretation, which I would like to render, western style, "a straight-shooter at heart."

Not one to act for display or outward show.

The year after his arrival in the Isle, when summer was at hand, the prayer tablets came from the capital city, and the officiants announced this in due season. Our lord then purified and exorcized himself, and looked at the tablets. Administering the oath to the congregated authorities, he said, "The tablets have the name of our Illustrious Theocrat, and indeed have been signed by His Highness himself. The text on them says, 'So-and-so, Heritor to the Son of Heaven, despatches the magistrate So-and-so with diligence to make respectful sacrifice.' Is there anyone who would dare not accept such reverence and such strict devotion? On the coming day I shall sojourn below the temple, to make provision for the business of daybreak." On the following day, the officiants declared that there was wind and rain, but he did not heed them. With that, the officiants and gentlemen of the Isle and Archive,⁶² both civil and military, in all to be numbered in the hundreds,

Made visits in turn and admonished him each after other,
 All of them bowing and then retiring.⁶³
 But then the lord went up in his boat,
 And wind and rain relaxed a little.
 The men at the oars displayed their best efforts,
 And cloudy shadows dissolved into dappling;
 Solar lights bored through, leaked out,
 The waves crouched low and did not rise.
 On the evening for inspecting the victims,
 There was sometimes sunlight, sometimes shadow;
 But on the night before the event
 Heaven and Earth were opened up and cleared away,
 Moon and stars were scoured clean and bright.
 When the Five Drums had played their part,

62) "Isle" (*chou*) and "Archive" (*fu*) are traditional terms for the local administrative regions.

63) The previous magistrate had delegated the moist and unpleasant duty of conducting the service on the seashore to subordinates, and had not required attendance of the gentry who held sinecures. Now all was changed.

And Ox-Hauler⁶⁴ was just on center,
Then the lord,

Fully costumed, note-tablet in hand,
Came in to take up the business.
Civil and military, guests and subordinates,
Bowed their heads and attended to the See,
And each took his duty in hand:
The victims were fat, the wine was fragrant,
Tankards and goblets were clean and pure;
Ascendings and descendings were as allotted by number,
The gear of the gods held drunkenness and repletion.⁶⁵
The Hundred Numina of the Sea, secretly, weirdly,
All emerged at once, in distracting confusion;
Coiling around and snaking about,⁶⁶
They came to savor the drink and food.
When he closed the temple and reversed his prow,
A fortunate gale took the sails along.
Cloth-banner and fur-banner, yak-tail and standard,
Flew and flourished, like sky-obscuring cumuli.
Bell-drums⁶⁷ shrilled and rumbled,
Tall pipes wailed and clamored.
The military men strained at the oars,
The master craftsmen sang in harmony;
Vaulted turtles and long fishes
Skipped and jumped in back and front.
From empyreal pole to tellurian tip,

64) "Ox-Hauler 牽牛" is the name of the star Altair (α -Aquilae). See J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, III (1958), 245. "On center" means "in the south," either in morning or evening — in this case in the morning; south was the ritual direction faced by the Son of Heaven. The ancient calendar of the *Yüeh ling* put this opposition in the third lunar month, but the reformed almanac of T'ang Hsüan Tsung put it in the fourth (*T'ang Yüeh Ling [Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.], p. 14). The fourth is actually the better month, being the first month of summer, presided over by Chu-jung, God of the South, identified by Han Yü with the God of the South Sea.

65) i. e. meat-dishes and wine-pots were offered in abundance.

66) Sea spirits are draconian, therefore serpent-like.

67) Not "bells and drums"; *nao ku* 鐃鼓 was a special sort of T'ang military drum.

Soaring above and spacious abroad, all showed forth exposed.⁶⁸

In that year of his sacrifice

Windy disasters were blown into extinction,
Men grew satiated with fish and crustaceans;
The Five Cereals all came to maturity.

In the following year when the sacrifice recurred, he went on to extend the temple-palace to make it grander; he put its courts and altar in order, and changed it by building

A pair of galleries to west and east,
Rooms for purgation, and a kitchen—⁶⁹
A hundred kinds of preparation and repair.
At that season in the following year,
The lord did not fail to go again,
Nor was he lax in increasing his devotion.
The year was once more one of great concord,
And old men from fifty to eighty sang and chanted.⁷⁰

When this lord first came here, he eliminated altogether the "taxes under other names,"⁷¹ and stopped all clothing and food for officials which deserved elimination. And

With the envoys from the Four Quarters
He did not make intercourse depend on their resources,
But put his own person ahead of all;
There were carousals and feasts in proper season,
And awards and gifts in proper measure.
Public store and private stock ---
High and low were adequately supplied.

68) The whole world was revealed, clear and bright, from top to bottom.

69) "Purgation" before a rite, including fasting; this building may have included a refectory, as when, in Buddhist usage, "purgation" (especially fasting) was a mild euphemism for "meal."

70) These older men presumably remembered the bad old days.

71) These disguised taxes were levies on foreign merchants who docked at Canton, and included special anchorage fees, bribes of pearls and rhinoceros horn, etc. See scholia, p. 4a.

Whereupon he remitted the burden of collectible tax in the dependent Isles to twenty four myriads of strings of cash,⁷² and three myriads two thousand bushels of hulled rice. As to Isles whose levy was in gold, he diminished it to eight hundred gold in a single year.

Where someone was in distress and unable to pay his debts,

In each case he made solicitations for them.

He increased the stipends of the wardens and elders of the Southwest,⁷³ but he executed those who particularly lacked merit and did not heed his orders. As a result of this, all now felt grave respect for the law. As for the men of high and low degree who had settled in the south and could not return home, as well as the posterity of drifters and exiles, one hundred and twenty eight clans in all, he gave employment to those of valuable timber, while giving largesse to those with no one to appeal to ;

As to their marriageable girl children,
He gave them money and valuables,
Commanding them not to lose their season.
Punishment and virtue flowed forth together,
And for several thousand *li* in all quarters of the land
No robber nor outlaw was known.
Journeying by mountain or lodging by sea,
Without choice of place or spot,
He gave attention to the gods and brought order to men.

He was one of whom it need only be said that he was prudent to the utmost. All wished that a stone might be engraved at the temple, on which his excellence would be made conspicuous, with a poem attached to it. So I made a poem, which goes :

72) The Sung scholiast Han Ch'un 韓醇 (p. 4a) says that the total revenue collectible was 2,000,000 cash — an amount now fantastically reduced. The figures given in the inscription, however, are rather different from those given in K'ung K'uei's biography.

73) These are the chieftains of the subjected aboriginal tribes.

The waste of the South Sea
 Is the home of Chu-jung ;
 We go to sacrifice by its side
 To the God-king named "Sire of the South."⁷⁴
 But the officiants were lazy — did nothing on their own,
 Until just now since our present lord
 By luminous use of sacramental feasts and donations,
 Brought grace upon our homes and realm.
 How uniquely enlightened is our Son of Heaven !
 How uniquely prudent is his emissary !
 While this our lord occupied this office,
 To gods and men was brought delight.
 Since in this far corner by sea and mountain pass
 There is sufficiency and even surfeit —
 Why not extend this bounty to all ?
 Let him take hold on the hub of affairs !
 May the lord's actions be not delayed --
 May the lord not hasten his return —
 He is not our private lord —
 Gods and men alike have need of him !

Paraphrase

The ocean is the greatest of all finite entities. Wise rulers in remote antiquity worshipped it as a god, or a set of gods, among whom the God of the South Sea was the most important, ranking also above the God of the Yellow River, the life-line of ancient China. This god was none other than the deity we know as Chu-jung. In the eighth century, the sovereign Hsüan Tsung of T'ang elevated the canonical rank of a number of nature spirits, including those of the seas, to "Prince," the highest title beneath his own to which they could aspire. This meant also that there were changes in the formal reverences due them, the quantity and quality of the goods offered to them, and other evidences of high spiritual status. The title "Widely Profitable

74) This title is known only as a family name, Nan-po 南伯, which occurs several times in the *Chuang-tzu*. Here Han Yü seems to have revived it as a suitable appellation for the god.

Prince" seemed appropriate to this sea. The sea-god's temple near Canton was restored and made more beautiful, as was appropriate to his new condition. The Governor of Canton was strictly enjoined to take on the role of priest to this god at the beginning of summer, and to report to the imperial palace that he had done so in fitting style.

In his concurrent role of general director of military and civil affairs throughout the province of Lingnan, this magistrate has unique powers and responsibilities. Therefore the incumbent was always a rich man of good family. Unfortunately, these magnates from the north seldom knew much about either oceanography, overseas commerce, or marine theology. Also, being accustomed to a comfortable life, they disliked intensely the ritual trip to the sea-god's temple on the coast, especially during a season of bad weather. It was the usual thing for them to plead sickness as an excuse to send an underling to perform the required sacrifice on their behalf, and for many years no governor had carried out his priestly functions. In consequence, the temple and its ancillary buildings were in a state of disrepair, and exceedingly uncomfortable. The sacrificial viands were of the poorest sort, and no one bothered to prepare them properly or lay them out in suitable style. As for the performance of the ritual of worship—it was completely arbitrary and haphazard. The minor attendants at the temple got none of their perquisites, and even the sea-god ignored these poor offerings. It was only natural that he would show his displeasure by calling up unseasonable storms.

But in 817, the great minister K'ung K'uei assumed the position of governor and priest, and all was changed. An honorable man of strict moral principles, though a good-hearted and liberal one, he took his political and religious duties quite seriously, esteeming them above the advantages of rank and privilege.

When, in 818, he received the imperial mandate to perform due annual sacrifice to the South Sea God, he treated the command with unexpected reverence, swore the lesser officials to obedience, and took a literal view of the order to carry out the rite with all respect. To everyone's astonishment he proposed

to officiate as chief priest in person. Even reports of bad weather on the coast did not deter him, and the anxious pleas of the local bigwigs, who hated to leave their comfortable homes, failed to change his mind.

When he started off down the river in his official barge, the weather moderated a little, clearly a case of supernatural intervention, and as he approached the temple, the cloudy overcast began to break up, and the water became smoother. The weather remained variable during the preparations for the sacrifice (could the god be certain of his sincerity yet?), but on the very eve of the ceremony the sky was completely clear, and the whole universe seemed to put on a bright face. At the right moment, as fixed by traditional astrology, the governor, clad in full ceremonial regalia, approached the altar, with all the gentry of Canton in respectful attendance. The meats and wines of sacrifice were of the finest quality, and the vessels were in the best condition. All details of the ritual were carried out in accordance with strict propriety and exact protocol. So rich were these offerings that the host of sea deities, dragon-shaped, descended upon the temple in happy disorder. All being consummated, the governor and his party embarked for Canton, returning with triumphal banners unfurled, the music of official bands, and the singing of trained choristers. Even nature signaled the holy triumph: the creatures of the water cavorted about the procession of boats, and the skies shone brilliantly. This glorious condition continued throughout the year — storms were few, the crop of sea-food was rich, and the grain harvest was perfect.

In the following year, the temple was made even more splendid; the governor officiated again in person, and prosperity once more was the condition of the province, to the joy of all.

This governor also reduced the expenses of the government by eliminating wasteful grants to magistrates; he did not (as others had) exploit the traders from Indonesia and the countries of the Indian Ocean, but entertained them with proper courtesy. In time, the fisc was so healthy that he was able to make large reductions in local taxes on counties whose resources were farmed

land and gold mining alike. He gave aid to debtors, and paid larger sums for the loyalty of native tribes. But his quick justice, which did not spare anyone who failed in his duty, brought about a new obedience to the law. He found work for vagrant immigrants, and support for the helpless and homeless, and provided dowries for their daughters. The land became as safe as it was prosperous. Such were his virtues that the citizenry asked me to prepare the text of this memorial to his brief rule, with a poem in praise of him, to be erected at the temple of the god he honored. My poem tells that

The God is none other than Chu-jung, and we might appropriately revive the ancient style of "Sire of the South" for him. Before the governor's arrival, the holy services had deteriorated, but his attention to them has brought blessings to the province. Ultimately this was due to the foresight of the Son of Heaven, who chose this his representative. So well has he done in this frontier province, that we may hope for his elevation to the highest post in the nation, that his merits may bring similar good to all the people of T'ang.

Three things are especially worthy of note here. First of all, it is apparent that since worship of the great nature deities was an essential part of the "Confucian" system of belief: religion must have counted with the study of the classics, of philology, of law, and of mathematics,⁷⁵ as an indispensable part of the faith of a good man.

Secondly, the inscription is more a eulogy to a pious magistrate than to the god himself, as if Han Yü found the spirit-king remote and incomprehensible, even though his favorable intervention was necessary to the welfare of the land.

Thirdly, our view of Han Yü as an austere and colorless writer, because of his "old style" theories, must be seriously modified. We imagine that he was hardly likely to employ a fine image unless he had classical precedent for it. In consequence we would look rather among his contemporaries, such as Li Ho

75) See *T'ang liu tien*, 21, 5b and 10a-12a, for the "Confucian" quadrivium.

and Tu Mu, for new metaphors, hardly deeming the search worth while in Han Yü's writings. But he was not as rigid as all that. We find, it is true, such images as "blind wind" — meaning an insensate wind — in the inscription and would think this a fine invention, if it were not an accepted figure which occurs in the old Chou almanac, the *Yüeh ling* 月令. But the art of *selecting* imagery, even old imagery, is also a part of the poet's craft, as is weaving it into an appropriate verbal texture, and Han Yü deserves our praise for matching "blind wind" (instead, for instance, of merely "great wind," a phrase he actually uses in a more prosy descriptive passage elsewhere in the inscription) along with "weird rain," in the context of a natural world diseased from divine displeasure.

But Han Yü has also created some fine figures of his own. These were, of course, embalmed as gray clichés in rhyming dictionaries and source books in later times, to be copied by aspiring poets. Such a one is "vaulted tortoise" (*ch'üung kuei* 穹龜), which seems not ever to have been used before he put it in the text of the inscription. Another such is "dissolved in dappling" (*chieh po* 解駁), used of the sky when a cloudy overcast broke up to show a mottling of open patches. It appears that Han Yü invented this expression too (we find it again in a poem of Mei Yao-ch'ên 梅堯臣 in the eleventh century). Again, when he makes the triumphal drums "shrill and rumble," Han Yü borrows the thin cries of birds and the dull rattling of cart-wheels to suggest the upper and lower registers of the drums, an image new with him, in this form at least. Students of T'ang literature would do well to look into these matters further to obtain an objective idea of Han Yü's talents in the poetic use of language.

In the tenth century, the God of the South Sea was given new dignities, as was appropriate, by Liu Ch'ang 劉鋹, last of the "imperial" rulers of Southern Han, a state enriched, after the fall of T'ang, by the pearl industry and by overseas trade. Its capital was Canton. That monarch, grateful to the spirit who was the source of his wealth, gave him the wonderful rank of "Splendidly Luminous Theocrat" (*Chao ming ti* 昭明帝), entitled his temple "Palace of Intelligence and Justice" (*Ts'ung cheng*

kung 聰正宮), and clothed his image in robes ornamented with dragons and phoenixes.⁷⁶ But when, after ten years of confinement to the north, the armies of the Sung state finally achieved the conquest of Southern Han in 971, a certain Li Fang-chi 李芳繼 was despatched to Canton, where he made offerings to the great god on behalf of his distant sovereign, but degraded the deity from his imperial dignity, reduced his "palace" to the level of an ordinary temple, and changed his fine robes for the costume of a Sung courtier of the first rank.⁷⁷ Thus, in the person of their god, the recently proud and independent Cantonese were symbolically brought to subject status. But although this god never again regained his "theocratic" dignity (no more than did the only independent Cantonese nation), he continued to enjoy an excellent reputation, and was honored by all dynasties down to and including the Ch'ing. His old T'ang title was still used of him in Yüan times,⁷⁸ but among many later changes in it, we may note with especial interest one of 1725, "Splendidly Luminous Dragon Prince of the South Sea 南海昭明龍王之神",⁷⁹ which revived in part his stature of the tenth century, and also plainly endowed him with the venerable qualities of a sea-dragon, overlord of the treasures of Ocean.⁸⁰

The temple of this god, by the seashore near Canton, is reported in one tradition to have been founded by a certain Tung-t'an 董曇 in 535, under the Liang dynasty.⁸¹ But another tradition says that it was first erected rather later in the sixth century, under the first Sui emperor.⁸² We know little of its appearance then or in T'ang times. There was a stele inscribed with a ritualistic text, placed there in the first reign of Hsüan

76) *Yü ti chi sheng* 輿地紀勝, 89, 17a.

77) *Sung shih*, 2, 4500a; *Sung shih*, 102, 4738c.

78) Schafer, in *Oriente Poliano*, p. 73.

79) Mori, *Kanton*, 53.

80) For the post-T'ang history of his cult, see Ch'ü Ta-chün 屈大均 (1630-1696), *Kuang-tung hsin yü* 廣東新語 (ed. with preface of 1700), 6, 7a-8b. The first part of this same account is reproduced verbatim in Li Tiao-yüan 李調元 (1734-1803), *Nan Yüeh pi chi* 南越筆記 (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng*), 4, 62.

81) Mori, *Kanton*, 52.

82) Mori, *Kanton*, 52.

Tsung, early in the eighth century,⁸³ and the stele of Han Yü, added early in the ninth. Su Tung-p'o (in the eleventh century) wrote a poem on the nearby garden pavilion named "Kiosk where the Sun is Bathed," but I can not tell if this structure was as old as T'ang.⁸⁴ Most famous of all the temple furniture is one of a pair of bronze drums (virtually nothing is known of the other). Such bronze drums were the venerated possessions of the chiefs of southern tribes, and regarded as handsome trophies by the conquering Chinese. This one was said to have been found in the tomb of an aboriginal chieftain, and given by Lin Ai 林霽, Grand Protector of Kao-chou, in Kwangtung east of the capital, to Cheng Yin 鄭綱, the high governor and imperial commissioner to the province, stationed at Canton during 811-812, who in turn deeded it to the temple.⁸⁵ Its continued presence there has been documented down through the centuries, and it still exists. The supposed existence of an archaic inscription on this drum was denied by Fang Hsin-ju 方信孺, the Sung scholar, but there is ornamentation in the form of batrachians, whose significance is unknown.

Two great jackfruit trees, relatives of the breadfruits, stand by the sea-gods temple. Their Chinese name (of Indic origin) is Pāramitā-tree (波羅密樹); their scientific name in *Artocarpus integra*.⁸⁶ Fang Hsin-ju says that tradition tells of their planting as seeds in Liang times by a certain Ta-hsi 達奚, who was, according to an inscription of 1135, the brother of Bodhidharma.⁸⁷

83) Fang Hsin-ju (1177-1222), *Nan hai po yung* 南海百詠 (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), p. 20. This text catalogues the stele among the contents of the temple, but it is not mentioned in Wu Lai's fourteenth century inventory (see Schafer, in *Oriente Poliano*, pp. 73-74), and so must have disappeared in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

84) *Yü jih t'ing* 裕日亭. Mori, *Kanton*, p. 53, reproduces the mutilated text of the poem. Fang Hsin-ju gives the alternate name of "Kiosk for Watching the Sea" (*K'an hai t'ing* 看海亭); of this name, we can only say that it is twelfth century or earlier.

85) The story of the discovery of the drum is described in *Ling piao lu i* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), a, 4, in fascinating detail.

86) Fang Hsin-ju says that their proper name is **d'âm-g'ia-kiet* 曇伽結. Can we see here the "Nangka-tree" of Malaya? See I. H. Burkill, *Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula* (London, 1935), p. 253, and Chang Li-ch'ien 張禮千, "Po-lo-mi 波羅密," *Nan-yang hsüeh-pao*, I/2 (1940), 49-53.

87) Fang Hsin-ju, *Nan hai po yung*, p. 21; Mori, *Kanton*, p. 53.

An earthen image of Ta-hsi can still be seen there, but its age is doubtful. As for the trees, we may readily trust their pedigree; one of them bears huge fruits, weighing thirty or forty catties, and containing several hundred seeds.⁸⁸

At various times in its history this temple was restored and given valuable gifts — jade tablets, an ivory whip, a dragon's fang, a piece of asbestos — but these have long since disappeared.⁸⁹ At one time there were also steles bearing dedicatory inscriptions of T'ai Tsung of Sung and of T'ai Tsu of Ming,⁹⁰ but these too have vanished.

88) Mori, *Kanton*, p. 52.

89) For inventories, see Schafer, in *Oriente Poliano*, p. 73; Li Tiao-yüan. *Nan Yüeh pi chi*, p. 62.

90) *Nan Yüeh pi chi*, p. 62.



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THE CONSERVATION OF NATURE UNDER THE T'ANG DYNASTY

BY

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The study of the history of man's knowledge of plants and animals is all the more necessary in that it has been neglected in favor of the study of the development of tools. For instance, as Lewis Mumford has pointed out ¹⁾, knowledge of the modes of reproduction and growth of plants was more necessary to the development of agriculture in Neolithic times than was the invention of such tools as the spade, the hoe, and the plow, around which most conventional notions of "technological history" revolve. In presenting a paper, then, on attitudes towards the preservation of living things and their habitat in medieval China, I hope to redress the balance of interest, if only slightly, in favor of man's direct involvement with the natural world, and away from study of artifacts preserved in museums. It is, of course, necessary to do this through the study of documents.

This paper is divided into two parts. In the first I will discuss some cultural factors which seem to have influenced policy relating to the conservation of nature, and in the second I will discuss some of the particular measures undertaken to make policy effective.

I. MOTIVATIONS

A. *Religion*

In T'ang times, religious attitudes were very important in producing a climate of opinion conducive to explicit plans for conservation. The most prominent features of the natural landscape, in particular the great mountains and rivers, had, since antiquity, been the objects of

¹⁾ "Tools and the Man", *Technology and Culture*, 1/4 (Fall, 1960), 320-334, especially p. 326.

special reverence, and the spirits which presided over them were high objects of worship in the official religion of every Chinese dynasty. The regular sacrifices made to these nature-gods were, by T'ang times at least, not simply acts of worship, but public recognition of the central importance of these entities to human welfare, as we know from surviving literature about them. But the devotional element remained very strong, as when the great eighth century monarch Hsüan Tsung (who was very "conservation-minded", as we would say) stated that since a certain holy mountain was the abode of the immortal Taoist demigods, hearts should be reverent and pure in such a place, and the killing of animals should not be permitted there ¹). It was as if we were to prohibit hunting and fishing on Mt. Shasta in California out of respect for the godlike beings reputed to live in and around it and their aversion to blood and death. This reverence also called for decent care of the precincts of mountain shrines and holy places dedicated to the nature-spirits—as when Hsüan Tsung established a corps of caretakers for this purpose on Mt. Mao, the holy mountain of the Taoists in Kiangsu ²).

Long before the T'ang dynasty, it was customary to treat the precincts of temples, and in particular the grounds around the tombs of the sacred emperors, as natural parks and inviolate refuges, where all living things shared the holy character of the spirit whose sanctuary it was, though such places might serve simultaneously the separate human needs of religion, recreation, and esthetic beauty—an attitude which reminds us of the "multiple use" concept applied to our National Forests. But the T'ang criminal code took a severe view of unauthorized entry of the shrines of the holy dead, and of acts of vandalism committed in the parks surrounding the tombs. The law which penalized wrongful entry into the sanctuary of a royal tomb with two years

1) Hsüan Tsung, „Chin Mao shan ts'ai pu yü lieh ch'ih", *Ch'üan T'ang wen* [hereafter abbreviated as CTW], 36, 14a.

2) Hsüan Tsung, „Chih Mao shan hsiu ch'i hu ch'ih", CTW, 36, 6b-7a. The great pharmacologist T'ao Hung-ching had once lived as a hermit on this mountain. It was the same one where the sovereign prohibited hunting, an act referred to just previously. See n. 1.

at labor for the state ¹⁾ was only one of many which punished trespasses on grounds made taboo by sacred associations, and indeed unwarranted entry of the precincts of the imperial palace were dealt with most severely of all ²⁾. Stealing a plant from a "gardened tumulus" was punished by two and a half years at state labor ³⁾. Over-night guards were stationed at these shrines to prevent just such offenses ⁴⁾. The expression "gardened tumulus" (*yüan ling*) was given to the sacred barrow of a deceased monarch because it was provided with carefully tended gardens at each of its four entrance-ways ⁵⁾. In the eighth century these great mausoleum-parks had become pleasure grounds for the diversion of the gentry, who even presented hunting hawks and dogs to the imperial shrine, to be supported at state expense until wanted for a hunt—Hsüan Tsung, however, put an end to such abuses ⁶⁾. Nonetheless the imperial tombs remained holy parks, full of quiet dignity and beauty. The atmosphere there must have been rather like that in the grounds of our finest medieval cathedrals, though the T'ang burial parks were more extensive. But in troubled times it was not always possible to keep these sacrosanct domains inviolate. Here is the sad record of the fate of an ancient tomb-preserve in the tenth century:

The innermost part of the mount and its gardens has suffered the erection of huts and other buildings by common householders, who stay there to take up residence in them. The terraces and belvederes have all suffered invasion by plowmen, while the thuyas by the walls and the pines by the pathways have been taken for fuel, virtually to the point of their extinction ⁷⁾.

1) Chang-sun Wu-chi, *T'ang lü shu i* [hereafter abbreviated as TLSI] "T'ang Statutes with Expatiations on Meanings" (*Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung shu*, 2nd ed., Shanghai, 1937), 7, 50.

2) TLSI, 8, 63.

3) TLSI, 19, 63. A hundred strokes of the rod was prescribed for similar acts of vandalism at the tombs of persons other than the Son of Heaven.

4) Commentary on TLSI, 27, 47, the section on fires in these precincts.

5) Gloss on TLSI, 19, 63.

6) Hsüan Tsung, "T'ing chu ling kung feng ying kou chao", CTW, 26, 6a-6b.

7) Li Jao, "Tsou ch'i Kung Ling yüan lin ti mou chuang", CTW, 839, 13b. Li Jao held office under Later T'ang. The tomb in question, the Kung Ling, was apparently the tomb of An Ti of Later Han, near Loyang.

Probably the general or systematic conceptions of speculative philosophers and theologians had some effect on government policy about conservation, though it must be assumed that these gave conveniently rationalized explanations of policy. We must look to old customs and religious beliefs to explain the actual human drives which brought about the policy. In the T'ang edicts bearing on these matters, and in the memorials which succeeded in provoking or failed to produce edicts of this sort, the venerable word *jen* "humanity; humane sympathy" is prominent. We call this a "Confucian" virtue, but in T'ang times it was hardly to be distinguished from the life-preserving virtues advocated by the Buddhists and Taoists, and indeed we must regard this respect for life as a trait of the best medieval Chinese morality, for which "Confucianists", Buddhists and Taoists found conventional but appropriate language in their separate but mingling traditions¹). An influential Taoist book said that "Even insects and crawling things, herbs and trees, may not be injured"²), an idea congenial to the followers of Lao-tzu because of their doctrines of non-interference with natural process.

Even more to the point in this connection is the ancient parable of the sea-bird, which Confucius is made to pronounce, uncharacteristically, in the ancient Taoist book of *Chuang tzu*. Although imbued with broader implications, the story can be taken in its narrower

1) We find these tendencies expressed not precisely in the lives and writings of the brothers Ch'eng Hao and Ch'eng I in the eleventh century, beyond the period of this study. But although they were not formally and systematically stated in T'ang, these ideals were present in the beliefs and attitudes of sensitive men of T'ang. The Ch'eng brothers respected the "life impulse" which they found everywhere in nature: "They loved it so intensely that they stopped hunting and refused to cut the grass outside their windows". W. T. Chan, "Review of A. C. Graham, *Two Chinese Philosophers: Ch'eng Ming-tao and Ch'eng Yi-chuan*", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 79 (1959), 150.

2) *T'ai shang kan ying p'ien* (ed. of *T'ai shang kan ying p'ien tsuan i*, an annotated edition by Yü Yüeh (end of nineteenth century), in *Ch'un tsai t'ang ch'üan shu*, 2, 11a. This book was attributed to Lao-tzu, but uses materials from Pao-p'u-tzu, many centuries younger. It is listed in the bibliographical section of the *Sung shih*, and must have been composed between the fourth and the twelfth century. Presumably it shows ideas already current in T'ang times. The text has been much translated into European languages, and has had some influence on the thought of Albert Schweitzer.

meaning as an admonition to protect wild creatures, and more particularly to attend to the unique needs of each species in its ecological setting. In this fable, Confucius speaks to his disciple Yen Yüan¹⁾:

Long ago a sea-bird stopped in the suburb of Lu. The Mark-lord of Lu invited it in, and gave it a goblet of drink in the temple. He had the Ninefold Hymnody²⁾ performed as music for it. He had the Grand Pen³⁾ set out as a repast for it. But the birds' sight was dazed, in its distress and sorrow. It did not venture to eat a single morsel. It did not venture to drink a single cup. After three days it died. Truly this was nurturing a bird with one's own nurture, not at all nurturing a bird with bird's nurture. For indeed if one were to nurture birds with bird's nurture, one would

Let them roost in the deep forest,
Let them roam by seagirt lands,
Let them float on river and lake,
Let them eat of loach and minnow⁴⁾.
They will stop according to row and rank,
And will stay relaxed and free.

For that one, there was only the hateful hearing of human speech—what could it make of such babble? Were the music of the Pool of Hsien or the Ninefold Hymnody displayed in the Wilds of the Grottoed Court⁵⁾,

Birds would fly away on hearing it,
Beasts would run away on hearing it,
Fish would go into the depths on hearing it,

But should men chance to hear it, they would ring round, each by the other, to attend to it. Fishes live if they stay in the water;

1) In the chapter "Chih lê". A shorter version of the parable appears again at the end of the chapter "Ta sheng".

2) The divine music attributed to the primeval god-king Shun.

3) Comprising the major sacrificial animals.

4) *T'iao*. Some dictionaries identify as *Zacco* sp., some as *Parapelecus* sp. It is supposed to be a slender whitish fish. The Chinese name suggests "stick-fish".

5) The sublunary world.

men die if they stay in the water. Necessarily, then, they are different from each other, and their likes and dislikes are ultimately different. So the supermen who preceded us did not take abilities to be uniform, nor affairs to be identical. Naming stopped short with substance; goodness was placed in fitness. That is what we mean when we say "If your basket-wickers go all the way through, your good luck will be held fast".

But the idea of protecting living creatures was equally congenial to the Buddhists, who detested killing. Indeed the T'ang monarch Te Tsung, in an edict aimed at prohibiting the use of Buddhist and Taoist temples as hostels by casual travellers, a common practice in these times, and the restoration of these temples to their pure and pristine condition, gave as a reason the pollution of the shrines by visitors, and put it that, "the two doctrines of Shakya and the Way give fortune and profit to the host of living things"¹). Or again, the custom of releasing living creatures as a token of humane sentiment shown to animals—such as setting caged pigeons and captive fishes free—was and is a characteristic way of displaying Buddhist piety, but it also had pre-Buddhist antecedents in China²). In any case, whether inspired or justified by the scriptures of the several venerable sects, these attitudes must be seen not as specially directed towards plants and animals, but as part of a general humanitarian tendency, equally directed toward human beings. This ideal appears, for instance, in a petition to the throne made in the tenth century, requesting adequate food and drugs for convicts, as required by the Confucian principle of *ien*³). Or, even more notably, the humane Hsüan Tsung, in the eighth century, "...zealous for the name of a lover of life", ordered that the penalty of death by strangulation be abolished, and replaced it by flogging and banishment to Lingnan—a command which was circum-

1) Te Tsung, "Hsiu ch'i szu kuan chao", CTW, 52, 3a.

2) Derk Bodde, "Lieh-tzū and the Doves: A Problem of Dating", *Asia Major*, 7 (1959), 25-31. See A. C. Moule, *Quinsai, with other notes on Marco Polo* (Cambridge, 1957), 35-36, for effect of this custom on the development of game and fish preserves.

3) Han Pao-i, "Ch'ing pi lao chia yao erh tsou", CTW, 852, 1a. This was during Later Chin, shortly after the fall of T'ang.

vented by some magistrates who took care to beat condemned men to death ¹).

B. *Historical Monuments*

The desire to preserve historical remains must be counted among the impulses which were similar to and probably reinforced by the desire to conserve living creatures, as we see in the parallel and related development of National Monuments and National Parks in our own day. It is not surprising to find a great enthusiasm for both kinds of preservation coexisting in the same person. Hsüan Tsung was such a man. We have already mentioned this monarch's passion for the preservation of life and the conservation of nature, and shall have occasion to do so again more than once. He also took great pleasure in visiting ancient ruins, and arranging for their preservation and reconstruction ²). This royal concern, even though not equally developed in all Chinese princes, had a respectable pedigree. The Kings of Chou, before the beginning of the Christian era, had officers whose duty it was to catalogue and explain the historical relics in all parts of their kingdom³), and this reverent interest in the evidences of ancient culture became an important part of the Chinese view of life, associated closely with their great development of historical and philological studies. Sometimes attempts were made to restore old buildings to some semblance of their ancient condition, though these restorations could not often have been accurate. A notable T'ang example was inspired by Wu Tsung, who, in the first year of his reign (A.D. 841), inspected the site of the old Wei-yang Palace of the Han, and ordered it restored ⁴). The authenticity of this fine reconstruction may be questioned, but it was well thought of in the ninth century, and a literary man, P'ei Su, wrote a glowing tribute to it ⁵).

1) *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 215, 152, for A.D. 747.

2) Florence Ayscough, *Tu Fu, the autobiography of a Chinese poet*, I (Boston, New York, London, 1929), 370.

3) *Chou li*, "Ti kuan, Sung hsün".

4) Ch'ang-an chih, 6, 5b (in T. Hiraoka, *Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang*, II, Kyoto, 1956).

5) P'ei Su, "Ch'ung hsiu Han Wei-yang kung chi", CTW, 764, 18b-21b.

C. *Royal Preserves*

Conservation practices develop readily where there is a tradition of ancient aristocratic privilege, such as the inviolability of royal hunting grounds, or even lordly ones. Protected with equal jealousy are natural resources which are of advantage to the state: in China we think of ancient state monopolies on salt and iron. Also, state control may even be anticipated by private understanding of the importance of a natural resource for human welfare. Here is an example: in the second century A.D., a wise governor revived a declining pearl industry in the important fisheries at Ho-p'u in Kwangtung, upon which the natives depended for their welfare, by strict control of the oyster harvest. He was deified for his success¹). In later ages this industry became, from time to time, a state monopoly, and the hero Meng Ch'ang was remembered with greater respect than ever. He was especially remembered in the years between 740 and 760, when, because of mismanagement by greedy officials, the supply of pearls at Ho-p'u was depleted, and the annual allotment for the palace could not be supplied. By careful management, in the tradition of Meng Ch'ang, the pearl ponds began to produce again in 764²). As a result we have three "rhapsodies" (*fu*), each of them taking the words "Not/greed/is/jewel//divine/creatures/themselves/return" as their rhyme scheme³). One of these states as an explicit principle for the guidance of the nation "caution against greed"⁴). Here the need for a luxury product had gradually evoked sentiments linking conservation with prudent management and limited exploitation.

Royal prerogative was also responsible for the development of park reserves and natural gardens, which in turn created a taste for natural beauty among the Chinese. The king and the great barons of the Chou

1) E. H. Schafer, "The Pearl Fisheries of Ho-p'u", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 72 (1952), 156-157.

2) Ning Ling-hsien, "Ho-p'u chu huan chuang", CTW, 438, 5a.

3) By Ling-hu Ch'u, CTW, 539, 1a-2b; Lu Fu-li, CTW, 546; 16a-16b, and Yin Shu, CTW, 619, 12a-12b.

4) Yin Shu, loc. cit.

period had pleasure gardens stocked with all sorts of wild animals and birds¹). The royal animal park was styled "Numinous Menagerie" (or "menagerie of mana-endowed creatures", *ling yu*)—a name which emphasizes the sacred character of a place reserved for wildlife. This ideal was still influential in T'ang times. A writer of the early ninth century, Hsü Yüan-pi, justified the extension of the humane virtues for the benefit of animals on the grounds of the love of antiquity for which the men of T'ang prided themselves: just as we try to model our public buildings on those of the virtuous kings of ancient times, he said, so should our great parks and gardens reflect the models of those of the past, whose holy character required humane treatment of birds and beasts. So, he went on, "...humane administration will inconspicuously be applied, even within His Highness' Park"²), which is to say—hunting and other cruel practices will ultimately have to be curtailed even in the monarch's private hunting park!

Meanwhile, the huge imperial parks of Han had developed from the parks and zoological gardens of the Chou magnates. These were establishments for multiple use—agriculture, grazing, hunting and fishing—but reserved for the ruler and those whom he wished to honor. The smaller garden, an object of esthetic enjoyment, developed gradually in post-Han times. When we come to T'ang we still find the imperial park modelled on that of Han, though on a somewhat smaller scale, and containing within its precincts small gardens and orchards attached to pleasant pavilions and studios. The great T'ang royal park also had many uses; there were hunts for rabbits, adjutant-storks, and white geese, and there were crops of cereals to be taken, and there were even military exercises in them. There were also areas left in their natural state for the free growth of wild flowers and wild animals. At the same time, the idea of the protection of natural regions, both

1) See *Chou li*, "Ti kuan, yu jen". Some commentators think these animals were kept for sacrifices, but, in any case, it seems probable that esthetic pleasure played a very large part. See also E. Erkes, "Vogelzucht im alten China", *T'oung Pao*, 37 (1942), 18-19.

2) Hsü Yüan-pi, "Ling yu fu", CTW, 622, 9b-10a.

for production and enjoyment, was being applied to private country estates and villas, where naturally beautiful landscapes were conjoined with productive fields¹).

Old records, sanctified as eternally edifying classics, also told of the royal officers of late Chou, who carried out the king's will in preserving his woods and waters. Four corps of wardens and their assistants, they said, watched over the mountain forests, the lowland woods, the rivers, and the lakes of the royal domain, to assure controlled harvesting of plants and animals to the advantage of the state. These rangers designated what kinds of creatures were entitled to protection, and the degree of protection to be afforded²). It is likely that similar controls were exercised in the great feudal states of pre-Ch'in times—or, what is more important for later policy, it was believed in medieval times that such controls had been established in the better states of antiquity, in accordance with the sage advice of Mencius, who had instructed the King of Liang to restrict the taking of small fish in his rivers to ensure an abundance of food, and to limit the cutting of trees to guarantee wood in plenty for his people³). Such model rulers of the Confucian age inspired the conservation practices of the sovereigns of T'ang.

D. *Almanacs and Rural Wisdom*

Much feeling for the care of nature in T'ang goes back to another ancient source, the wisdom of the husbandmen of Chou, embodied in official compilations, preserved for posterity chiefly in the *Yüeh ling* "The Monthly Ordinances"⁴). Among the instructions offered in this idealized (and much edited) ancient almanac were many of definitely conservationist character, such as warnings against gathering eggs,

1) This paragraph is based on two important articles on the history of Chinese parks and gardens by Murakami Yoshimi, "Tōdai Chō-an no ōshitsu teien", *Kansai gakuin shigaku*, 3 (June, 1955), 47-63. For the T'ang imperial park and its contents, see also *T'ang liu tien*, 7, 12a-13b.

2) These were the royal offices of Chou styled *shan yü*, *lin heng*, *ch'uan heng*, and *tsue yü*. For details see Edouard Biot, *Le Tcheou-li* (Paris, 1851), I, 185-6, 370-5.

3) Mencius "Liang Hui Wang". Cf. Pol Korrigian, *Causerie sur la pêche fluviale en Chine* (Shanghai, 1909).

4) Preserved as a section in the classic *Li chi*.

destroying nests, and hunting young or pregnant animals ¹⁾. Not only did phrases and ideas from this admirable and respectable source have an enormous influence on the laws and edicts governing T'ang conservation practice, but they also influenced ethical belief in that age, and inspired all sorts of new attempts to protect the natural world from the thoughtless onslaughts of men. This was true above all of the long reign of Hsüan Tsung. Indeed, it appears that the *Yüeh ling* was a more important source of moral conservationism in that period than the doctrines of either the Buddhists or the Taoists. An important outcome of this interest was a new edition of the *Yüeh ling*, issued under official auspices. We now style this edition the *T'ang yüeh ling* ²⁾. It was a radical revision of the ancient text, edited by Hsüan Tsung himself during his first reign. At imperial command, annotations were supplied by the great minister Li Lin-fu and a number of distinguished colleagues. This version of the venerable document fit the astronomical facts of T'ang times better than the received version. What is more important, its very existence testified to the great importance placed upon this old text as evidence of the rightness of sanity, balance, and humane values as central in imperial policy. Li Lin-fu, in a memorial accompanying the presentation of the revised text to his sovereign, stated that the book exemplified the cardinal principle that natural order provided rules for human conduct and ideals for human valuation: It is what we speak of as responsive to Man, while flowing from Heaven" ³⁾. The sovereign himself relied on the principles expressed in the book as authority for an edict of amnesty in honor of the spring-tide, the season of growing life and unconfined rejoicing. Man is related to nature—spring is the season of freedom, when "nothing does not enhance its life in the pursuit of its own nature" ⁴⁾. The *Yüeh ling* provided precedent for the protection of animals as well as men: in

1) These data can be found in other *Li chi* chapters, and in the *Chou li*. See Walter Böttger, "Jagdmagie im alten China", *Sino-japonica* (Festschrift André Wedemeyer zum 80. Geburtstag, Leipzig, 1956), pp. 9-14, esp. 13-14.

2) A modern printing can be found in *T's'ung shu chi ch'eng*.

3) Li Lin-fu, "Chin yü k'an ting Li chi Yüeh ling piao", CTW, 345, 18b-19b.

4) Hsüan Tsung, "Ch'un ling hsing she chih", CTW, 21, 8a-8b.

another enactment limiting hunting during the breeding season, Hsüan Tsung announced:

It may always be said that humanity and compassion are basic to all bringing up and fostering; how true this is of the "Ordinances of Spring", whose sense is harmony with emerging life! Since, in the Subcelestial Realm, gathering and catching should clearly be taken from this ancient code, we stringently apply interdict and severance to them. Let this be announced and spread both Within and Without! Let all understand Our Intent ¹⁾!

E. *Urban Influence*

As the world outside the cities came to be regarded as providing desirable places of retreat for sensible men, such men began to think about how they might render the wilderness temporarily habitable on decent and even esthetic terms, congenial to their advanced tastes. While this might sometimes mean trimming nature to fit arbitrary conceptions of beauty or to provide facilities for recreation, it meant above all that the best standards of neatness, cleanliness, and hatred of vandalism, would be transferred from the city to the countryside. How much this was so can only be guessed. But men of T'ang *did* concern themselves with making the public places of their cities pleasant for living and working. The statutes, for instance, imposed harsh penalties on persons who let filthy matter drain from their residences into the streets ²⁾. It is not surprising to find that civic morality was especially well developed under Hsüan Tsung. That noble-hearted monarch, for instance, issued an edict declaring that since his two capitals should be worthy of him, the streets and market-places should be kept free of pollution and in good repair; excavations where dirty water and other foul materials might accumulate were forbidden, and severe restraints were put on the extension of ditches, walls, and the

¹⁾ Hsüan Tsung, "Chin i lieh chao", CTW, 32, 8b.

²⁾ TLSI, 26, 36. Sixty strokes of the rod was the punishment; a magistrate who failed to punish the guilty party was deemed equally guilty.

like, to the detriment of the good appearance of the great cities ¹). He also instituted a campaign for the beautification of his two metropolises by the planting of fruit-trees along their streets and walls ²). Such acts as these must have stimulated the kind of respect for one's surroundings which extends the sentiment for more natural and attractive environments to include forests and fields—as when we extend antipathy to littered city streets to dislike for littered camp-sites, and so achieve love of nature uncontaminated by any blights at all, whether they be byproducts of technology or otherwise.

Like some of the arts, some aspects of nature conservation are most cherished and will flourish best in times of prosperity, when the struggle for adequate conditions of subsistence are not paramount in men's minds. After a climax of official enactments for urban renewal and nature conservation during Hsüan Tsung's reign, there was a marked decline in both spheres. These virtuous laws and edicts were, it seems, produced by stable and prosperous times, when men could look beyond immediate economic necessity to higher "cultural" needs.

Other byproducts of stable civilization and advanced technology must have had their effects on ideas of conservation. For example, Aldous Huxley has observed that

Nature worship is a product of good communications. In the seventeenth century all sensible men disliked wild nature. One has only to read Pepys' account of a country tour to understand the reason why. . . Poets responded to the invitation of the engineers. . . It was only after the making of the roads that people begin to hold up their hands and bless the country ³).

This relationship between convenient roads and love of nature must have held good in medieval China. But our knowledge of the civilization of T'ang is still not sufficiently advanced to allow a precise

1) Hsüan Tsung, "Hsiu cheng chieh ch'ü fang shih chao", CTW, 30, 11b-12a.

2) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 9, 3085a. This was in A.D. 740 [References to the dynastic histories are given for the K'ai ming edition.]

3) Aldous Huxley, *Beyond the Mexique Bay* (New York and London, 1934), pp. 126-7.

statement of its character. Though the seventh and eighth centuries produced better roads (we note particularly the great new road to the port of Canton built in Hsüan Tsung's reign), we can only assume that this sort of work led to an increased interest in living close to forests and rivers and wild creatures. On the other hand, we have no evidence at all that the men of T'ang longed for the inaccessible wildernesses of the Tibetan alps or for the roadless fastnesses of Kweichow.

F. *Esthetic Ideals*

In T'ang the love of natural beauty was already mature. It was exemplified in several popular arts, such as literature, painting, and gardening. Reciprocal influences were at work here: admirers of nature as transformed by an artist could the more easily be attracted to nature itself, and vice versa. These interests in turn would help to bring about a climate of opinion favorable to conservation.

"We rejoice in the notable mountains and great rivers, desiring to give stability to our persons". So wrote Li Hua in the eighth century, and indeed the therapeutic effects of a natural environment will have been as important to a cultivated urbanite as the purely esthetic ones. As for these former, they included the exhilarating sense of being part of a natural order, and as for the latter they included not only visual effects, but even auditory ones—we have an essay written by Li Chieh on the love of the sounds of water¹). It appears that a body of opinion about acceptable behavior in natural surroundings was growing along with these attitudes. We have, for instance, a list of acts of desecration written by Li Shang-yin in the ninth century. He condemns such graceless deeds as spreading a mat over living moss and cutting down a weeping poplar, or erecting a building with its back to a mountain view, as harmful to natural scenery and so to be avoided by cultivated men²). In this way conceptions of beauty led to acts of conservation.

Such tendencies as these will have been reinforced by the existence

1) Li Chieh, "Shui lê shuo", CTW, 383, 1a.

2) Li Shang-yin, *I-shan tsa tsuan* (T'ang tai ts'ung shu, 17, 5a-5b).

of sources of natural medication, such as hot springs¹). Visits to mercurial or sulphurous baths, in fine natural surroundings, must have encouraged the patient to appreciate and therefore to conserve such spots, blessed by the gods, and health-giving in more than one way.

G. *Scientific Aims*

The desire to preserve natural conditions of life, for such scientific purposes as the study of the habits and habitats of living creatures, or to gain other sorts of knowledge, as a motive for conservation measures, did not, it seems, exist for the men of T'ang.

II. RESULTS

A. *Water*

"All created beings arise from water and earth". "Now earth is the radix and origin of the myriad beings, the root and matrix of the several living things...and water is the blood and pneuma of the earth, flowing throughout as if through sinews or veins"²). Conformably to such principles, it was the traditional duty of the Son of Heaven to assure a constant supply of water for his people from its apparent ultimate source, rain—the heaven-sent fluid which supplied the rivers and lakes of T'ang first of all, and secondarily its canals and ditches. There were many ways in which the sovereign was expected to play his part in assuring this supply—above all, by praying for rain in times of drought. We have a number of edicts and other official documents from the reign of Hsüan Tsung which indicate how serious was this monarch's interest in these life-giving rituals. Once, during a serious drought in north China, he "...personally prayed for rain in the palace; he erected an altar and stood exposed on a mat for three days"³).

1) See E. H. Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs in Ancient and Medieval China and the History of the Floriate Clear Palace", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 76, (1956), 65-66.

2) Li Chao, *T'ang kuo shih pu* (*Hsüeh chin t'ao yüan*), c, 20a, and *Kuan tzu*, "Shui ti p'ien", respectively.

3) E. H. Schafer, "Ritual Exposure in Ancient China", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 14 (1951), 136.

Even if, in our enlightened age, we doubt the efficacy of such procedures, we must count them among medieval conservation practices. Indeed, some of our own, equally well-intentioned, have proved just as futile. The deities to whom overtures such as these were directed were the great spirit-kings who inhabited and presided over the mountains, lakes, rivers and seas of T'ang. Not only the monarch, but his many magistrates in the provinces, were required to pray to these powerful beings, asking them to balance the natural energies whose interactions determined the allotment of the divine waters. It was with such an end in view that the minister Chang Yüeh, for instance, because of the destruction of the harvest by late rains, prayed for clear weather to the god of the Yangtze River. His supplication began with these words:

Great Kiang, steadily streaming,
Disposer of the South Country!
Make the numina concordant—
Give the pneumas passageway—
Bring down fortune—
Fend off disaster—¹⁾

Equally involved with the river spirits in the heavy responsibility of providing adequate water were the cloud-girded gods of the great mountains. They could be assisted in a practical way by state measures for watershed protection. The men of T'ang had a lively awareness of the importance of a good snow-pack for the production of seasonable water in the irrigation ditches. We have a letter of congratulation presented by the great minister Chang Chiu-ling to Hsüan Tsung, offering congratulations on a late snowfall, because, he wrote, "since wintertime there has been little snow, and millet and wheat have not proliferated"²⁾.

It was also common knowledge that the denudation of mountain slopes meant the dissipation of the nation's water resources. This

1) Chang Yüeh, "Chi Chiang ch'i ching wen", CTW, 233, 10a.

2) Chang Chiu-ling, "Ho hsüeh chuang", CTW, 289, 7a.

explains an edict of Hsüan Tsung interdicting wood-cutting for fuel on the slopes of Mt. Li, near his capital city—a place also valuable for its healing mineral springs:

Mount Li [Black-horse Mountain],
 Peaks and tors bountifully upstanding,
 Looks down from near our suburb and demesne.
 Above, it divides the position *Ken* ¹⁾,
 So always perfuses clouds to create rains;
 Below, it emerges from hooded springs,
 Which wash out perverse beings, clean out wasting sickness.
 Indeed it is a place where numina and sylphs reside,
 A place looked up to by our domain and country.
 It is worthy of enlistment with the "Concourse of Prospects," ²⁾
 Of chronicling with the "Integral Orders." ³⁾
 From now and hereafter
 Let the gathering of fuel be taboo there!
 Consider that a sealed precinct!
 Declare our will in this! ⁴⁾

Knowledgeable sentiments such as these created the royal preserves for the protection of watersheds (and, in this instance, for the preservation of useful mineral resources as well). We might suppose that imperial whim was the only source of such action. But revered tradition had guaranteed similar protection to other heights, even though few regimes enforced it as strictly as that of Hsüan Tsung. The T'ang code of institutes states:

On all the Five Sacred Mountains and on the Notable Mountains which are capable of gathering numina and of giving birth to extra-

1) One of the symbolic hexagrams, meaning "resistant; mountain; the northeast corner". Here apparently the reference is to its significance in geomancy—its position relative to the capital city.

2) The holy mountains, officially regarded as worthy of worship.

3) The regular rites, regarded in T'ang as proceeding in a normal sequence through the year.

4) Hsüan Tsung, "Chin Li shan ch'iao ts'ai ch'ih", CTW, 34, 7a-7b.

ordinary things, which can raise clouds and bring rain, having advantage for mankind, all gathering of fuel is interdicted, while prayers and sacrifices shall be made in season there ¹⁾).

As yet we have no idea how systematically this concept of the inviolability of the great and holy sources of water was extended through the remoter parts of the T'ang empire. There had been royal officers in charge of water reservoirs since Chou times ²⁾, but I have found no evidence of the extent of official programs or acts concerned with the storage of run-off in T'ang. Yet it is clear that water storage was important. We know this from literary references to the great spiritual worth of stored water. A writer of Hsüan Tsung's reign named Wang Ling-jan wrote a number of poetic studies of water, a subject which seems to have absorbed him. This kind of concern has the characteristic flavor of Hsüan Tsung's golden days—natural beauty and its preservation were in the air everywhere. Among Wang's writings we have a "Rhapsody on Still Water", in which he praises quiet water both for its esthetic qualities and for the moral attributes which it suggests and presumably inculcates ³⁾. In stored water, he writes,

Waves are settled and do not move;
It does not contend with wild creatures.

The surface of still water suggests to the ruler that

He should make his regime open and level;
He should make his heart clear to the utmost.

But stored water has practical advantages too, as compare with running water:

Water in its native virtue is long extended,
Water in its applied utility occurs in masses.

1) *T'ang liu tien*, 7, 25Ab.

2) *Chou li*, "Ti kuan, Tao jen".

3) Wang Ling-jan, "Chih shui fu", CTW, 294, 8b-9b. There is another *fu* with the same title by Liu Ch'ing, also written during the K'ai yüan period, in CTW, 395, 30a-39b.

Dispersed, it makes clouds and rain,
 Impounded, it makes tarns and tanks.

To the poet, however, the beauty of motionless water is its greatest asset:

Waving trees are shadowed on blue banks,
 Fallen mountains shine in cyan tarns.

And,

Bank it up and it will not flow away,
 Cover it over so it may not burst free,
 And it will shine back the creatures of spring,
 just like on a painted screen,
 And it will reflect the clear void,
 no differently than a shining mirror.

Here impounded agricultural water merges with the garden pool, and the farmer's tank is transformed into a quiet refuge. Or rather, the poet finds moral, utilitarian and esthetic worth in all artificial lakes.

Since antiquity too, the Chinese had been deeply concerned with such public works as dike- and canal-building for irrigation, and, conversely, for drainage and flood-control. Surprisingly, public officers of quite low rank controlled the waters of T'ang¹⁾; they also administered the allied businesses of water transport, bridges, fords, mills, and fishing. Their function seems to have been mainly supervisory, however, and the real work of maintaining canals and other water-works was in the hands of local farmers' associations²⁾. These co-operative groups were capable of great undertakings, however, when properly organized, as when the water supply in the lower Yangtze region, newly become a chief source of the nation's cereals, was developed under that great conservator, Hsüan Tsung³⁾.

1) Especially the Tu-shui-chien. See *T'ang liu tien*, 23, 22a; R. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires et traité de l'armée*, I (Leiden, 1947), 129-130, 490-495; Denis Twitchett, "Some remarks on irrigation under the T'ang", *T'oung Pao*, 48 (1960), 175-194.

2) D. Twitchett, "The Fragment of the T'ang Ordinances of the Department of Waterways discovered at Tun-huang", *Asia Major*, n.s. VI (1957), 24-38; D. Twitchett, 1960, 184-187.

3) Twitchett, 1960, 189.

B. *Field and Forest*

The triple motives of utility, morality, and beauty, which encouraged the conservation of water in T'ang—and must, apparently, be present together among men anywhere to produce effective conservation programs—did not suffice to save the forests of China, even though reinforced by conventional piety and royal privilege.

The useful plants of China, whether wild or cultivated, had always been subject to both natural and man-made calamities, and the rulers of China had repeatedly taken thought about how the effects of such disasters might be reduced. According to *Kuan tzu*, the ancient treatise on the economy of government, "He who would manage the country well must first rid it of the Five Injurious Things...water is one injury; drought is one injury; wind, fog, hail and frost are one injury; epidemic disease is one injury; insects are one injury"¹). Ancient belief made floods, earthquakes, locust plagues and the like dependent on the virtues of the ruler, regarding them as symbolic heaven-sent visitations. Accordingly, the best conservation methods would be preventative, and would consist in good government, proper ritual, and noble conduct on the part of the monarch. But even though this venerated belief could not be openly repudiated by a T'ang emperor, it could be supplemented by secular methods of prevention, as when Hsüan Tsung ordered the local magistrates in Shantung to undertake the eradication of locust larvae lest they come to maturity and ravage the land once more²).

The forests of China were a resource of over-increasing importance as the population increased, and some measures were taken by the government to save parts of them from destruction. Fire prevention was an important concern, and therefore many laws to punish arson, or rather to punish purposeful or careless loosing of fires, were enacted; intent was not considered. Persons responsible for conflagrations in the groves around imperial tumuli and other holy places were punished

1) *Kuan tzu*, "Tu ti p'ien".

2) Hsüan Tsung, "Pu huang chao", CTW, 27, 6b-7a.

with especial severity ¹⁾. These were only a few among a considerable number of statutes concerned with fires; others were aimed against the unseasonable burning of fields, and against making fires alongside of public roads ²⁾. The penalties were always most severe when government (i.e. sacred) property, such as the woods about royal tombs, was concerned.

Trees were seriously endangered in other ways, chiefly by the search for economic profit. An important drain on this resource was the need for timber (always cutting the closest at hand) for the homes and public buildings of a nation whose architecture was primarily executed in wood. Fuel gatherers were even worse—we have already seen how, in some places, the work of woodcutters was restricted in order to prevent the erosion of watersheds. Sometimes even city parks and avenues suffered because of the demand for fuel. For example, certain officials in the capital city devised a scheme to finance donatives for the imperial troops, at a time when firewood was dear and silk was cheap, by cutting down the trees which embellished the city, and exchanging the wood for textiles at great profit ³⁾. Or the immediate advantage gained from cutting trees might be entirely secondary, as when the “water cypresses” (*shui po*, unidentified) growing by a certain saline pool were cut illegally, because it was cheaper to recover commercially valuable salt from their ashes than to extract it from the soil ⁴⁾.

The most civilized of all arts, however, was responsible for the deforestation of much of north China. The best source of black ink for the clerks and scholars of the nation was soot, made by burning pine ⁴⁾. Even before T'ang times, the ancient pines of the mountains

1) TLSI, 27, 47. State labor for two years was the penalty for causing any fire in such a place; if it caught among the trees the punishment was exile to a distance of 2000 *li*.

2) TLSI, 27, 48.

3) *T'ang shu*, 88, 3893d.

4) Anon., “Ch'ing chin tao ts'ai shui po ch'ai hui tsou”, CTW, 966, 1b-2a.

5) In Sung times, the carbon began to be obtained by burning various kinds of oil, both vegetable and mineral. This, and other information on ink production here, comes from eleventh century sources: Ch'ao Yüeh-chih, *Mo ching* (*Ts'ung shi ch'eng*), 2-3; Shen Kua, [*Hsin chiao cheng*] *Meng ch'i pi t'an* (Peking, 1957), 24, 234.

of Shantung had been reduced to carbon, and now the busy brushes of the vast T'ang bureaucracy were rapidly bringing baldness to the T'ai-hang Mountains between Shansi and Hopei ¹⁾.

The only hope for recovery would have been a national plan for reforestation. But the medieval forests must still have seemed inexhaustible. Though we read of state encouragement of the planting of useful domestic trees, such as the mulberry on which the silkworms lived ²⁾, and of plantings of forest trees by private individuals, there is little else. The ideas and feelings which moved one Ts'ui Tun-li of the early seventh century to undertake his own program of reforestation appear in a poetic essay ³⁾ about pine seedlings he had planted in the mountains. It takes the form of a dialogue between himself and a visitor who thinks his efforts wasted on such slow-growing trees. The poet's justification shows typical T'ang attitudes about growing things, and develops typically into a moral lesson or parable. Here are two excerpts from the essay which have some significance for the medieval history of conservation in China:

There are trees which, having luxuriated quickly, are the first to topple,

And there are creatures which, having proliferated speedily, are suddenly worn out.

We set out peach and plum to flower early;

We plant elm and willow for easy shade;

The Mongol Oak, split for faggots, thrives all the more;

The Ailanthus, pruned for fuel, comes back to life.

But all of these

Will break and snap as aftermath of flying snow,

Will be consumed to the heart by a spell of severe frost.

Take the pine, on the other hand:

Its trunk resists wind and thunder,

1) Our Sung sources say that the greater part of the pine groves of the T'ai-hang range, of the mountains east of Loyang in Honan, and of Kiang-nan (south of lower part of the Yangtze) were removed by the eleventh century.

2) Hsien Tsung, "Ch'üan chung sang chao", CTW, 60, 6a-6b.

3) Ts'ui Tun-li, "Chung sung fu", CTW, 135, 17a-18b.

Its roots split cliff and rock...

How then indeed can such as this be compared with the mediocre stock of the mass of trees?

In conclusion, the author says that quick results do not make for lasting value—as with man, the pine seedlings must be nurtured inch by inch, feeble as they may appear at first, to produce robust, sturdy and useful trees. The distant and noble end justifies the discouraging and painstaking beginning. But much more than this was needed—still, even in the conservation-conscious twentieth century (as we deem it) we have been unable to save most of our forests.

C. *Animals*

Attempts to limit or prohibit the slaughter of animals, whether tame or wild, always met the opposition of ancient custom and entrenched privilege, and although some rulers and magistrates of T'ang made sincere efforts to protect them, in the end their labors came to little. "Spring is life, autumn is death—this is the unchanging way of heaven". So wrote an official, quoting ancient doctrine against a proposal to forbid the slaughter of animals, opposing equally old sanctions preserved in the *Yüeh ling*, which pointed the other way. This same man emphasized the importance of hunting in Chinese custom and economy, urging that in places where people depended on hunting and fishing for a livelihood, human suffering would ensue if the new proposals were followed ¹). The need for flesh as food was probably the most powerful argument against the protection of living creatures, though then as now it is likely that, with the exception of fish, most animals eaten were domestic animals, except on aristocratic tables. But economic interests also prevented the protection of kingfishers, whose feathers were used in jewelry ²), of muskdeer, which provided a popular scent for ladies of fashion, of martens, whose furs gave style to martial

1) Ts'ui Jung, "Tuan t'u i", CTW, 219, 13a-13b.

2) In 1107, in Sung times, an imperial edict finally put an end to the slaughter of these birds, whose plumage was then in vogue woven into a fine brocade. See F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua* (1911), 235.

hats, and of alligators, whose tough hides were used to cover drums. And a thousand other species were wanted too for the several parts of their bodies which were found to be useful. In particular, the flourishing trade in drugs had a place for every fragment of animal bodies, even the most offensive. Or again, the upper classes, especially when they had imperial example to go by, were reluctant to give up the old and respectable sport of hunting with hawks and hounds.

Animals were also killed for superstitious reasons, because they were thought to be ill-omened, or a present danger to man¹⁾. Consequently inoffensive creatures were killed out of fear, along with dangerous ones. So the animal population of T'ang, already perishing as its natural habitat vanished over huge areas because of the destruction of the ancient forests, was reduced all the more rapidly by the credulous enmity of mankind. Contrariwise, we could wish to know more about the preservation of living beings, whether plant or animal, for reasons which might be styled collectively "symbolic"—the preservation, for instance, of animals regarded as lucky, as well as the extermination of those regarded as ill-omened: the motives behind such operations are allied to those which preserve (or destroy) for reasons of national pride or religious awe. But this is a whole new field of scholarship, still untouched.

Against such powerful agencies the efforts of other men to conserve a useful resource, or a thing of beauty, or simply to save life out of humanitarian conviction, availed little in the long run. Inevitably some species were hounded into extinction, and others became very rare. Humane motives seem to have been much stronger in mid-T'ang, especially during Hsüan Tsung's reign, than in most other periods. In that enlightened age, though archery was still considered one of the six noble arts of antiquity, there was someone to say against it that "...one does not harm creatures for one's one advantage",²⁾ a principle

1) Superstition can also preserve life-forms. So the European White Stork is protected from Holland to the Balkans because of association with childbirth, but has been driven out of France where the folk belief does not exist. In China, magpies and their nests were encouraged because men believed them lucky.

2) Fen Hsi-yen, "Liu i fu", CTW, 282, 24b-26a.

which had much wider implications than simple opposition to hunting with bow and arrow. This sentiment against wanton injury to living things was extended equally to domestic animals. Dogs were particularly favored, as they are with us. One T'ang writer, grieving over the execution of a dog, wrote a eulogy in which he praised that animal's native intelligence, its barking at strangers, its tail-wagging for someone who loves it, its ability to carry documents over a long distance, and its usefulness in running down the wily hare. The author is determined to follow the Taoist patriarchs in "fostering what is plain, and keeping whole what is true", that is, in protecting animals and their natural virtues ¹). Hsüan Tsung forbade the butchering of horses, cows and mules, citing ancient precedent from the classic of *Mencius* ²). On another occasion he interdicted the killing of dogs and chickens, in this language:

Dogs, as guardians and defenders, and chickens, which watch for the daybreak, have utility for mankind comparable to that of other domestic animals. We may rightly make the virtue of loving life extend everywhere, and, from now on, the slaughter and killing of these will in no case be allowed ³).

Though royal mandates such as these must have seemed sheer lunacy to a majority of the people, there were still many humane-minded persons who were distressed by cruelty and vandalism of all kinds, and even hated infringements on the freedom of animals, as the man who wrote of a caged bird: "Why not open its golden cage, so that it may fly off, to swoop and soar forever in the Cloudy Han! ⁴)" Perhaps Buddhism was responsible—and we may wonder whether the revived interest in the indigenous conservation and humanitarian principles of the *Yüeh ling* may not ultimately have been due to Buddhism. But then as now, of course, the love of life sometimes led to bizarre conclusions, as when a minister asked that a lion, sent to the emperor as a gift from Arabia, be returned forthwith, because many smaller animals

1) Li Tzu-jen, "Shang pi ch'üan fu", CTW, 955, 12b-13a.

2) Hsüan Tsung, "Chin t'u sha ma niu lu chao", CTW, 27, 15a.

3) Hsüan Tsung, "Chin t'u sha chi ch'üan chao", CTW, 26, 1a.

4) Ts'ui Ming-yün, "Hung tsui wu fu", CTW, 303, 24b.

would have to be killed to feed it, a requirement alien to the sovereign's humane character¹). Then there was the courtier who opposed a decree to exterminate locusts, since these were living creatures which the monarch was bound to love like all others²).

The most serious controversies arose over hunting. Attempts to abridge what seemed a natural right aroused bitter debate, even though immemorial custom did not permit hunting at *any* season. The institutes governing the "Ranger's Division" of the central government in the first half of the eighth century, following the ancient recommendations of the *Yüeh ling*, which placed definite limitations on hunting seasons, went as follows:

All gathering and catching, field-sports and hunts, must be in accordance with the season. At the junction of winter and spring, the water "crawlers" teem and breed—implements for catching fish shall not be set out in river and mere. At the junction of spring and summer, the land game teems and breeds—drugs for feeding beasts should not be put into plain and wild. When summer sprouts are fullest, one may not light the cressets. Should there be damage by tiger or leopard, by dhole or wolf, one need not hold fast to the season: it is permitted to make pens and pitfalls, and if any be captured we shall reward him variably, much or little as appropriate³).

Interpreted specifically, this was taken to mean that in the first, fifth, and ninth months of each lunar year, all catching and killing of wild animals was forbidden. We also have many T'ang edicts against the slaughter of birds, domestic animals and even fish, for limited periods, but especially on fast days⁴). In addition, no hunting was permitted at any time within 300 *li* of the two capitals, Ch'ang-an and

1) Yao Shou, "Ch'ing ch'üeh Ta-shih kuo hsien shih-tzu shu", CTW, 169, 16b.

2) Yao Ch'ung, "Ta pu huang tsou", CTW, 206, 4b-5a.

3) *T'ang liu tien*, 7, 24b-25Aa. Four pieces of pongee were paid by the government for each trap built in a region harassed by wild beasts. There was a bounty of one piece for each leopard, wolf or dhole killed, and a half piece for each cub. Cf. Hsüan Tsung, "Chin i lieh ts'ai pu chao", CTW, 33, 12b, for an edict giving reasons for the interdiction at the beginning summer.

4) *T'ang hui yao (T'sung shu chi ch'eng)*, 41, 731-4.

Lo-yang. These places were, in effect, game refuges, like the imperial tombs and sacred mountains ¹). It is evident that these rules were not always in force, or were differently enforced in different periods. So, early in the ninth century, Hsien Tsung was obliged to issue a special edict against hunting for foxes and rabbits in the winter in the vicinity of Ch'ang-an:

This is deeply offensive to the Way and its Pattern, and since it opposes the nature of Heaven and also makes labor for the strength of men, from now and hereafter, it is right that we terminate it in every case ²).

We have also an edict of Wen Tsung, issued a few years later, which takes note that aristocratic parties had been hunting with dogs and hawks in the vicinity of the capital city during early summer and orders local magistrates to arrest the offenders ³). This pronouncement shows concern for the safety of growing crops, however, rather than that of young animals.

But no T'ang ruler was more concerned for the welfare of non-human creatures in his realm than Hsüan Tsung. Alarmed at the number of growing creatures destroyed by hunters and fishers in two townships, he forbade them to practice their arts on a much hunted upland, which he then renamed "Slope of Broadened Humanity", and in a much fished pool, which he retitled "Pool of the Fortunate Source", in order that (to use his own words) "the humanity of the Great Way be extended to all beings" ⁴). Hsüang Tsung also promulgated an edict abolishing the wide-spread practice of building bamboo weirs and fishgarths for taking fish—presumably because the harvest was too complete when these devices were used ⁵).

1) Apparently this prohibition was in effect in all seasons. It applied also to fishing. See Rotours, I, 494.

2) Hsien Tsung, "Chin pu hu t'u chao", CTW, 60, 10a. These particular hunts were done under the auspices of local magistrates to obtain gifts for the court at the winter sacrifice. Cf. *T'ang shu*, 7, 3651d.

3) Wen Tsung, "Chin i lieh shang t'ien miao chao", CTW, 71, 17a.

4) Hsüan Tsung, "Chin ts'ai pu chao", CTW, 32, 13b-14a.

5) *T'ang hui yao*, 41, 732. This was in A.D. 730.

Local magistrates in some cases at least, seem, to have taken pains to enforce the statutes limiting hunting. We know this from a handful of texts giving judicial decisions preserved from the T'ang period ¹⁾. These officers must have been partly influenced by royal example and partly by literature, especially by the poets. An instance was a judgement of expulsion from office of a magistrate who had shot a monkey from a boat in the Yangtze gorges. The judge, in confirming this sentence, praised the natural beauty of the gorges, and condemned the killing as contrary to the best moral principles ²⁾. We see here a rather sophisticated conception of the relationship between respect for life and love of natural beauty.

A special kind of opposition to hunting came from the privy counsellors of state, who sometimes took it upon themselves to advise their lord to refrain from the chase, either as a frivolous or as a wasteful activity, or because it put the monarch in peril of his life. The great T'ai Tsung was very fond of hunting, and was therefore subject to severe criticism on such ground by his counsellors Wei Cheng and Yü Shih-nan ³⁾. When that lusty lord was reproved by his aged advisor Ch'u Liang for engaging in great hunting expeditions (beyond the classically approved hunts for rabbits and birds) as dangerous, the old man used a typical argument: if a savage beast should attack the hunting party, "a single shot from a powerful crossbow would not always subdue its baleful heart" ⁴⁾. Even Hsüan Tsung, for all his love of living things, did not always abstain from joining the hunt, and he too was admonished lest he fall from his carriage, or be struck by a stray arrow, or be injured by the quarry:

Beasts, if desperate, will claw,

Birds, if desperate, will pounce ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ E.g. judgment on a man for "killing birds and beasts", CTW, 983, 11a-11b, and on a man for hunting so as to "...do violence to the creatures of Heaven, and also violate the seasonal taboos", CTW, 976, 13a.

²⁾ CTW, 983, 9a-9b.

³⁾ Wei Cheng, "Chien ko meng shou piao", CTW, 139, 2b-3b; Yü Shih-nan, "Chien lieh shu", CTW, 138, 7a-7b.

⁴⁾ Ch'u Liang, "Chien lieh piao", CTW, 147, 1b-2b.

⁵⁾ Ts'ui Hsiang, "Chien Hsüan Tsung tien lieh shu", CTW, 302, 16a-16b.

In some of these official admonitions we may detect the covert fear of regicide—that a hunting accident might be arranged. But the attitudes expressed by such zealous ministers as these could hardly have influenced the climate of opinion in regard to conservation. On the other hand, the more timid mind of Kao Tsung, T'ai Tsung's successor, which was naturally opposed to field sports, could bring about an interdiction of gifts of "dogs, horses, goshawks and falcons" to himself as "contrary to the Way and its Order"¹). Whatever his motivation, such an enactment would tend to support other drives towards conserving wild life.

D. *Soils and Minerals*

Other than canal- and dyke-building activities, laws protecting important watersheds, and the use of fertilizers to replenish agricultural land, I know of no measures undertaken in T'ang to conserve the soil. There was lively appreciation, however, of the importance of the earth to living things in general and the welfare of T'ang in particular. We have two "rhapsodies" on the subject of "Earth" which survive from that age. One was written by Lü T'ai-i, apparently early in the eighth century. In these the earth is seen partly in its metaphysical character as the great originator of living things which "contains the Creatures and Spews forth the Images", but one author also states, more practically, that "the myriad nations reap profit from it", and that it "has jade and other stones stored in its embrace"¹). In the ninth century, Wei Hsiu wrote of the earth as maintainer of mountains and rivers, nurturer of useful crops, and as containing the roots of all living things. He regarded the greatness of T'ang as deriving from the dynasty's adherence to the "Earth" principle. But the belief was ineffectual in policy.

The most important of minerals to the Chinese was salt. Late in the eighth century, Liang Su wrote: "Tradition tells that mountains, meres,

1) Kao Tsung, "Chin hsien ying ch'üan chao", CTW, 11, 23b.

2) Lü T'ai-i, "T'u fu", CTW, 295, 18b-19b.

3) Wei Hsiu, "T'u fu", CTW, 792, 9a-10a.

forests, and salt are the treasures of the nation”¹). But whatever measures might be undertaken for the conservation of the first three of these, whose depletion could be observed, the supply of salt in ocean, desert and mines seemed inexhaustible, and no attempts were made to control its production, aside from the government monopoly, whose aim was fiscal rather than conservational. And conscious as the men of T’ang were of the value of their mineral resources, I have found no evidence of attempts to limit the exploitation of other minerals. Mines, it seems, were simply worked to exhaustion, or until it was uneconomical to work them further. This is our own method.

To sum up: all of the psychological conditions necessary to produce sound policy for the protection of nature, both as an economic and esthetic resource, were present in T’ang times. But though enlightened monarchs issued edicts, conformable to the best morality of their times, these were ignored by their successors. In short, there was no permanent embodiment of these advanced ideas in constitutional forms. And so they were ultimately ineffective.

1) Liang Su, “Yen ch’ih chi”, CTW, 519, 9a-10a.

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The last Years of Ch'ang-an

By Edward H. Schafer

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Ch'ang-an was one of the great cities of the world, belonging with Babylon, Rome, London and a few others. In the eighth century it was surely the most splendid and cultured city on earth. Its origins are hidden in the mists of tribal mythology, and the contours and character of the fabulous ancestral town of the conquering founders of Chou, who raged through the lowlands in their war-chariots, are a shadowed mystery. We can see the town more clearly when revived, after half a millenium of neglect, to become the grand, barbaric capital of early Han, lacquered and gilded, thronged with pedants, sorcerers, augurs, and cameleers. After another long interval it became the luxurious metropolis of T'ang, crowded with princely mansions, flowered pleasancess, holy shrines, and international bazaars. Then in the tenth century, it was an almost forgotten town, and so it has remained until our own day. After two thousand years of checkered glory — a thousand years of ignominy. The century of transition was the ninth. What happened? The abstract economic and political causes are well known. Here are only the concrete and visible signs of the city's deterioration late in the ninth century, after a hectic refflorescence, and its death at the beginning of the tenth. These are the signs which all men could see, and to which they had to adjust their lives, their ideas, their imaginations, and their emotions.

I. The Ancient City

The great towns of antiquity have been grouped in two classes, according to the way in which they were fortified against invasion. First, there was the acropolis or citadel, high on its steep and rocky eminence, such as Athens and the Capitoline Hill of Rome. Second, there was the enceinte, protected by heavy walls, and characteristic of the great river-valley civilisations. Ch'ang-an, in the valley of the Wei River, belongs to this second group¹. This city owed its long preeminence, under many different names, to its strategic position on the "silk road" to Central Asia, the route over which passed a multitude of valuable goods destined for the markets of China on the one hand, and of Serindia, Russia, and the Near East on the other. It was protected on the north and west by the desert,

¹ Carl Whiting BISHOP, "An Ancient Chinese Capital; Earthworks at Old Ch'ang-an", *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of The Smithsonian Institution*, 1938 (Washington, 1939), p. 569.

on the south by mountains, and on the east, where it was most vulnerable, by the fortified pass of T'ung-kuan, through which it dominated the eastern lowlands and the coast. Moreover, "In this valley also are the only practible passes, two in number, over the Tsin-ling Mountains, which form the barrier between northern and central China²". The Wei Valley is no longer a nexus of major trade routes and Mecca of merchants in our own time. It is a vast wheatfield, traversed by roads and lanes, rows of willow trees, and streams crossed by stone bridges and culverts, " . . . like one continued splendid park, with knolls and lawns and winding paths³".

The venerable book *Yü kung*, which preserves a shadowy image of the archaic physical and economic regions of China, calls this excellent valley *Yung-chou* "The Island-Province of Yung". *Yung* means "embankment", and the valley "has a barrier of mountains and embankments on four fronts which makes it secure⁴". Since prehistoric times, century after century, "Chinese" of some race have built strongholds on the profitable banks of the Wei. Hazy memories of the town of TAG⁵, royal city of Lord Millet, totemic ancestor of the Chou kings, still survive. It is said to have been built west of the T'ang city of Ch'ang-an⁶. Another hero of Chou legend, Kung Liu, placed his town of PYAN⁷ nearby⁸. Also west of historical Ch'ang-an was GYEG⁹, capital of a Chou ancestor styled "The Great King"¹⁰. In the same region was PYONG¹¹, later named GO¹², freehold of the hero we know as Wen Wang, brother of the founder of historic Chou. Finally, Wu Wang, the great founder, built his capital city of GOG¹³ on the same site, or close to it: according to tradition, this remained the great royal metropolis until the locus of power shifted eastward to the City on the GLAK¹⁴ in the eighth century B. C. The archaeological evidence for all of these primitive towns has still to be uncovered.

The ambitious warriors and politicians of Ch'in restored the greatness of the stronghold on the Wei in the third century B. C. After a succession of the warlords of Ch'in had made their residences there, the founder of the Empire which gave its name to all of China built his grand city of

² James M. HUBBARD, "Singan — the Present Capital of the Chinese Empire", *The National Geographic Magazine*, 12 (1901), 64.

³ HUBBARD, *loc. cit.*

⁴ CH'ENG TA-CH'ANG, *Yung lu* (in *Kuan-chung ts'ung-shu*), 1, 4a.

⁵ Mandarin T'ai. In rendering archaic place names in this paragraph I have used a simplified version of Karlgren's reconstructions, written in capital letters. Although they must be inaccurate, especially since a great lapse of time fell between the earliest and the latest of them, which is not taken into account, these versions will at least be much more suggestive of the shape of the old names than will modern Peking dialect.

⁶ *Yung lu*, 1, 8b.

⁷ Mandarin Pin; later Pin-chou.

⁸ *Yung lu*, 1, 9a.

⁹ Mandarin Ch'i.

¹⁰ Chou Ta Wang. *Yung lu*, 1, 9b — 10a.

¹¹ Mandarin Feng.

¹² Mandarin Hu.

¹³ Mandarin Hao.

¹⁴ Mandarin Lo.

GEMDYANG¹⁵ on this historic spot. This noble name survived, in the form *Khumdan*, to perpetuate the glory of the Chinese throughout Asia long after the city itself had reverted to a heap of ruins¹⁶.

The first apogee of the splendor of Ch'ang-an, now at last known by that name, came with the rule of the early monarchs of Han, from about 200 B. C. Built across the river south of vanquished Khumdan, the new capital had its spiritual center in the magnificent *Wei yang* Palace of Wu Ti, an imposing cluster of halls erected on the summit of a quintuple terrace of rammed earth, fifty feet above the surrounding fields¹⁷.

Wang Mang, founder of the era called "New", also reigned here from A. D. 8 to 23. After that the center of political and cultural gravity returned once more to Lo-yang in the east.

During the disturbed centuries which followed, the rulers of the north, few of them Chinese, occasionally placed their ephemeral capitals on the ancient and holy ground of Yung-chou. Such were the states of Early Chao (319—329), established by Liu Yao; Early Ch'in (351—385), the hegemony of the Fu family; Later Ch'in (386—417), ruled by the Yao family; Western Wei (534—557), the patrimony of the "tatars" called Tabgach; and Northern Chou (557—581), the creation of dynasts named Yü-wen¹⁸.

Finally, a new era in the greatness of Ch'ang-an was inaugurated by the first monarch of Sui (581—618), a member of the Yang family, known in history as Wen Ti, who styled his capital *Ta-hsing ch'eng* "Greatly Exalted Walled-city"¹⁹. This elegant city, laid out according to a perfectly symmetrical plan, after an interval during which the second Sui ruler reigned from the southern city of Yang-chou, was chosen to be imperial capital of T'ang in 618. It was the last of the great walled towns on the banks of the Wei²⁰. Although the sovereigns of T'ang continued to occupy the Sui halls and gardens, they made many innovations, the most significant of which, the construction of the "Great Luminous Palace" (*Ta ming kung*) in the uplands northeast of the walled city, destroyed the perfect bilateral symmetry of the Sui city, in which the "South-facing" monarch had radiated his charisma from the north center, looking down the main avenue toward the Chung-nan Mountains, the mountains "terminal in the south". Ch'ang-an remained the T'ang capital — the greatest of all Chinese capitals — until early in the tenth century, except for such brief intervals as the removal of Empress Wu to Lo-yang, and as when Hsüan Tsung's court moved to Ch'eng-tu after An Lu-shan seized the city in 756, when Tai Tsung was driven out by the Tibetans in 763, when civil war forced

¹⁵ Mandarin *Hsien-yang*.

¹⁶ *Yung lu*, 1, 13a—14a; ADACHI KIROKU, *Chōan shiseki no kenkyū* (Tōkyō, 1933), p. 19.

¹⁷ BISHOP, *op. cit.*, pp. 576—577.

¹⁸ ADACHI, *op. cit.*, pp. 20—21.

¹⁹ *Yung lu*, 1, 3b; ADACHI, *op. cit.*, p. 21. See also the section on cities in the *T'ung chih* (ch. 41), which ends with the Sui capital.

²⁰ *Yung lu*, 1, 3b.

Te Tsung to flee to Feng-t'ien in 783, and when Huang Ch'ao came to declare the new rule of Ch'i in 881²¹.

After this the metropolis of China was either further east (Lo-yang and K'ai-feng), further south (Nan-king and Hang-chou), or further North (Peking). Ch'ang-an was only a memory until, renamed Si-an "Security of the West", it became, between 1900 and 1902, the temporary residence of the Empress Dowager of Ch'ing, expelled with the sovereign Te Tsung (Kuang Hsü) from Peking by the Boxers.

II. Ch'ang-an in the Eighth Century

During the first half of the eighth century, most of which coincided with the reign of Hsüan Tsung, medieval China, and the city of Ch'ang-an with it, reached the apogee of its glory²². The capital was built in the form of a rectangle, almost square, six miles east-west and five miles north-south²³. The outer wall, rebuilt in the spring and early summer of 730²⁴, was a structure of rammed earth faced with ashlar and brick²⁵, about 17½ feet high²⁶. The area enclosed was laid out as a rectangular grid of streets oriented according to the cardinal directions, with the exception of the palace and government office sub-cities in the north center, and the two great market-places, symmetrically placed in the east and west. There were fourteen streets, or rather major avenues, running east and west, and eleven running north and south²⁷. Roughly speaking, the upper classes lived in the eastern parts of the city (*Wan-nien-hsien*), and the lower classes lived in its western part (*Ch'ang-an-hsien*) which was probably much more populous, though less well reported in *belles lettres*,

²¹ ADACHI, *op. cit.*, p. 32. The official designation of the royal city changed frequently. We note the following titles given it in the middle of the eighth century: Western Capital (742); Central Capital (757); Western Capital (761); Upper Metropolis (762). See Hsü SUNG, *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao* (in *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng*), 1, 1.

²² For a description of the city in Sui and early T'ang, see O. SIRÉN, "T'ch'ang-nan au temps des Souei et des T'ang", *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, 4 (1927), 40—46, 98—104. See also the history of the city in *Hsi-an li-shih shu-lüeh* (Sian, 1959), esp. pp. 71—116.

²³ HIRAOKA TAKEO, "T'ō no Chōan-jō no koto", *Tōyōshi-kenkyū*, 11 (1952), 333, calculates precisely 9.691 Km. on the east-west axis, and 8.192 Km. on the north-south axis.

²⁴ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 213, 10b (Tōkyō, 1882 edition). Construction began on April 22, and the job was finished in nine ten-day periods.

²⁵ So were parts of the excavated wall of the Great Luminous Palace at any rate. See *T'ang Ch'ang-an Ta ming kung* (Chung-kuo t'ien-yeh k'ao-ku pao-kao chi; k'ao-ku-hsüeh chuan-k'an, Ser. D, No. 11; Peking, 1959), p. 4.

²⁶ HIRAOKA, *Tō no Chōan*, p. 334. This height was 18 T'ang feet.

²⁷ HIRAOKA, *Tō no Chōan*, p. 332, following Wei Shu, *Liang ching hsin chi* ("New Report on Both Capitals"), a description of the cities in the K'ai-yüan period (713—741), as cited in Sung Min-ch'iu, *Ch'ang-an chih*. I have followed Pi Yüan's edition of this text, which may be found in *ts'e* 11—14 of the *Ching-hsün-t'ang nien-i chung ts'ung-shu*; the part of this book which refers to the T'ang period is photographically reproduced in HIRAOKA TAKEO, *Chōan to Rakuyō* (T'ang Civillization Series, Kyōto, 1956).

Most of the merchants were also in the west²⁸. The southernmost part of the city, a broad strip running east and west from wall to wall, was thinly populated and contained very few houses, being mostly cultivated fields, with scattered shrines and gardens²⁹.

The twenty-five broad carriageways which made up the basic gridwork were flanked by drainage ditches on each side; beyond these were foot-paths along the low walls of the "quarters" or "wards" (*fang*) which occupied the small rectangles formed by the intersections of the streets³⁰. These main avenues were broad by our standards, but not all of uniform size. The chief streets ran north and south, and were all just over 482 feet wide. One of the east-west streets, the third from the north, was also of this width; the first, second and fourth from the north were 288 feet and a fraction broad; the remainder of the east-west streets were a little more than 226 feet wide³¹. The magnificence of these great urban roadways may be judged in comparison with Fifth Avenue, New York, which is only 100 feet wide. The integrity of these streets had to be protected by imperial decree. This was done most successfully, it appears, under the reign of Hsüan Tsung, who had the beauty of his city constantly in mind. In A. D. 740, he had fruit trees planted in the two capitals, not only in their parks, but along their roadways³², and we have an undated decree of his reign declaring that, since "both metropolises, the Capital and Lo, are indeed the residences of the divine king", their streets must be kept in good repair, and in consequence the extension of ditches and walls into them was forbidden, and above all excavations in them, liable to collect foul water and refuse of all kinds, were strictly prohibited³³. In 766, Tai Tsung reigning, we learn that the city streets were replanted with trees³⁴. This must have been done frequently: in the autumn of 796, Te Tsung reigning, the "mayor" of the capital city³⁵, Wu Ts'ou, planted regular rows of pagoda trees along them, replacing the elms with which the *hsien* officials had filled out vacant spots, since these trees were "economical and convenient"³⁶. In good times, then, these wide avenues were far from being what we think of as "medieval" streets — not crooked, filthy alleys, but straight, open, clean and shaded roadways.

The hundred and ten "quarters", as I have called the separate neighborhoods formed between the intersections of the main streets, which occupied most of the space inside the city walls, were themselves walled off from the

²⁸ HIRAOKA, *Tō no Chōan*, p. 340.

²⁹ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 2, 37.

³⁰ HIRAOKA, *Tō no Chōan*, p. 341. Unofficially these were called *li*.

³¹ HIRAOKA, *Tō no Chōan*, p. 333. My figures are based on his estimates: 147 meters; 88 meters; 69 meters.

³² *Chiu T'ang shu* (K'ai ming ed.), 9, 3085a.

³³ HSÜAN TSUNG, "Hsiu cheng chieh ch'ü fang shih chao", *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 30, 11b — 12a.

³⁴ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 12b. In this year, the regulations against the extension of walls and other structures into the streets was reaffirmed.

³⁵ *Ching chao yin*.

³⁶ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 13a.

streets. The walls may have been nine or ten feet high, and each had a gate opening on the streets in each of the cardinal directions³⁷. These gates were closed between sunset and sunrise, so that one might walk about the lanes of a ward by night, and visit the "night markets", but could not leave it until morning. Violations were punished by flogging³⁸. This strict curfew made it difficult, as we know from popular literature of that age, for a lover to get home easily after a late visit to his mistress in another quarter — he was obliged to crouch shivering by the nearest gate until daybreak. Some of the quarters were given over mainly to the practitioners of single arts and occupations. For instance, the *Ch'ung jen* Quarter, between the great sub-city of government offices (*Huang ch'eng*) and the Eastern Market, was a major commercial center, and was also the quarter of the makers of musical instruments, while the *P'ing-k'ang* Quarter nearby was traversed by the alleys of the prostitutes³⁹. But otherwise we still know little about these neighborhood specialties.

Of the two great markets, the Eastern was the less populous, and the more frequented by the well-to-do classes; the Western was a busy, raucous, and multi-lingual cluster of bazaars and warehouses, whose visitors were also entertained by prestidigitators and illusionists of every nationality, not to mention story-tellers, actors and acrobats. Here one sought for the precious symbols of exotic mystery, magic and luxury. For instance, the market contained the Persian Bazaar⁴⁰, where, among other vendors of miracles, were to be found the famous Iranian connoisseurs of pearls, both magical and otherwise⁴¹. We still know little about the shops which were scattered about the city away from the two principal markets, but there were drugshops⁴², teashops⁴³, vendors of cakes and sweetmeats⁴⁴, and wineshops frequented by young literateurs, enticed there by the blandishments of blue-eyed "western courtesans"⁴⁵, as accomplished at singing and dancing as at serving rare beverages⁴⁶.

Less regular than the streets were the canals which traversed the city, bringing water and providing transport. The more considerable of these were the *Yung an* Canal and the *Ch'ing ming* Canal, both running roughly

³⁷ HIRAOKA, *Tō no Chōan*, p. 334, estimates the height of these walls at about three meters, but we have no precise information.

³⁸ So wrote MARVAZI (late eleventh, early twelfth century), based on accounts of China from T'ang and early Sung times. CHOU YI-LIANG, "Notes on Marzavī's account of China", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 9 (1945), 23. Chinese evidence supports his statement.

³⁹ HIRAOKA, *Tō no Chōan*, p. 340; E. H. SCHAFER, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand; A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), pp. 21, 51—52.

⁴⁰ *Po-szu ti*.

⁴¹ HSIANG TA, *T'ang-tai Ch'ang-an yü Hsi-yü wen-ming*, (*Yen-ching hsüeh-pao*, chuan-hao 2; Peking, 1933), p. 35.

⁴² SCHAFER, *Golden Peaches*, p. 216.

⁴³ SCHAFER, *Golden Peaches*, p. 29.

⁴⁴ SCHAFER, *Golden Peaches*, p. 20.

⁴⁵ *hu chi*.

⁴⁶ HSIANG, *T'ang-tai Ch'ang-an*, pp. 36—37; SCHAFER, *Golden Peaches*, pp. 21, 23. For these foreign Hebes, see many T'ang poems, e. g. Li Po, "Ch'ien yü tsun chiu hsing", and Chang Hu, "Po pi kua".

north and south, and the *Ts'ao* Canal, running east and west in the west part of the city. Ultimately these connected with the Wei River in the north, and were the chief waterways on which the merchandise from all parts of the empire was carried into the urban emporiums⁴⁷.

Little is yet known of the private houses of Ch'ang-an, except for some slight conception we may gain of the gardened homes of the educated or wealthy classes, which are often the subject of rapturous praise in poetry. A notable change took place in the middle of the eighth century, after the troubles which led to the abdication of Hsüán Tsung. Up to that time, the palace buildings were undoubtedly the most splendid in the city. But during the mid-century period of doubt and confusion, the mansions of the aristocrats went beyond all former bounds in size and luxury of appointments. The vast palatial residences of such magnates as Yüan Tsai, Ma Lin, and Li Chung-i earned the vulgar name of "wooden monsters"⁴⁸. The chief hall in Ma Lin's private compound, for instance, cost 20,000,000 strings of cash. All of these huge and costly structures were torn down by imperial order in the late summer of A. D. 779. But the characteristics of the houses of the artisans, the merchants, and the anonymous poor of this age are hidden from us.

Medieval Ch'ang-an⁴⁹ was a city of temples, some of them of a magnificence rivalling that of the imperial palace. It is reported that during the first half of the eighth century the city contained 64 Buddhist monasteries, 27 Buddhist nunneries, 10 Taoist monasteries, 6 Taoist nunneries, 2 "Persian" temples (one Manichaeian and one Nestorian), and four temples devoted to the Iranian god Ahura Mazda⁵⁰. The great majority of these places of worship were erected in the western part of the city, where we would expect a greater concentration of piety among the poor and the alien, but they were by no means absent from the east — Buddhism and Taoism still enjoyed much prestige among the upper classes, and distinguished ambassadors from Turkish and Iranian nations of the West needed religious services. We may gain some idea of the temple buildings themselves from artistic representations, such as those in the Tun-huang murals, and from examples of T'ang-style wooden temple architecture surviving in Japan, notably the Kōdō and the Kondō of Tōshōdaiji, seventh century constructions near Nara⁵¹.

The great Sui palace-city just inside the north wall of Ch'ang-an was renovated by the T'ang conquerors, and officially styled *Kung ch'eng* "Walled-city of the Palace", and also *Ta nei* "Great Interior", that is, great secluded sanctum or penetralia. After it was abandoned as the usual residence of the Son of Heaven and his court in 662, it was called *Hsi nei*

⁴⁷ HIRAOKA, *Tō no Chōan*, p. 340.

⁴⁸ *mu yao*.

⁴⁹ *Ch'ang-an chih*, 7, 10b.

⁵⁰ ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 217, based on *Ch'ang-an chih*, 7, which in turn quotes Wei Shu.

⁵¹ See SIRÉN, *Tch'ang-ngan*, p. 46.

"Western Interior", and also, from 710, *T'ai chi kung* "Palace of the Grand Ultimate" ⁵².

Through most of the rule of T'ang, the imperial palace par excellence was the palace built on the grounds of the imperial hunting park (*chin yüan*) north of the eastern part of the north wall of the city, a great reserve extending to the Wei River in the north, and including in its western part the site of the old Han city of Ch'ang-an⁵³. The nucleus of this new palace was built by T'ai Tsung in 634 on the dry uplands of "Dragon Head Plain" (*lung shou yüan*) as a residence for the retired sovereign, Kao Tsu, with the name "Palace of Eternal Security"⁵⁴. This was thought to be a healthier region than the low damp ground of the old palace, but in fact the old man took to his deathbed before the completion of the new cluster of rich buildings, and never actually lived in it. The palace was renamed "Great Luminous Palace" in 635⁵⁵. In 662, the ailing Kao Tsung, fearing the damp humors of the old palace grounds, moved to the new palace, which was much enlarged during the following year by the architect Liang Hsiao-jen, and hopefully renamed "P'eng-lai Palace", after the island home of the immortals in the eastern sea. In 670, Kao Tsung restored the old name of "Great Luminous", and so it remained through the rule of T'ang, whose principal palace it became⁵⁶, though sometimes it was called "Eastern Interior" (*Tung nei*) to distinguish it from the old palace in the west. The main approach to the great palace was through the middlemost of five gates perforating the north wall of the city proper, the Gate of the Cinnabar Phoenix, whose symbolism matched that of the Gate of the Red Sparrow in the south wall of the old palace. Hence the "Way of the Dragon Tail" (*lung wei tao*), built of bluish stone, wound up to the chief entrance of the palace on the "Dragon's Head" highlands in a series of convolutions imagined to resemble the curvings of a dragon's tail⁵⁷. Then, walking along the north-south axis of the palace, one passed through a series of great basilicas in a northward trending series. The three most important were, from south to north, the *Han yüan tien* "Enclosing the Prime"⁵⁸, where the great ceremonious levees were held; behind it the *Hsüan sheng tien*, "Promulgating the Regime", the ordinary audience hall; and behind that the *Tzu ch'ên tien* "Purple Throne", where the Son of Heaven gave informal receptions⁵⁹.

⁵² *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 1, 2; 1, 16.

⁵³ ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 171.

⁵⁴ *Yung an kung. T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 1, 17; Adachi, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 171.

⁵⁵ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 194, 7b; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 1, 17; HIRAOKA, *Tō no Chōan*, pp. 342—343.

⁵⁶ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 1, 17; ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, pp. 171—172.

⁵⁷ CHANG CHI (tenth century), *Chia shih t'an lu* (in *Shou shan ko ts'ung shu*), 5a; *Yung lu*, 3, 13a.

⁵⁸ *Han yüan*; the name of the great hall is a classical phrase suggesting "that which incorporates or embodies the primal spirit". See *Shih chi*, 27, 0108a, commentary of SZU-MA CHEN of T'ang.

⁵⁹ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 1, 18; 1, 20.

Here then were the elegantly painted wooden buildings which housed the chief family of the nation and its servants, in a bright landscape planted with weeping willows and richly colored flowers⁶⁰. From its noble eminence, on a clear day, one could plainly see the blue-shadowed Chung-nan Mountains south of the city, and below, in the city itself, all its wards, markets, streets and lanes precisely delineated⁶¹. This palace remained the glory of the realm throughout the eighth century — suffering only from the looting of mutineers late in 783⁶², the last great ordeal of the metropolis until Huang Ch'ao's uprising a century later.

Another T'ang palace, less important than the others, was the "Palace of Exalted Felicity" (*Hsing ch'ing kung*), otherwise called the "Southern Interior" (*Nan nei*), originally a group of mansions for the sons of Jui Tsung. One of these last, the great monarch posthumously styled Hsüan Tsung, made it a "traveling palace" (*hsing kung*), that is, a detached, informal royal residence, after his accession⁶³.

One more great landmark distinguished the holy city. This was the gorgeous water-park of twisted shape, named *Ch'ü Chiang ch'ih* "Pond of Bent Kiang". The name goes back to the time of Han Wu Ti. It was an alteration of the name *Che Chiang* "Broken Kiang", in the Han province of Kuang-ling in the gardened south⁶⁴. The word *ch'ü* "bent" also had the nuance of "byway, secluded spot", and was used of scenic places on varied terrain, as "Wei's *ch'ü*" and "Tu's *ch'ü*", south of the city⁶⁵. This serpentine garden-lake — comparable in name, form and function to the Serpentine in London's Hyde Park — a tract of great natural beauty enhanced by human artifice, had been associated with a place called Chi-chou south of the Ch'in capital of GEMDYANG (Khumdan) in the third century B.C., and then named "Park Suited to Spring" (*I ch'un yüan*). Famous for its lotus pools, it was styled "Garden of Lotuses" (*Fu-jung yüan*) by Sui Wen Ti. This latter name was also applied to a water-garden within the park in T'ang times. The whole was richly enhanced by Hsüan Tsung, who placed many beautiful plants and pavilions in it, and replenished its water by creating the Yellow Canal extending eastward from the garden to the River Ch'an, a tributary of the Wei⁶⁶.

⁶⁰ From Sung times on, the imperial palaces of China were more dark and austere, landscaped in the main with catalpas and pagoda-trees. The "flowers and willows" of T'ang were celebrated in contemporary poetry. P'ANG YÜAN-YING (fl. 1082—85), *Wen ch'ang tsa lu* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), 4, 45. Liang Hsiao-jen, the architect of the Great Luminous Palace, also planted rows of white poplars there, but was later persuaded that these would spread evil vapors, and so had them replaced by pines and other conifers. *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 1, 17.

⁶¹ *Ch'ang-an chih*, 6, 6b.

⁶² Chu Tz'u was supposed to defend the capital from them, but allowed himself to be elevated as monarch of Great Ch'in; in 784 the forces of Te Tsung, then in Feng-t'ien, recaptured the capital. *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 228, 9b ff.

⁶³ ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 178.

⁶⁴ *Ming i t'ung chih*, 32, 14b; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 3, 86.

⁶⁵ ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 184.

⁶⁶ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 3, 87; ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, pp. 185—186.

Of many excellent structures outside the walls of eighth century Ch'ang-an I shall mention only two: the Floriate Clear Palace (*Hua ch'ing kung*) and the imperial tombs.

The palace was a beautiful complex of bathing pools, shaded pavilions, and luxurious halls, built on the wooded slopes of Mount Li, east of the city, on the site of holy arsenical springs famous since antiquity. It had been first given form in 644 by the royal architect Yen Li-te⁶⁷, and, beginning in 713, was the usual winter residence of Hsüan Tsung. Its name is closely connected with the long intimacy between that monarch and his beloved Lady Yang. From the year 756, following upon Hsüan Tsung's flight to Szechwan and the execution of his favorite, literature was immediately enriched by a multitude of nostalgic, melancholy verses, describing its desolation, especially as it appeared in autumn, the season of decay, a typical image of vanished glory and great love turned to ashes⁶⁸:

The warm springs flow into the Han detached place;

By palace trees, row on row, the bathing hall is empty . . . ⁶⁹.

("Han detached palace" is safely archaistic, disguising "T'ang winter palace.") Or again:

The jade coach has ascended to heaven, the men are all gone now;

But the old palace still has trees which live long⁷⁰.

Such were the common sentiments of poets who lived during the final decades of the eighth century, anticipating the retrospective and romantic escapism of the poets of the late ninth and early tenth centuries, when much more than this single palace had disappeared.

The great imperial tumuli, enhanced by their associated groves and gardens, memorial shrines and sculptured figures, were prominent landmarks in the early eighth century. The most striking mound was the mysterious tomb of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti in *Chao-ying-hsien*, east of the city. Almost equally awesome were the Han barrows north of the Wei River in *Hsien-yang-hsien*⁷¹. Much more modern, and zealously attended as the haunts of the sacred spirits of the T'ang ancestors, were the seventh century tombs scattered about the fields near the modern capital⁷².

⁶⁷ E. H. SCHAFER, "The Development of Bathing Customs in Ancient and Medieval China and the History of the Floriate Clear Palace", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 76 (1956), 73. The name "Floriate Clear" was not bestowed until 747. See *ibid.* p. 75.

⁶⁸ ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, pp. 182—183. The present buildings at the hot springs were built during the Ch'ien lung reign and afterwards.

⁶⁹ CHANG CHI (ca. 765—830), "*Hua ch'ing kung*", *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 6, ts'e 6, ch. 5, 11b.

⁷⁰ LI YÜEH (fl. 780), "*Kuo Hua ch'ing kung*", *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 5, ts'e 6, 3a.

⁷¹ LI CHI-FU, (758—814), *Yüan ho chün hsien t'u chih* (1880 ed.), 1, 5b, 11a—11b.

⁷² The locations of these mounds, from those of T'ai Tsu on, are given in *Yüan ho chün hsien t'u chih*, 1, 6a—7a. The imperial tombs suffered in the ninth century, but I have not treated these disasters in this article, as beyond the proper subject of inquiry.

Such, in brief, was the metropolitan scene whose fortunes during the ninth and early tenth centuries, at first a period of hardly detectable decay but finally of quick collapse, we are about to trace.

III. Ch'ang-an in the Ninth Century

The troubles of the middle and late parts of the eighth century had not proved disastrous to the city. An Lu-shan's occupation in 756 had left the great palace intact, while the Tibetans, who invaded and looted the city in 763, had fired only private residences. The populace suffered, but the form of the city remained essentially the same. The last great calamity of the century, the rebellion of Chu Tz'u in 784, apparently did not damage the capital seriously. And after that there was a century of peace for the great metropolis. Except for localized destruction resulting from the xenophobic religious persecutions of Wu Tsung in 841—845, the "divine beauty" of the city was essentially what it had been during the happy years of Hsüan Tsung's reign. The usurpation of Huang Ch'ao brought this second age — we might call it the "silver" age of T'ang civilization — to an end in 881. Then the sunset of the ravaged city's glory faded rapidly into the night of the tenth century⁷³.

But there is a blank in this otherwise mildly pleasant record. As the chronicle of construction and destruction which constitutes the next section of this study will show, there is a long and surprising lull before the storm of Huang Ch'ao. The basic sources yield no single event relating to the condition of the city between 851 and 880. This remarkable hiatus — if we can depend on the surviving official histories — corresponds to much of the reign of Hsüan Tsung, all of that of I Tsung, and the beginning of that of Hsi Tsung. It seems inexplicable. Surely a hall must have been burnt down somewhere; surely a new pavilion must have been erected. The standard books are simply silent. Then suddenly Huang Ch'ao arrives on the scene, and there is a deluge of disaster⁷⁴.

The report of an Arabian traveller⁷⁵, IBN WAHAB, made to the chronicler ABU ZAYD in the middle of the ninth century, shows Ch'ang-an (he called it Khumdan), as it was in the finest days of the ninth century — not much changed from what it had been in the good days of the eighth:

⁷³ *T'ang shu*, 225c, 4177b; *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 223, 4a — 5b; K'ang Pien (fl. 877), *Chü t'an lu* (in *Chin tai pi shu* Ser. 9, vol. 9), b, 29a.

⁷⁴ There is a *fu* on the two capitals, Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, the "Liang ching fu", written by Li Yü, with a floruit in I Tsung's reign. This is preserved in *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 740, 1a — 11b. The section on the Western Capital is pp. 1b — 7b. It is a florid and not very interesting ode in praise of the great imperial establishments, glorifying them as equal to the fabled capitals of Ch'in and Han. It yields us little useful information, except perhaps that the city remained in good condition through the "Great Hiatus".

⁷⁵ Eusebius RENAUDOT, *Ancient Accounts of India and China, by two Mohammedan Travellers Who went to those Parts in the 9th Century; Translated from ARABIC. With Notes, Illustrations and Inquiries by the same Hand* (Anonymous translation into English from the Paris edition of 1718. London, 1733), pp. 58—59.

He told us that the City was very large, and extremely populous; that it was divided into two great Parts, by a very long and very broad street; that the Emperor, his chief Ministers, the Soldiery, the supreme Judge, the Eunuchs, and all belonging to the imperial Household, lived in that part of the City which is on the right hand Eastward; that the people had no manner of Communication with them; and that they were not admitted into places watered by Canals, from different Rivers, whose Borders were planted with Trees, and adorned with magnificent Dwellings. The Part on the left hand Westward, is inhabited by the People and the Merchants, where are also great Squares, and Markets for all the Necessaries of Life. At break of Day you see the Officers of the King's Household, with the inferior Servants, the Purveyors, and the Domestics of the Grandees of the Court, who come, some on foot, others on Horseback, into that Division of the City, where are the public Markets, and the Habitations of the Merchants; where they buy whatever they want, and return not again to the same Place till the next Morning.

This is a remarkably accurate account. The "two Parts" of Khumdan are the two administrative divisions, *Wan-nien-hsien* and *Ch'ang-an-hsien*, east and west respectively. The great street between the two *hsien* was the Street of the Vermilion Sparrow, named for the holy symbolic bird of the South, leading to the south gate of the city. The great palace was in the east, as were the great majority of the mansions of the aristocracy — but so were the high class courtesans, many artisans, and those merchants who catered to the rich. In the western half of the city was the mass of the citizenry, and that great and often riotous center of public life, the Western Market, just as in the eighth century.

We owe some of our best descriptions of the Ch'ang-an of the ninth century to the poet Po CHÜ-I, as in his poem "The Temple", which tells of the Wu-chen Monastery outside the city in 814, from which he sees the Wei River and the Han tombs far off. We are fortunate in having a translation by Arthur Waley⁷⁶. Here the poet sees the dusty but shaded avenues of the capital:

I look down on the Twelve City Streets: —
Red dust flanked by green trees⁷⁷.

In another composition he contrasts the busy metropolis with the quiet hills to the south:

The snow has gone from Chung-nan; spring is almost come.
Lovely in the distance its blue colours, against the brown of the streets.
A thousand coaches, ten thousand horsemen pass down the Nine Roads;
Turns his head and looks at the mountains — not one man⁷⁸!

⁷⁶ Translated by A. WALEY in *The Temple and Other Poems* (2nd printing, 1925), pp. 103—112.

⁷⁷ A. WALEY, *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems* (New York, 1919), p. 163.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 173.

Or again, in a night scene written in 827:

Hundreds of houses, thousands of houses — like a great chess-board.
The twelve streets like a huge field planted with rows of cabbage.
In the distance I see faint and small the torches of riders to Court,
Like a single row of stars lying to the west of the Five Gates⁷⁹.

But here is a complete poem by a less well-known writer of the ninth century, CH'EN YÜ, telling his private thoughts as he lies ill on an autumn night in the capital city. This translation is my own:

The Nine-fold Gates are locked — autumn in the Tabooed City;
The moon passes the Southern Palace — gradually lights up its towers.

Night is deep by the purple paths — dew drips from pagoda-trees;
Clouds are gone from the cyan void — the Star of Fire glides by.
Where the wind is clearing, a graded clepsydra informs the Three Basilicas;

In an upper-class mansion a chime of bells makes music for the Five Marklords⁸⁰.

(Here, "purple paths" is a cliché for "suburbs; outlying fields"; "Star of Fire" is usually Mars, but perhaps "fiery stars" is intended; "graded clepsydra", more literally "graduated dripper or percolator", is the water-clock in the palace which advises all in its great halls of the time of night; "Five Marklords" is a conventional expression for "the great barons of every rank".)

It was a city of about a million souls — including between five and ten thousand imperial guards, forty or fifty thousand Buddhist and Taoist priests, nuns and temple slaves, and an unnumbered floating population from the provinces and foreign countries, much of it concentrated around the Western Market⁸¹. A very important feature of ninth century Ch'ang-an was its foreign population. How its character differed from that of the eighth century, however, can be guessed only partially. There were fewer Persians, fewer Arabs, fewer Sogdians — that is, fewer visitors from the Far West; there were more Turks (Uighurs above all), and more Tibetans and Manchurians of one tribe or another. These nearer neighbors were less welcome than their more exotic predecessors had been. As the power and prestige of T'ang slowly declines, the tide of xenophobia slowly rose, and although Wen Tsung, for instance, a good monarch, extended his protection to foreign merchants in his commercial cities of the South, to protect them from intolerable exactions⁸², on another occasion he forbade financial transactions between his subjects and "the several colored peoples" because of the increasing indebtedness of Chinese to these

⁷⁹ A. WALEY, *Chinese Poems* (Unwin Books, London, 1961), p. 161.

⁸⁰ CH'EN YÜ, "Ch'ang-an wo ping ch'iu yeh yen huai", *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 6, ts'e 1, 3a.

⁸¹ HIRAOKA, *Tō no Chōan*, pp. 337—340. These rather impressionistic figures are based primarily on phrases from the writings of Han Yü and Yüan Chen, for the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century.

⁸² *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 75, 3a.

foreigners, especially to the Uighur usurers, which inhibited commerce and was productive of social ills⁸³. Nonetheless, such reliable ninth century observers as Tuan Ch'eng-shih tell of foreign businessmen still thronging the Western Market⁸⁴.

Despite relative prosperity and security, however, individual citizens did not enjoy absolute safety. Robberies and assassinations, to say nothing of lesser crimes, took place in the streets of this carefully tended city. An example: early one morning in 837, the high minister Li Shih, starting off on horseback from his home in the *Ch'in jen* Quarter to attend the early levee at the palace, was attacked and pursued by a bandit armed with a bow; hit in the shoulder by an arrow, his horse injured by a thrown stone, he still managed to escape⁸⁵. This incident did not take place in some dirty slum, but in an upper class residential district, which contained an important Taoist "nunnery" where the poetess Yü Hsüan-chi had once lived, the home of the literateur Liu Tsung-yüan, and the mansions of various royal princesses and high officials. But despite such occasional unpleasant affairs, the capital seems to have been kept in fairly good order by several official agencies. Most important of these was the "Guards of the Golden Apotropaion" (*Chin wu wei*), a kind of imperial police, whose first duty was "the monitory patrol of the palace and the capital city", for the purpose of "maintaining resistance to wrongs and offenses"⁸⁶. Lesser officers with similar responsibilities were the bailiffs of the "mayor" or "prefect" of the county (*Ching chao yin*) which included the capital city, and the agents of the "commandants" (*ling*) of the two townships (*hsien*) into which the city was divided, Wan-nien and Ch'ang-an⁸⁷.

What was true of the constantly renewed Sui metropolis was equally true of the Great Luminous Palace, that splendid excrescence added by the T'ang outside of the north wall of the city. Except for the occasional dismantling of an office building or the remodelling of a royal hall, the appearance of a new row of trees or the fading of an old garden, the silting up or the dredging out of an ancient shaded pool, the structural pattern and overall appearance of this earthly paradise was much what it had been in the eighth century — until 881. K'ANG P' IEN's description of its main ceremonial hall, the *Han yüan tien*, and its impressive approaches, showing it raised high on its noble terrace like a Mayan sanctuary, though written late in the ninth century, could have described it in the eighth — and indeed, for all we can tell from

⁸³ *Chüan T'ang wen*, 72, 2b — 3a. See Hsiang, *T'ang-tai Ch'ang-an*, pp. 34—35; SCHAFER, *Golden Peaches*, p. 20.

⁸⁴ TUAN CH'ENG-SHIH, *Yu yang tsa tsu* (in *Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng*), hsü 8, 241. For foreigners in Ch'ang-an and T'ang generally, see Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, pp. 10—11, 19—20, 22—23.

⁸⁵ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 3, 58.

⁸⁶ *T'ang liu tien*, 25, 10b.

⁸⁷ For example, in 789 a band of four robbers was captured by the agents of the chief officer (*ling*) of Wan-nien *hsien*, the richer part of the city, but they killed their captors and escaped. See *Hsi-an li-shih shu-lüeh* (Sian, 1959), p. 85, for the city administration.

the language, this might be a timeless and idealized description of something already vanished:

The Basilica Enclosing the Prime was established and constructed early in the nation [’s history]; Dragon Head Ridge was excavated to make its base and foundation. Its vermilion-painted courtyard with its flagstones inset with gemstones, is [was?] at a height of more than fifty feet. To its left and right stand two pylons — those of the Perching and the Soaring *Luan*-phoenixes. Dragon Tail Way goes forth from in front of these pylons. If, leaning on the balustrade, you gaze out and below, the mountains in front of you are as if set in your palms. From the basilica to the Five Gates [of south outer wall] it is two miles (*li*). At every gathering for the Levee of the Prime Conjunction [New Year’s], both the Army of the Taboo and the Standard [-bearers] of the Autocrat are lodged in the court of the basilica. Golden armor and feather-covered (?) halberds, intermingled with damasks and embroideries, appear in orderly ranks and rows. [The court officials] both civil and military, in hat-tassels and belt-pendants, stand in order of precedence, while the chieftains and seigneurs of tributary and barbarian nations look upwards to the Golden Seat, as if to Empyrean Han [the remoteness beyond the sky]. Knowledgeable persons make it out that from the dynasties of Chi [Chou] and Han down to the fall of Sui there has not been its like in magnificence⁸⁸.

Some reasonable repairs and modest new construction were carried out in the palace during the reign of Hsien Tsung, early in the ninth century — a reign notable for a fair prosperity and a new florescence of culture. The monarch himself was no spendthrift, and in 810 expressed doubts that expensive repairs to older palace buildings were feasible⁸⁹. After this relatively conservative reign came two extravagant ones. Mu Tsung “rejoiced in the florid and gorgeous”. Two new paints were invented for the decoration of the walls of his new buildings, a glittering white styled “snow-flower” [i.e. snowflake] paste, and a brilliant vermilion, which he named “*Ch’ang ch’ing* (Long Felicity) Red” after the name of his own era⁹⁰; his attempt to build a “hundred foot loft building” in 821 caused a public outcry, and the reaction to his attempt to expand an aristocratic park in 822 made him abandon the plan⁹¹. His short-lived successor, Ching Tsung, showed the same love of ostentatious building⁹². Wen Tsung, a more sober prince, razed many of Ching Tsung’s new structures, or had them converted to practical purposes⁹³. However, as in Hsien Tsung’s time, there was some restoration of older buildings, and an occasional new under-

⁸⁸ *Chü t’an lu*, b, 28b — 29b.

⁸⁹ See “Chronicle” below. But we note a new hall, the *Szu cheng tien*, in the records of his reign, though it is not certain when it was built. *Yü hai* (1806 ed.), 160, 14a.

⁹⁰ T’ao Ku, *Ch’ing i lu* (*Hsi yin hsüan ts’ung shu* ed.), b, 7b.

⁹¹ “Chronicle”.

⁹² “Chronicle”, for 825.

⁹³ “Chronicle”, for 827.

taking, such as the construction of a horse-course and a ball-field on the palace grounds, and extensive renovation of the *Ch'ü Chiang* park⁹⁴. But in Wen Tsung's reign too were the disastrous fire of 829 and the hurricane of 835⁹⁵.

Although somewhat detached from the capital proper, the ancient *Wei yang* Palace of the early Han emperors deserves mention here, since its prolonged existence appealed to the pious antiquarianism of many rulers, so that it still survived in the ninth century — in some fashion. It had suffered in a fire in the winter of 816/817; then, after some years of neglect, it was restored in 826 by Ching Tsung. Then, in 841, his first year as emperor, Wu Tsung had it rebuilt again. This monarch's reign is not noted for important changes in the palaces — rather for ecclesiastical architecture, some kinds annihilated, some kinds constructed, as we shall see. As for the contributions of the remaining T'ang rulers to palatial architecture we know almost nothing. Of some special interest, however, is the *Chao ching tien*, a royal hall of the reign of Chao Tsung, the last sovereign of the dynasty. This was built, it seems, after the disasters of Huang Ch'ao's brief usurpation. In it were kept the portraits of Chao Tsung's eighteen royal predecessors, excluding (it must be) that of the Empress Wu⁹⁶.

We see no change of great importance in respect to buildings employed by the administration during this century, unless perhaps we choose to notice repairs to the "prefectural" offices of the *Ching chao yin* in the *Kuang te* Quarter during Hsüan Tsung's reign (847—859)⁹⁷, and the establishment of a new camp for the Right Army of Divine Stratagems in the *Fu hsing* and *Hsiu te* Quarters by Chao Tsung after his return to the old capital from Hua-chou⁹⁸. This move placed these arrogant praetorians, formerly invisible in the hunting park, inside the city itself⁹⁹.

The magnificent Buddhist temples, whose halls of worship and offering, pagodas, monastic residences and ancillary buildings covered areas comparable to the imperial palaces themselves, and whose feasts provided entertainments which were to the masses what the court festivals were to the aristocracy, were, in the first half of the ninth century, much what they had been in the eighth. There were new religious buildings, new paintings, new images, new gardens — and there were old ones too: many Sui establishments still survived, with some modifications. Some of these antiquated structures, however, were in a dilapidated condition. A poem of SZU-K'UNG SHU, written at about the end of the eighth century, tells of such a relic:

⁹⁴ "Chronicle"; *Ch'ang-an chih*, ch. 6; KISHIBE SHIGEO, *Tōdai ongaku no rekishi-teki kenkyū* (Vol. 2; Tōkyō, 1960), p. 305.

⁹⁵ "Chronicle".

⁹⁶ *Ch'ang-an chih*, 6, 9b.

⁹⁷ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 4, 103.

⁹⁸ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 4, 98; *Ch'ang-an chih*, 10, 1a.

⁹⁹ A. WALEY, *The Life and Times of Po Chū-i; 772—846 A.D.* (London, 1949), p. 57.

By the yellow leaves — a temple from an earlier reign;
 No monks are there — the cold basilica stands open.
 Where the pool shows fair, a turtle comes out and suns itself;
 Where the pines make a shade, a crane flies out and around.
 On old flagstones, the steles are crossed with grass;
 In shadowed galleries, the pictures are patched with moss.
 Even the "Palace of Contemplation" is spent and melted away —
 This world of dust still wants more of our grief¹⁰⁰.

But despite such nostalgic sentimentality, inspired by symbols of decaying values and transient life, the splendid religious life of T'ang continued unabated during the early decades of the ninth century. But Wu Tsung's persecution brought the Buddhist establishments low. We cannot yet tell how many buildings were actually destroyed and how many converted to new ends — but there was certainly much destruction. Left as functioning temples, at any rate, were only the *Ta tz'u en szu*, the *Ta chien fu szu* (whose pagodas survive in the twentieth century), the *Hsi ming szu* and the *Chuang yen szu*, the last two being in the poorer western half of the city¹⁰¹. Although Hsüan Tsung re-established eight Buddhist temples in Ch'ang-an immediately after Wu Tsung's death in 846, and step by step reversed the anti-Buddhist policy of the preceding reign, the full glory of Chinese Buddhism was never restored¹⁰².

The most wonderful of all the Buddhist establishments in the capital, the *Ta hsing shan szu*, was a chief sufferer in the persecution. This colossal monument to piety and the arts — a kind of Far Eastern Vatican — situated in the *Ching shan* Quarter a little south of the city's center, had been founded in Chin times, many centuries earlier, with the name *Tsun shan szu*; its modern name had been given to it in Sui times. The famous pilgrim Hsüan-tsang had stayed there in the seventh century; the great Tantrist Wu-k'ung had studied there in the eighth¹⁰³; the pious Japanese Ennin described it as it was late in 840, emphasizing its holy traditions, edifying mandalas, and portraits of ancient saints¹⁰⁴; Tuan Ch'eng-shih's account of it, written in the summer of 843, not long before the persecution, emphasizes, despite Tuan's devotion to the faith, natural wonders such as old trees and beautiful flowers, and images considered more as art objects

¹⁰⁰ SZU-K'UNG SHU, "Ching fei Pao-ch'ing-szu", *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 5, ts'e 4, 3b. *Ch'üan T'ang shih* gives "Ch'ing-pao-szu" which is unlikely, and has been emended; the editors state that the poem has also been attributed to Tan Wei, with the title "Fei Pao-kuang-szu". ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 222, places it in the An-jen Quarter, and says that it was also called "Temple of the Flower Pagodas" (*Hua-t'a-szu*), because of its many tiled pagodas. He says that it was still in use in Chung Tsung's time. I do not know the source of his information. However, he uses the poem to illustrate the decrepitude of temple buildings in the final decades of the T'ang era, calling Szu-k'ung Shu a man of "the end of T'ang". On the contrary, he was a man of the mid-T'ang renaissance of Hsien Tsung.

¹⁰¹ ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 218.

¹⁰² ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 219; "Chronicle", for 847—852.

¹⁰³ Hsü-hsiu *Shan-hsi-sheng t'ung-chih kao* (1934), 131, 6a.

¹⁰⁴ E. O. REISCHAUER, trans., *Ennin's Diary; The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (New York, 1955), p. 294 and elsewhere.

than as icons¹⁰⁵. This museum of the treasures of the past, with mural paintings in many colors and images of brass and jade, mostly of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, was a favorite spot for the excursions of the gentry¹⁰⁶. It also boasted outstanding examples of modern — and not exactly religious — art, such as a painting of a pair of pines done by Liang Hsia early in the ninth century¹⁰⁷. The poet Lu Tsung-hui (fl. 815) described the view from the upper storey of this temple's pagoda: near at hand he saw the image of a "soaring luan", a "glaucous dragon", and a "dew basin". To the north, beyond a vermillion railing, "the Waters of Wei shone coldly", while in the south were "peaks of jade, fair-sky hued". "The pylons of the Ninefold Palace" rose closer at hand¹⁰⁸. It was an unrivalled panorama of Ch'ang-an and its vicinity, comparable only to that seen from the *Han yüan tien* on its high terrace. Wu Tsung brought all of this to an end¹⁰⁹.

Tuan Ch'eng-shih is our chief informant about other ninth century temples. He tells, for instance, how Wen Tsung cut down the junipers¹¹⁰ in the Buddhist Temple of the Holy Flower (*Ling hua szu*) in the *Ta t'ung* Quarter to provide timber for new palace buildings¹¹¹; how Hsien Tsung saw in a dream the removal of a clay image of the famous eighth century monk Li-she from its hall at the *An kuo* Temple to make room for an imperial portrait, and had the statue restored to its rightful place¹¹²; of the excellent mural paintings at the *Chao fu szu* in the *Ch'ung i* Quarter, including a figure of the goddess Hārītī painted by Li Chen at about the beginning of the century¹¹³; and how Hsien Tsung ordered faithful copies made of the wall-paintings of Wu Tao-hsüan at the Bodhi Temple in the *P'ing k'ang* Quarter, which were rapidly deteriorating¹¹⁴.

Even before Wu Tsung's time there were many Taoist temples in Ch'ang-an. No doubt a large proportion of these owed their construction or elaboration to that other great patron of the Taoists, Hsüan Tsung. But some were even older. The writer Liu Yü-hsi tells of the beautiful flowering peaches which were planted at the *Hsüan tu kuan* in the *Ch'ung i* Quarter in the center of the city during his absence between 805 and 815 (this was a region of many temples both Taoist and Buddhist), only to find

¹⁰⁵ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, hsü 5, 213.

¹⁰⁶ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 2, 36.

¹⁰⁷ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, hsü 5, 213.

¹⁰⁸ LU TSUNG-HUI, "Teng Ch'ang-an Tz'u en szu t'a", *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 8, ts'e 2, 1a.

¹⁰⁹ Only the *T'ien wang ko* and *Ta shih ko* survived the destruction of 845. ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 220.

¹¹⁰ *Tz'u po*. In Szechwan, the term is used for the Chinese Hemlock-spruce (*Tsuga chinensis*) and for *Juniperus squamata*. Otherwise it is used for *Juniperus chinensis*, which I take to be the tree meant here.

¹¹¹ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, hsü 5, 217. See also A. C. SOPER, "A Vacation Glimpse of the T'ang temples of Ch'ang-an, *The Ssu-t'a chi* by Tuan Ch'eng-shih", *Artibus Asiae*, 23 (1960), 15—40.

¹¹² *Yu yang tsa tsu*, hsü 5, 215.

¹¹³ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, hsü 6, 224.

¹¹⁴ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, hsü 5, 219.

them gone when he returned from another stay in the provinces in 828 and replaced by wild oats and other vegetable symbols of decline¹¹⁵. This establishment was a survival from Sui times¹¹⁶.

But after a century of comparative indifference on the part of the court, there was a great revival of Taoist building in the years 841—845¹¹⁷, though whether sufficient to compensate for the loss of the Buddhist and Manichaeian buildings would be difficult to judge. Older Taoist structures got new attention in this period too, as when Wu Tsung established a new hall for his official portrait in the Taoist nunnery called "Golden Sylph" (*Chin hsien nü kuan kuan*), one of two such nunneries built in 713 for the daughters of Jui Tsung in the *Fu hsing* Quarter¹¹⁸. This activity apparently came to an end with the accession of Hsüan Tsung in 846, as imperial support was gradually transferred to the Buddhists. An anecdote about the new ruler illustrates this change: infuriated by the rich clothing and florid makeup of a Taoist "nun" at the *Chih te nü kuan kuan*, which he visited incognito, he ordered all of the women driven from the place, and appointed two men as its custodians.

Smaller in size but not always less luxurious than palaces and temples were the private estates of the great magnates of the capital. Their fine houses and gardens were concentrated, as in the eighth century, in the eastern and central parts of the city. The extravagance of the third quarter of the eighth century, repressed at the end of Tai Tsung's reign, seems to have shown itself again in the early years of the ninth, for when Wen Tsung took the throne in 827 he handed down a sweeping decree requiring simplicity and sobriety in costume, makeup, ornamentation, carriages and even in conduct (merchants and priests, for instance, were forbidden to ride horses)¹¹⁹. This edict extended to the houses of the upper classes, which were to be strictly regulated as to size. But the enactment occasioned great resentment, and the "mayor" (*yin*) of the capital did not enforce the unpopular rule with any enthusiasm, so that in the end the emperor's will was frustrated¹²⁰. A particularly rich district was in the vicinity of the

¹¹⁵ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 4, 91; Liu Yü-hsi wrote poems on each of his visits. For the last, see *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 6, ts'ê 3, ch. 12, 9a.

¹¹⁶ Another Taoist garden much celebrated in the ninth century was in the Close of Jade Stamens (*Yü jui yüan*) in the *T'ang ch'ang kuan* in the *An-yeh* Quarter. Its great claim to fame was the appearance there, in Hsien Tsung's time, of a beautiful fairy maiden. She was thought by bystanders to be some court lady picking flowers, until she disappeared into the sky. This apparition was a favorite theme for poets, including Yen Hsiu-fu, Yüan Chen, and Liu Yü-shi. *Chü t'an lu*, 8b—10a.

¹¹⁷ "Chronicle".

¹¹⁸ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 4, 99. The other was the *Yü chen nü kuan kuan*.

¹¹⁹ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 2, 33, quoting *T'ang yü lin*.

¹²⁰ *T'ang shu*, 24, 3683b. The rules were to be: no double bracketed ceilings; *halls*: 3rd class officers — 5 spaces, 9 beams; 5th class officers — 5 spaces, 7 beams; 6th and 7th class officers — 3 spaces, 5 beams; commoners — 4 beams; *gates*: 3rd class — 3 spaces, 5 beams; 5th class — 3 spaces, 2 beams; below that — 1 space, 2 beams. Apparently we have here standard measurements of building size, the "beam" (*chia*) being a tenth of a "space" (*chien*). But I cannot tell what areas were involved. (This usage appears to differ from that referred to in

Chien fu Temple. Here were the homes of aristocrats, ministers and respected literateurs — such men as Yüan Tsai, Ling-hu Ch'u, Yüan Chen and Tu Mu. Tu Mu himself reports that a house in this neighborhood cost 3,000,000 cash (*ch'ien*)¹²¹.

Such men as these took as much pride in their gardens as in their fine mansions. Many of these handsome creations were celebrated by distinguished poets of this century — notably by Po Chü-i, who went boating in the pond at the residence of the magnate P'ei Tu in the *Hsing hua* Quarter¹²², and was enthralled by the bamboo-shaded pool of the former "mayor" Yang P'ing in the *Yung ning* Quarter¹²³. Another admired bamboo garden was at the mansion of the minister P'ei Hsiang in the *Hsin ch'ang* Quarter — it was complex enough to provide a refuge for fleeing murderers¹²⁴. Most splendid of all, probably, was the residence of Li Te-yü during the reigns of Wen Tsung and Wu Tsung. This establishment in the *An i* Quarter near the Eastern Market was notable both for the great size of its buildings and for the advanced taste of its gardens, with their "fantastic stones and ancient pines, as austere as those in a painted picture"¹²⁵. Li Te-yü's cultivation of the wild "natural" taste in garden design is well known¹²⁶; this statement also indicates that the taste for rugged stones and twisted trees was also prevalent among the painters of the ninth century. (The minister also kept a pavilion at this estate in which he displayed masterpieces of painting and calligraphy.)

The gentry prided itself on gorgeous arrangements of garden plants, ranging down from flowering trees, such as the redbuds (*tzu ching*) in Tuan Ch'eng-shih's garden¹²⁷, to the tenderest herbaceous plants. Most popular of all were the tree-peonies (*mu-tan*). A vogue for planting elegant varieties of this shrub, hardly known before T'ang times, swept the aristocracy in the last decades of the eighth century, and in the early ninth approximated the tulipomania of the Netherlands in the seventeenth. Po Chü-i has described the Ch'ang-an flower market at the height of the peony season in spring¹²⁸, and Tuan Ch'eng-shih reports that in his lifetime a single flower might cost several ten thousand *ch'ien*¹²⁹. Famous

Wen hsien t'ung k'ao, 19, 184 (*K'ai ming* ed.), which, referring to Te Tsung's unusual tax on houses, states that "in regulation houses two beams make one space; the [tax on] a "superior" space was 2,000 cash; on a "middle" space was 1,000; on an "inferior" space was 500". Here I take "superior" etc. to refer to the relative size of that "space").

¹²¹ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 2, 33—35. These were the *An-jen* and *K'ai-hua* Quarters. See also *Hsi-an li-shih shu-lüeh*, p. 84, for private homes in the ninth century.

¹²² *Ch'ang-an chih*, 9, 9b.

¹²³ *Ch'ang-an chih*, 8, 7a.

¹²⁴ *Ch'ang-an chih*, 9, 5a.

¹²⁵ *Chü t'an lu*, b, 3a—4b. Li Te-yü's garden villa, *P'ing ch'üan chuang*, 30 li south of Lo-yang is even more famous.

¹²⁶ E. H. SCHAFER, *Tu Wan's Stone Catalogue of Cloudy Forest; A Commentary and Synopsis* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961), p. 7.

¹²⁷ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 3, 76, quoting *Yu yang tsa tsu*.

¹²⁸ WALEY, *Hundred and Seventy*, p. 187.

¹²⁹ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, hsü 9, 247.

peony fanciers in the capital were the minister Ling-hu Ch'ü¹³⁰, the provincial legate Li Chin-hsien (who had his clumps covered with brocaded canopies)¹³¹, and the poet Hsü Yin¹³², who survived the disorders of the end of the century to continue his career in the upstart state of Min in Fukien. Most famous of all peony gardens was, characteristically, that of the great Tz'u en szu, where there were two plots of flowers by the "bath hall" (yü t'ang), each with five or six hundred blooms. Though the popular colors in this age were a pale pink and a deep "purple" (tzu), this magnificent garden boasted a unique bed of deep, rich crimson flowers¹³³.

In addition to fine architecture and garden landscaping, birds were a desired feature of the best gardens — not only the wild birds attracted by the luxuriant foliage and its offerings of berries and insects as food, but domestic fowl procured to decorate pond and stream. An example is the Feng family mansion in the Ch'in jen Quarter which maintained, in mid-century, a great flock of ducks, geese and "various other fowl" under a special caretaker¹³⁴.

The appearance of the anti-aristocrat Huang Ch'ao and his proletarian army brought most of this beauty and luxury to an end. Much of the gentry was slaughtered, though many magnates were able to escape into the mountains south of Ch'ang-an, where their heirs survived in abundance in Hu-hsien and Tu-hsien in the tenth century¹³⁵.

At the excellent boundary of our Divine Lord's town,

Is the old pond of Khumdan the capital¹³⁶.

These words introduce the well-wrought *fu* (rhapsodic description) of Wang Ch'i, written late in the ninth century, about the great pleasure garden of the aristocracy in the southeastern corner of the metropolis. Most celebrated among its attractions were the "Lotus Garden" (*Fu-jung yüan*) and the "Loft Building of Purple Clouds" (*Tzu yüan lou*) in its southwestern part and the "Apricot Garden" (*Ling yüan*) in its northwestern part¹³⁷. The Arab Ibn Wahab reported to Abū Zayd that the common folk of the capital were excluded from the beautiful parks along its canals and other waterways¹³⁸. I have seen no Chinese evidence to support this statement, though indeed the surviving literature makes these gardens out to be the particular (even if not the exclusive) haunt of the gentry. Certainly there is abundant evidence that men of the upper classes could go there to recreate themselves whenever they chose. Po Chü-i, for instance, as many of his poems attest, was a frequent visitor to the *Ch'ü chiang*. He

¹³⁰ *Ch'ang-an chih*, 7, 7a, quoting *Yu yang tsa tsu*.

¹³¹ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 4, 94.

¹³² *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 4, 94.

¹³³ *Chü t'an lu*, b, 4a.

¹³⁴ *Ch'ang-an chih*, 8, 6a, quoting *Lu shih tsa shuo*.

¹³⁵ *Chia shih t'an lu*, 3b — 4a.

¹³⁶ WANG CH'I, "Ch'ü chiang ch'ih fu", *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 770, 20a — 21a. Another contemporary account of the *Ch'ü chiang* is Ou-yang Chan (ca. 785 — ca. 827), "Ch'ü chiang ch'ih chi", *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 6a — 9a, but this proves to be a philosophic reflection, not a true description.

¹³⁷ *Chü t'an lu*, b, 30a; cf. *Ch'ang-an chih*, 9, 5b.

¹³⁸ RENAUDOT, *Ancient Accounts*, pp. 58 — 59.

liked to go there on horseback, dismount, and stroll among the willows along its banks. Richly planted with trees and flowers, including willows, poplars, pink lotuses, marsh-grasses and reeds, and attracting wildfowl of every sort¹³⁹, the gardens brought visitors from among the elite at every season. They were as popular in the autumn, when the cries of wild teal and geese were heard, and when "the tender chrysanthemums are gold colored, the deep springs are mirror clear", as it was in the spring¹⁴⁰. The long lake itself was a fascinating object of contemplation. WANG CH'İ wrote of it that,

When the auspicious sun begins to ascend the eastern rampart,

It is deeply imbued with aerial images.

That is, as soon as it is light, the lake shows images of the sky, clouds, flying birds, and the like, as if they were immersed in it. That the study of such reflections was a serious aesthetic occupation in the ninth century we know from contemporary accounts of "bowl pools" (*p'en ch'ih*), which provided both literal and ideal "reflections" for such persons as HAN YÜ¹⁴¹.

The park was an earthly paradise, through which strolled the earthly simulacra of the immortal sylphs in the blessed isles:

Why need we wait for *luan* and crane at Three Mounts?

Year after year *this* land is Ocean Island¹⁴².

The park was at its most brilliant during the great annual festivals. During the *shang-szu* feast (on "Upper Ophidian" day; a New Year's festival), the sovereign entertained his court there, with decorations provided by the the *Ching chao yin* and the magistrates of the two *hsien*. The high-born throng disported itself on the finest mats and in multicolored silken tents along the banks of the lake, listening to performances of the court orchestras, both classical (with stone chimes) and exotic-modern (with lutes), while the most exalted officials reclined in painted boats on the waters of the lake¹⁴³. Equally brilliant were the gatherings to view spring flowers and foliage at the time of "Solar Concord" (*yang ho*), that is, in mid-spring:

Reins of jade and whips of gold,

Engraved chaises with embroidered wheels,

Pell-mell jostling,

Hugger-mugger rumbling,

The tents of a thousand families spread halcyon-blue,

The dust of many neighborhoods congealed with perfume;

Son of lord or grandson of prince —

He is not avid for an Assembly at Orchid Kiosk;

Moth-eyebrows and cicada-lovelocks —

From afar she might be the Person of the Lo Estuary¹⁴⁴.

¹³⁹ *Ch'ü chiang ch'ih fu*.

¹⁴⁰ *Ch'ü chiang ch'ih fu*.

¹⁴¹ E. g. Han Yü, in *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 5, ts'e 10, ch. 8, 9a — 9b.

¹⁴² YUNG YÜ-CHIH (fl. 813), "Ch'ü chiang ch'ih shang", *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 7, ts'e 9, 4a.

¹⁴³ *Ch'ü t'an lu*, b, 30a — 31a.

¹⁴⁴ *Ch'ü chiang ch'ih fu*.

(Here the images are a mixture of old and new: the tents of "halcyon-blue" remind us of Po Chü-i's sky-blue Turkish tent, an early ninth century fad; the "Orchid Kiosk" was the meeting place of Wang Hsi-chih and a band of literateurs beside the eponymous "Bent Water" (*ch'ü shui*) in Chekiang in the spring of 353, where all wrote poems — unlike the modern T'ang lordlings who gathered for more frivolous purposes; "cicada-lovelocks" was a hairdo invented in the third century; the "Person of the Lo Estuary" was Fu Fei, goddess of the Lo River.) On this occasion too there were performances by the court orchestras, and also by jugglers and mountebanks. The Son of Heaven himself attended¹⁴⁵. In the fall as well, on the ninth day of the ninth month, the day of the "Double Solarity" (*ch'ung yang*) feast, the gentry gathered for picnics, entertainments, and drunken brawls¹⁴⁶. A restricted festival was the celebration for the newly elected "Advanced Gentlemen" (*chin shih*) at a pavilion overlooking the Apricot Garden. This party, held early in the year, was at the same time an occasion for "testing the spring", and there was a keen competition to find the earliest blooms¹⁴⁷. (This celebrated garden grew more than the apricot blooms for which it was named: Po Chü-i wrote of the despised jujubes there, base plebeian trees, with bark as wrinkled as a tortoise's skin and little leaves "like rats' ears"; yet even these showed handsome flowers in spring, and they were useful creatures, not to be despised among their gorgeous neighbors, for the noble lords needed their wood to make the wheels and axles for the carriages which brought them to the *Ch'ü Chiang* park¹⁴⁸.) Close by the Apricot Garden were the opulent towers of the *Tz'u en* Temple, whose pagoda (called "Great Goose Pagoda" in our own times) was climbed by the successful young scholars after their picnic, who wrote their names on its walls¹⁴⁹. Unfortunately these graffiti have not survived. Yet, despite the fine language of Wang Ch'i and other admirers of the water-park, the *Ch'ü Chiang* at the beginning of the ninth century was by no means what it had been before the An Lu-shan uprising. Its splendor was never quite recovered, though poets and connoisseurs of natural beauty and bygone days continued to visit it after that disaster. We suspect that the early ninth century descriptions are pregnant with nostalgia, though no doubt aristocratic parties paid their seasonal visits in the good times of Hsien Tsung. Mu Tsung did some partial reconstruction there, such as his abortive attempt to expand the lotus garden¹⁵⁰, but a semblance of its former glory was not achieved until 835, when Wen Tsung, inspired by the words of Tu Fu lamenting the deterioration of the gardens and lake after 756, had the lake dredged and the gardens restored,

¹⁴⁵ *Ch'ü Chiang ch'ih fu*.

¹⁴⁶ *Ch'ü Chiang ch'ih fu*.

¹⁴⁷ *Ch'ü Chiang ch'ih fu*; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng iang k'ao*, 3, 86; LI NAO, *Ch'in chung shui shih chi* (*Shuo fu*, ts'e 140, han 69).

¹⁴⁸ PO CHÜ-I, "Ling yüan chung tsao shu", *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 7, ts'e 1, ch. 1, 18b.

¹⁴⁹ ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 207.

¹⁵⁰ "Chronicle".

and Hsüán Tsung's Purple Clouds Tower and Colored Sunset-clouds Pavilion reconstructed¹⁵¹.

Another royal garden outside the palace precincts was the *Feng ch'eng* Garden, in the *An i* Quarter. This had been the home of the minister Ma Sui and his rich son Ma Ch'ang, until Te Tsung forced the family to surrender it to the throne in 797. It is frequently referred to in the prose and poetry of the ninth century, especially, as Waley says, ". . . as a symbol of the transitoriness of worldly possessions and glory"¹⁵².

We note now a few changes in the structure of the capital during the ninth century. Though the busy Western Market seems not to have changed appreciably since the eighth century, although ravaged more than once by fire¹⁵³, the Eastern Market, formerly purveying goods to the upper classes in that part of the city, had by the beginning of the ninth century become largely a residential district¹⁵⁴. It too suffered from a destructive fire in the summer of 843¹⁵⁵. Since these two great centers of trade were closed during the hours of darkness, what shopping was done after sunset was restricted to the local night markets. It is not clear why Wen Tsung ordered these night markets shut down in the winter of 840/841¹⁵⁶. Perhaps it was the result of some scandals.

The ninth century also witnessed the rapid development of public houses of prostitution, accompanying the rise of the merchant class and a money economy in the latter part of T'ang. These institutions were to be found near all such busy places as the city gates, markets and temples, but the representative quarter of the harlots was "North Town" (*Pei li*), which occupied the northeastern part of the *P'ing k'ang* Quarter, and had already been in existence in Hsüán Tsung's time in the first half of the eighth century. "North Town" had three east-west running alleys (*ch'ü*), each it seems with several dozen houses and several dozen women in typical houses. In "South Alley" lived the greatest number of famous courtesans; "North Alley" had the fewest. The smallest houses contained only a single girl with her "foster-mother", who supplemented their income by selling sweetmeats and other refreshments¹⁵⁷.

In this age there was also a great evolution of cafés ("kiosks with flags", *ch'i t'ing*) and bars ("loft houses with wine", *chiu lou*). This development, which also changed the appearance of the capital, paralleled the decline of aristocratic culture and the rise of the bourgeoisie¹⁵⁸, and was related to the proliferation of the Uighur usurers in Ch'ang-an late in the eighth and

¹⁵¹ "Chronicle"; ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 187; *T'ang hui yao*, (in *Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng*), 30, 563; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 3, 86.

¹⁵² *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 3, 71; WALEY, *Life and Times*, p. 17.

¹⁵³ "Chronicle", for 820 and 836.

¹⁵⁴ WALEY, *Life and Times*, p. 31. But, as the Chronicle shows, rich goods were still bought and sold there.

¹⁵⁵ "Chronicle".

¹⁵⁶ "Chronicle".

¹⁵⁷ KISHIBE, *Tōdai ongaku*, pp. 95—99.

¹⁵⁸ KISHIBE, *Tōdai ongaku*, p. 98.

early in the ninth century — they made it possible for young men to enjoy themselves in the big city.

Conscientious research may some day reveal what new trades and businesses developed in ninth century Ch'ang-an, and how these changed the face of the city. Merely as a token I suggest the exploration of popular tales and anecdotes. The *Kan sun tzu* of Wen T'ing-yün, for instance, tells of what appears to be a bank in the Western Market, called "Quarter of Caskets" (*k'uei tang*), where a man kept his money on deposit, and of a lapidary in the Yen shou Quarter, east of the Western Market, to whom pieces of Khotanese jade were taken for appraisal¹⁵⁹.

IV. Chronicle of the Fortunes of Ch'ang-an in the Ninth Century

Here are listed the events, great and small, which affected the city of Ch'ang-an as a physical entity, and more remotely as an object of thought, imagination and emotion, during the last century of its life, the ninth. The chronicle includes, on the one hand, references to new buildings and repairs or additions to old ones, and to gardens and the like. Most dated notices of such activities refer to the first half of the century. The opposite side of the picture is chiefly a record of disasters. These are of three sorts: first, misfortunes of natural origin — fires and floods; second, the results of official persecution of religions, in particular the attacks on the Manichaens and Buddhists culminating in the great persecution of 845; third, the ravages of war and insurrection, most terribly, the occupation of the capital by Huang Ch'ao early in 881. The city was never quite the same after this disaster, in spite of attempts to rebuild it in part. We are fortunate in having a contemporary ballad¹⁶⁰, a tale of arson, pillage, rape, and cannibalism, of rustics masquerading as ministers, of aristocratic bodies sunk in mud and blood — an account, in short, of the condition of Ch'ang-an immediately after the departure of Huang Ch'ao. It tells, as no bare chronicle could do, the reality of life in the shattered city. Here is an excerpt from "The Lament of the Lady of Ch'in", by WEI CHUANG translated by Lionel Giles¹⁶¹:

Ch'ang-an lies in mournful stillness: what does it now contain?

— Ruined markets and desolate streets, in which ears of wheat are sprouting.

Fuel-gatherers have hacked down every flowering plant in the Apricot Gardens,

¹⁵⁹ WEN T'ING YÜN, *Kan sun tzu*, quoted in *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 4, 106.

¹⁶⁰ Gleaned from the pages of the "Wu hsing chih" in both T'ang histories.

¹⁶¹ *T'oung pao*, 24 (1926), 305—380. This excerpt is on pp. 343—344. The ballad is the work of WEI CHUANG, written when he was a young man in Lo-yang in the 880's. It is extant in five MMS. from Tun-huang, three in the Stein collection, and two in the Pelliot collection. The MMS. in London are all of the tenth century, one bearing the date 919. See GILES, *Lament*, pp. 305, 307, 318.

Builders of barricades have destroyed the willows along the Imperial Canal.

All the gaily-coloured chariots with their ornamented wheels are scattered and gone,

Of the stately mansions with their vermilion gates less than half remain.

The Han-yüan Hall is the haunt of foxes and hares,

The approach to the Flower-calyx Belvedere is a mass of brambles and thorns.

All the pomp and magnificence of the olden days are buried and passed away;

Only a dreary waste meets the eye; the old familiar objects are no more.

The Inner Treasury is burnt down, its tapestries and embroideries a heap of ashes;

All along the Street of Heaven one treads on the bones of State officials.

"The Chronicle"

803 [2/25—3/26]: repairs to the *Han yüan tien*, chief hall of the Great Luminous Palace¹⁶².

[2/25—3/26]: fire in the *Chia ling szu* ("Office of Household Commands"), the office of the manager of the crown prince's household, in the *Huang ch'eng*¹⁶³.

804 [5/13—6/10]: fire in the *K'ai yeh szu*, a Buddhist establishment first erected (as its name shows) in early Sui times, in the *Feng le* Quarter near the center of the city¹⁶⁴.

806: a *Tai lou yüan* "Close for Attending the Clepsydra", where the great officers of state awaited the opening of the palace gates at the end of the fifth watch of the night, was built in the *Kuang tse* Quarter. This was adjacent to the *Chien fu* ("Fortune Established") Gate in the south wall of the Great Luminous Palace¹⁶⁵.

— : Trees were blown down by a high wind¹⁶⁶.

807 [7/9—8/6]: a new outer wall (*chia ch'eng* "hemming wall") was built by troops of the palace guard north of the Great Luminous Palace¹⁶⁷. A gate, named "Arcane Transformation" (*Hsüan hua*), and a loft, named "Brilliance of Morning" (*Ch'en hui lou*), were made for it¹⁶⁸. (Part of this wall, adjacent to the gate has recently been excavated¹⁶⁹.)

¹⁶² *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 13b. Dates in brackets represent western equivalents of a Chinese month or lesser period specified in the text, where the exact day is omitted.

¹⁶³ *T'ang shu*, 34, 3713d; *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 787.

¹⁶⁴ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3205c; *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 787; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 4, 89.

¹⁶⁵ *Yung lu*, 8, 12b; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 3, 48.

¹⁶⁶ *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 794.

¹⁶⁷ *Tso shen ts'e chün*, commanded by a eunuch-official. For *shen ts'e* "divine stalks/divine stratagems" see GILES, *Lament*, p. 310 and n. 3, and WALEY, *Life and Times*, p. 59. This most powerful of the palace guards were compared by Waley to the Nazi SS.

¹⁶⁸ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 13b; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 562.

¹⁶⁹ *T'ang Ch'ang-an Ta ming kung*, pp. 14—15.

808 May 19: a great wind demolished a considerable length of the balustrade by the west portal of the *Han yüan tien*. This was interpreted as presaging war¹⁷⁰.

[10/23—11/21]: repairs to the *Ta t'ung* ("Great Identity") Basilica (93 "spaces") and to 1600 spaces of walls and lesser buildings in the *Hsing ch'ing kung*. Also work on two loft buildings, "Zealous Administration" (*Ch'in cheng*) and "Brightly Shining" (*Ming kuang*)¹⁷¹.

809 [3/20—4/18]: fire in a Buddhist sanctuary in the *Yü shih t'ai* ("Tribunal of Notaries to the Autocrat"), which issued impeachments, in the *Huang ch'eng*. The officer on duty, Li Ying, was fined three months' salary¹⁷².

[7/16—8/14]: elaborate reconstruction and new work in the *An kuo szu*, an important Buddhist temple in the *Ch'ang le* Quarter near the entrance to the Great Luminous Palace¹⁷³.

— : the great revolving book-case and its housing (*chuan lun tsang ching ko*), made to house the Buddhist canon at the *Ta hsing shan szu*, were probably built this year¹⁷⁴.

810 [12/1—12/29]: Hsien Tsung told his ministers that although many of the older palace buildings badly needed repairs, he was doubtful whether such expensive undertakings were feasible¹⁷⁵.

811 [5/26—6/24]: The "Pavilion of Southern Bamboos" (*Nan chu t'ing*) by the *Hsing an* ("Exalted Security") Gate, in the south wall of the Great Luminous Palace, was razed¹⁷⁶.

813 July 10: much destruction of houses in a wind storm. Many citizens killed by falling roof tiles. Floods south of the city; the waters entered the *Ming te* ("Illuminating Virtue") Gate and flooded the streets. (The next day, the Wei River, north of the city, overflowed its banks and its bridges collapsed¹⁷⁷.)

814 [6/21—7/20]: the *Li pin yüan* ("Close for Courtesies to Guests"), the office which made arrangements for the reception of guests of the state, was established in the *Ch'ang hsing* Quarter, south of the *Huang ch'eng*, moved here from the *Ch'ung jen* Quarter to the northeast¹⁷⁸.

816/817 [12/23—1/20]: floods damaged the fields of *Ching-chao-fu*¹⁷⁹. (Uncertain if the city itself was affected.)

[12/23—1/20]: ruffians, the agents of the conspirators Wang Ch'eng-tsung and Li Shih-tao, set fires at the old Han palace, the *Wei yang kung*, and at the pastures of the imperial stables (*fei lung ts'ao ch'ang* "grass tract of flying dragons"¹⁸⁰).

¹⁷⁰ *T'ang shu*, 35, 3714 d; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3205 a; *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 794. "West portal" is *hsi ch'üeh*, i. e. the ceremonial entrance to the basilica. *T'ang shu* and *Chiu T'ang shu* both state that 27 spaces (*chien*) were destroyed; *T'ang hui yao* makes it only 14 spaces.

¹⁷¹ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 13 b; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 562. *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 559, has part of this passage wrongly under the year *T'ai ho* 3 instead of *Yüan ho* 3.

¹⁷² *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3205 c; *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 787; *Ch'ang-an chih*, 7, 4 b; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 5, 41.

¹⁷³ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 513, 19 a; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 3, 66.

¹⁷⁴ It is referred to in an inscription of January 16, 823. See L. C. GOODRICH, "The Revolving Book-case in China", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 7 (1942), 133. ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 220, says that it was constructed in 809, and destroyed in the persecution of 845. I am unable to find his evidence for the earlier date. Cf. *Hsü-hsiu Shan-hsi-sheng t'ung-chih kao* (1934), 131, 6 a.

¹⁷⁵ *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 562.

¹⁷⁶ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 13 b; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 562.

¹⁷⁷ *T'ang shu*, 35, 3714 d; 36, 3717 b; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3204 d.

¹⁷⁸ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 13 b; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 2, 40. See under 825 below for subsequent use of these buildings.

¹⁷⁹ *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 785.

¹⁸⁰ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3205 c; *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 787.

817, February 25: a Buddhist temple, the *Yüan ho sheng shou szu*, was established at the encampment of the imperial guards, the Right Army of Divine Stratagems, outside the *Hsüan wu* Gate, north of the Great Luminous Palace¹⁸¹.

[4/20—5/19]: soldiers of the Right Army of Divine Stratagems were employed to build a "hemming wall" (*chia ch'eng*) parallel to the western part of the north wall of the city; it extended from the northwest corner of the old palace (*T'ai chi kung*) westward along the north wall of the *Hsiu te* Quarter as far as the *Hsing fu* Temple in its northwestern corner. A "new market" was established south of the *Fang lin* ("Fragrant Forest") Gate, which was now inside the new wall¹⁸².

[5/20—6/18]: fire at the Buddhist Temple of the Divine Dragon (*Shen lung szu*) in the grounds of the old palace¹⁸³.

[6/19—7/17]: a gallery of 400 *chien* was built around P'eng-lai Pool in the northeastern part of the Great Luminous Palace¹⁸⁴.

August 13: heavy rain: a pillar of the *Han yüan tien* gave way; the water stood three feet deep in the marketplaces. More than 2000 houses were damaged¹⁸⁵.

818 [3/11—4/8]: a western gallery was built for the royal hall styled "Unicorn Virtue" (*Lin te tien*). Outside the east inner wall of the palace, in the "Inner Park", the Dragon Head Pool (*Lung shou ch'ih*) was dredged, and the basilica named "Receiving Brilliance" (*Ch'eng hui tien*) was raised beside it; this hall was luxuriously ornamented, and its vicinity planted with flowers and trees brought from the great Buddhist monasteries of the city¹⁸⁶.

— : the people¹⁸⁷ of the Western Market held a great "unrestricted" (*wu she*) feast for the Buddhist clergy at the Gate of the Fragrant Forest in the north wall of the city¹⁸⁸.

819 [1/30—2/27]: the *Chang nei chiao fang* ("Instruction Quarter Within the Armory"), a remnant of the famous "Instruction Quarter" for training musicians and dancers in the palace of Hsüan Tsung's time, was moved to the *Yen cheng* (also called *Ch'ang le*) Quarter in the northeastern part of the city¹⁸⁹.

[3/30—4/27]: the Loft Building of Zealous Administration (*Ch'in cheng lou*) in the *Hsien ch'ing* Palace was restored by a force of 2000 soldiers¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸¹ *Ts'e fu yüan kwei*, 52, 8b. For this army (*Yu shen ts'e chün*), cf. n. 167.

¹⁸² *Ts'e fu yüan kwei*, 14, 14a; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 562; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 4, 98. The last-named source says that the gate of the new wall was "Kuang-hua" and its tower "Ch'en-hui" apparently confusing this with the hemming wall north of the Great Luminous Palace built in 807.

¹⁸³ *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 787. This temple was also named "Buddha's Light" (*Fo kuang szu*). *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 1, 5—6.

¹⁸⁴ *Ts'e fu yüan*, 14, 14a; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 562.

¹⁸⁵ *T'ang shu*, 36, 3717b; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3204d; *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 785.

¹⁸⁶ *Ts'e fu yüan kwei*, 14, 14a; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 563; the pool and new hall were in a gardened part of the "Inner Park", an extension of the hunting park between the inner and outer walls of the Great Luminous Palace. *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 1, 27.

¹⁸⁷ *Po hsing*. Are we to understand resident merchants?

¹⁸⁸ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 1, 32.

¹⁸⁹ *Ts'e fu yüan kwei*, 14, 14a. See KISHIBE *Tōdai ongaku*, pp. 90—91, for the history of this institution. He believes that by this time it was restricted mainly to "unclassified music", i. e. acrobatic performances and the like. Later in the century it seems to have located in the *Hsüan-p'ing* Quarter, south of the Eastern Market, along with the "Office of Drum and Blast" (military bands). Cf. *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 3, 73. For "armory" see entry under 829, November 6, and footnote. See also the entries under 826 and 841.

¹⁹⁰ *Ts'e fu yüan kwei*, 14, 14a; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 559. *Ts'e fu yüan kwei* has *kuan t'u*, but the *kuan chien* of *T'ang hui yao*, which I have rendered simply as "soldiers", is probably correct, being a well attested term local troops receiving regular pay in the form of clothes and rations.

November 24: fire in the government finance office (*Tu chih*) in the *Huang ch'eng*¹⁹¹.

820 [1/19—2/17]: a great number of persons perished in a fire in the Western Market¹⁹².

[3/18—4/16]: a new gateway was made in a gallery near the southern entrance to the Great Luminous Palace to give high officials easier access to the *Yen ying* ("Attracting Nobility") Road in the palace complex¹⁹³.

[8/13—9/10]: soon after Hsien Tsung's death, his successor, Mu Tsung, had two new "basilicas" built in the parkland between the Great Luminous Palace and the old palace in the west — the *Yung an tien* ("Eternal Security") and the *Pao ch'ing tien* ("Precious Felicity") — and had repairs made to two gateways, the *Jih hua men* ("Splendor of the Sun") and the *T'ung ch'ien men* ("Communicating with the Empyrean"), as well as to the buildings and galleries of the audience hall (*ch'ao t'ang*) near the palace gate. All of these last were in the Great Luminous Palace¹⁹⁴.

[9/11—10/10]: 3000 men of the Divine Stratagems guards were assigned to dredge the Pool of Fish and Wrack (*Yü tsao ch'ih*) in the imperial hunting park¹⁹⁵.

October 11—14: great rain and snow storms: large numbers of trees fell along the city streets and in the imperial park. The north gates of the Markets and Quarters were ordered closed as an exorcistic measure¹⁹⁶.

[11/10—12/8]: 1000 men from the guard (of the Right) were assigned to build a wall and construct watch-towers in front of the *Shao yang yüan* ("Close of the Lesser Solarity") in the southeastern part of the Great Luminous Palace¹⁹⁷.

821 [6/4—7/2]: a "Hundred Foot Loft Building" (*Po ch'ih lou*) was built in the Great Luminous Palace. Because of shortages in the treasury, troubles in the realm, and a great amount of expensive construction, there was much criticism of this project¹⁹⁸.

822, July 8: a great lightning storm knocked the finials from the "Grand Shrine" (*T'ai miao*), the ancestral temple of the Son of Heaven in the *Huang ch'eng*, and overthrew all the trees at the Tribunal of Notaries to the Autocrat (*Yü shih t'ai*)¹⁹⁹.

October 14: Mu Tsung had previously ordered the enlargement of the Lotus Park (*Fu jung yüan*) by the *Ch'ü Chiang* in the southeastern corner of the city. This required the removal of the residences and private cemeteries along the south side of the park. Because of the public outcry, the undertaking was suspended by imperial decree²⁰⁰.

824, July 2: a violent wind destroyed the two eastern gates of the *Huang ch'eng* — the *Yen hsi* ("Extending Joy") and the *Ching feng* ("Spectacular Wind")²⁰¹.

825 [7/20—8/17]: Ching Tsung, over strong ministerial objections, built a new basilica in the "Close of Clear Thought" (*Ch'ing szu yüan*) in the Great Luminous Palace, and had new pictorial panels (*t'u chang*) painted for the "Basilica of Solar

¹⁹¹ *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 787. This was a sub-department of the *Hu pu*.

¹⁹² *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 788.

¹⁹³ *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 563.

¹⁹⁴ *Ts'ê fu yüan kuei*, 14, 14b; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 563; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 1, 18, and 1, 27. The exact location of the two new halls is doubtful.

¹⁹⁵ *Ts'ê fu yüan kuei*, 14, 14b; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 563; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 1, 29.

¹⁹⁶ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3204d.

¹⁹⁷ *Ts'ê fu yüan kuei*, 14, 14b; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 563.

¹⁹⁸ *Ts'ê fu yüan kuei*, 14, 14b; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 563; *Ch'ang-an chih*, 6, 9a.

¹⁹⁹ *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 794.

²⁰⁰ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 16, 3116d; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 3, 87.

²⁰¹ *T'ang shu*, 35, 3714d; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3205a; *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 794. All of these sources disagree about the date of the storm. *T'ang hui yao* is probably correct.

Virtue" (*Yang te tien*)²⁰². For the former he required 100,00 pieces of gold and silver foil, and 3000 catties of mirror-bronze²⁰³.

— : The *Li pin yüan* "Close for Courtesies to Guests" in the *Ch'ang hsing* Quarter was abolished, and the buildings given over to an Instruction Quarter (*chiao tang*) for training acrobats, athletes, and prestidigitators²⁰⁴.

826, February 16: 20,000 men of the palace and the police (*Huang ch'eng tso yu Chin wu*) were conscripted to excavate a new pond with a royal hall beside it, presumably in the Great Luminous Palace. Ching Tsung had the officers catch fish in the Pool of Congealed Indigo (*Ning pi ch'ih*) in the hunting park, and transferred the largest of these to the new pond²⁰⁵.

June 23: Soldiers of the palace guards had been assigned the task of restoring the *Wei yang* Palace of the Han Emperors, whose ruins remained in the hunting park. During their excavations they discovered a couch or bed, six feet long, of "white jade" (marble?)²⁰⁶.

827 [4/30—5/29]: the "Pavilion where Ducks are Freed" (*Fang ya t'ing*), east of the *Sheng yang tien* ("Basilica of Ascending Solarity") in the hunting park, and the Observation Loft Building (*K'an lou*) beside the *Wang hsien* ("Watching for the Sylphs") Gate in the Great Luminous Palace, both constructions of Ching Tsung, were razed²⁰⁷.

September 8: grounds and buildings taken for park and garden use late in Ching Tsung's short reign from the *Men hsia sheng* (privy seal office) in the Great Luminous Palace, including the *Ju ching* Granaries, were returned to that office²⁰⁸.

— : all of the official residences in the *Yeng k'ang* Quarter, near the Western Market, were converted for occupancy by the royal princes²⁰⁹.

828 [9/13—10/12]: repairs to the *An fu lou* ("Loft Building of Security and Fortune"), apparently in the *Yen shou* Quarter near the Western Market, and to 188 "spaces" of the grounds and buildings of the *Nan tien yüan* ("Close of the Southern Basilica")²¹⁰; also, the *Liang i tien* ("Basilica of Both Observances") and the *Kan lu tien* ("Basilica of Sweet Dew") were restored, 172 "spaces" in all. These last named buildings were in the old palace²¹¹.

²⁰² *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 14b. The location of the *Yang-te tien* is unknown.

²⁰³ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 14b. *Ch'ang-an chih*, 6, 9a, has "3000 bronze specula" and "100,000 pieces (cakes) of gold foil". Whichever is correct, it appears that contemplation was assisted by extensive metallic reflecting surfaces in this hall.

²⁰⁴ *Ch'ang-an chih*, 10, 11a. In the eighth century this "close" had been in the *Ch'ung jen* (also called *Ch'ang hua*) Quarter, but was abolished until restored here in 814. *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 3, 50. On August 5, 826, Ching Tsung ordered an entertainment on the palace grounds, with performances by the "Instruction Quarters of the Left and Right Armies", i. e. of the palace guards. They put on a polo game, a boxing contest (*shou p'o*), and other shows, including illusory maimings and decapitations. See *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 243, 14b. It appears that a number of institutions, including the army, had their own *chiao tang* in the ninth century. KISHIMOTO seems to be right in thinking that the purely musical and choreographic aspects of the *chiao tang* had disappeared since Hsüan Tsung's time. See under 819 and 841.

²⁰⁵ *T'ang shu*, 8, 3652d; *Ch'ang-an chih*, 6, 6a.

²⁰⁶ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 15a; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 17a, 3119a; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 563. *T'ang hui yao* gives the year as 825, apparently in error.

²⁰⁷ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 15a; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 563; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 1, 28, and 1, 17.

²⁰⁸ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 15a. *Ju ching* is a quotation from the *Shih ching* said to mean "[grain piled up] like a monument (*ching*)".

²⁰⁹ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 4, 104.

²¹⁰ Unlocated; perhaps an error for *Nan t'ing yüan* in the Great Luminous Palace.

²¹¹ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 15b; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 563; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 1, 4; 1, 23; 4, 102.

[10/13—11/10]: the erection of an extending wall from the *Chi hsien yüan* ("Close of Assembled Worthies"), a kind of research library in the Great Luminous Palace, to the *Chao ch'ing* ("Radiant Felicity") Gate near the south-western corner of the palace, and 39 *ch'ien* of buildings south of the close, were authorized^{211 a}.

— : the Gallery of the Devarāja (*T'ien wang ko*) built in 821/824 inside the *Ch'un ming* ("Spring Luminosity") Gate — the central gate in the west wall of the city — which boasted the largest sacred image in the world, was moved to the *Ta hsing shan szu*, Ch'ang-an's most magnificent temple²¹².

829, January 1: fire broke out in the *Chao te szu* (Buddhist "Temple-office of Radiant Virtue")²¹³ in the southeastern part of the Great Luminous Palace. Fanned by a rising wind, it spread to the east wall and gate of the *Hsüan cheng tien*, the great audience hall, and to the *Men hsia sheng*. The court was ordered to assemble at the *Jih hua* Gate nearby (three responsible officers who failed to appear were fined a month's salary). Residents of the section south of the temple, which was known as "wild fox's lair" (*yeh hu lo*), tried to escape by climbing over walls, but several hundred were trapped and burned to death. The palace guards were mobilized to fight the conflagration, but it continued to burn for several days²¹⁴.

November 6: fire in the armory (*chang nei*)²¹⁵.

834 [6/11—7/9]: fire in the imperial stables — those of the "Flying Dragons" (*fei lung*) and the "Divine Colts" (*shen chü*)²¹⁶.

July 13: the city office of Ch'ang-an-hsien, which governed the western half of the capital, and a pagoda in the *Ching hsing szu* (*Caṅkramaṇa* Temple) in the Ch'ung hua Quarter, were blown down in a wind storm²¹⁷.

835 [1/3—2/2]: fire in the *Chao ch'eng* ("Radiant Perfection") Buddhist Temple in the Great Luminous Palace²¹⁸.

[3/3—4/1]: a decree, noting the deterioration of the beautiful *Ch'ü ch'iang* in recent years, and the destruction of its fine pavilions, encouraged new building and landscaping there²¹⁹.

April 11: an earthquake, with a great rattling of windows, shook the tiles from the roofs in the capital city²²⁰.

May 27: 10,000 trees were thrown down in a violent wind storm. The four kite-tail finials of the *Han yüan tien* were blown away, and three trees in the courtyard of the great hall were overthrown. The buildings of the *Chin wu* armories (capital police patrol) were destroyed. A great many gates and towers

^{211 a} *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 15b; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 1, 20.

²¹² *Yu yang tsa tsu*, hsü 5, 214; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 2, 36.

²¹³ Some texts have *kung* "palace" instead of *szu*, wrongly assuming that the fire was in the "palace" of that name in the hunting park.

²¹⁴ *T'ang shu*, 34, 3713d; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3205c; *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 788; *Ch'ang-an chih*, 6, 9a; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 1, 21.

²¹⁵ *T'ang shu*, 34, 3713d. *Chang* "staves, pikes and other long weapons; ceremonial batons, etc." appears in T'ang also as the name of a public building, perhaps an abbreviation of *chang yüan*. For instance, the police (*Chin wu*) had a right and left *chang* near the entrance to the Great Luminous Palace, an the office of entertainment (*chiao tang*) was in this century styled "Instruction Quarter within the *chang*" (*Chang nei chiao tang*), presumably after its new quarters. See *Ch'ang-an chih*, 6, 6a; 8, 10b. See also entry under 819, above. I take the term to mean in these contexts "repository of weapons and ceremonial insignia". Very likely the burned armory was that of the *Chin wu*.

²¹⁶ *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 788.

²¹⁷ *T'ang shu*, 35, 3714d; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3205a.

²¹⁸ *T'ang shu*, 34, 3713d. There was a temple of this name in the *Tao kuang* Quarter of Lo-yang (*T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 5, 178), but I find no record of such a one in the Ch'ang-an palace.

²¹⁹ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 15b.

²²⁰ *T'ang shu*, 35, 3715b.

of the city wall were ruined. Much destruction along the wall west of the *Kuang hua* ("Shining Transformation") Gate, the westernmost of the gates in the city's north wall, along a distance of 77 paces²²¹.

[6/30—7/28]: fire in the Western Market²²².

[7/29—8/27]: Wen Tsung ordered the dredging of the neglected *Ch'ü Chiang* and the rebuilding of two eighth century (Hsüan Tsung) structures on its south-western shore, the "Loft Building of Purple Clouds" (*Tzū yün lou*) and the "Pavilion of Colored Sunset-clouds" (*Ts'ai hsia t'ing*). He encouraged the nobility to build new pleasure houses in the lake-garden, granting them land for the purpose²²³.

[8/28—9/25]: street commissioners (*chieh shih*) were ordered to renew tree plantings along the city streets, the work to be completed within eight months²²⁴.

[9/26—10/25]: seated in the gate tower of the Left Gate of the Silver Terrace (*Yin t'ai men*) in the west wall of the Great Luminous Palace, Wen Tsung inspected 1500 of the palace guards who, with their commander, Ch'ou Shih-liang, and a military band, were celebrating the beginning of the restoration work at *Ch'ü Chiang*. The monarch presented them with name-boards for the architraves of the buildings, and received in turn copies of the reconstruction plans²²⁵.

[10/26—11/23]: the emperor was asked to authorize the dismantling of the Silver Terrace Gates, and their replacement by triple gateways in two-storey edifices (*san men lou*)²²⁶.

[10/26—11/23]: 2000 soldiers were assigned to fill in the Dragon Head Pool by the east wall of the palace and convert it into a field for ball games²²⁷.

836, February 25: the city was shaken by an earthquake²²⁸.

837, November 14: the engraving of the Classics on stone steles at the *Kuo tzu chien*, the state school for the nobility, in the *Wu pen* Quarter just south of the *Huang ch'eng*, was completed²²⁹.

840/841 [12/28—1/26]: the night markets of the capital were abolished²³⁰.

841 [3/27—4/24]: Wu Tsung ordered the construction of a *Ling fu ying sheng yüan* ("Close of the Numinous Talismans Responsive to the Sapient One") by the Dragon Head Pool (re-excavated? cf. 835 above), one of a number of Taoist structures produced during his reign²³¹.

[6/23—7/21]: he ordered Taoists, led by Chao Kuei-chen, to build a "Nine Heavens Tao Tract" (*Chiu t'ien tao ch'ang*) at the Triple Basilica (*San tien* — another name for the Unicorn Virtue Basilica [*Lin te tien*] in the Great Luminous Palace), and went in person to receive a talisman²³².

²²¹ *T'ang shu*, 35, 3714d; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3205a.

²²² *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3205c; *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 788.

²²³ *T'ang hua yao*, 30, 563; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 3, 86. *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 15b has part of this in the 2nd month and part in the 10th month. The second of these certainly wrong, in any case.

²²⁴ *T'ang hui yao*, 86, 1576.

²²⁵ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 16a; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 563; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 3, 86.

²²⁶ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 15b.

²²⁷ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 14b. "Ball field" (*chü ch'ang*) may well mean a polo field.

²²⁸ *T'ang shu*, 35, 3715b. *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3203c also reports this earthquake, describing the damage in the same words used in *T'ang shu* of the earthquake of April 11, 835.

²²⁹ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 245, 19a—19b.

²³⁰ *T'ang hui yao*, 86, 1583.

²³¹ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 18a, 3126d; *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 16a; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 563.

²³² *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 246, 11b. For the meaning of "Triple Basilica" see *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 1, 22.

October 12: heavy snowfall for a day and night. Trees broke under the weight of the snow²³³.

— : a kind of barracks for page-boys (*Nei yüan hsiao erh tang*) was established in the "Inner Park" between the inner and outer walls of the palace. Next to it was the "Instruction Quarter Within the Basilica for Watching Music" (*K'an yüeh tien nei chiao tang*), apparently another institute for acrobats, dancers and musicians, similar to the "Instruction Quarter Within the Armory" (*Chang nei chiao tang*). See above, under 819 and 826²³⁴.

— : Wu Tsung visited the ruins of the *Wei yang* Palace while hunting in the imperial park. He ordered its reconstruction, with a central basilica, pavilions to east and west, and a main gateway. The literateur P'ei Su wrote a florid account of this which still survives²³⁵.

843 [5/14—5/23]: a persecution of the Manichaeans in China followed the decline of Uighur power; their temples and treasures were confiscated. In Ch'ang-an, seventy two female followers of Mani perished, while many Uighurs died in the provinces. So began the xenophobic outrages of the mid-ninth century²³⁶.

July 28: a great fire broke out during the night in the Eastern Market. Some 4,000 houses and other buildings, and an enormous quantity of goods, including currency, precious metals, textiles and drugs, were destroyed²³⁷.

July 29: fire in the *Shen lung szu* ("Temple of the Divine Dragon") in the old palace²³⁸.

July 30: fire in a hayloft outside the *Ch'ang-le* Gate of the old palace. Ennin relates this and other fires to the persecution of the Buddhists; possibly we are to understand that these were cases of arson, reprisals by zealots and activists against Wu Tsung's anti-Buddhist policy — or possibly set by imperial agents and blamed on the Buddhists? Though the great persecution did not show its full force until 845, Ennin makes it clear that already in 843 and 844 there was much destruction of Buddhist temples, images and books, and persecution of priests, especially in the capital²³⁹.

— : Wu Tsung, deeply impressed by the beauty of a Taoist priestess of the "Observatory of the Golden Sylph" (*Chin hsien kuan*), had this "convent" in the *Fu hsing* Quarter west of the old palace, reconstructed and beautified²⁴⁰.

845 [2/11—3/11]: Wu Tsung built a "Sylph Terrace" (*hsien t'ai*), 150 feet high, with a rock garden constructed of stones from the Chung-nan Mountains, and planted with conifers²⁴¹.

²³³ Ennin's *Diary*, p. 310.

²³⁴ *Ch'ang-an chih*, 6, 6a.

²³⁵ *Ch'ang-an chih*, 6, 5b; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 1, 29. P'EI Su's *T'ang ch'ung hsiu Han Wei yang kung chi* is in *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 764, 18b—21 a. See above, winter of 816/817, for the fire in the *Wei yang* Palace.

²³⁶ *T'ang hui yao*, 49, 864; Ennin's *Diary*, p. 327; ADACHI Chōan *shiseki*, p. 239. Ennin gives the precise week of the persecution.

²³⁷ *T'ang shu*, 34, 3713d; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3205c; *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 788; Ennin's *Diary*, p. 333.

²³⁸ *T'ang shu*, 34, 3713d; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3205c; *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 788. Ennin's *Diary*, p. 333, gives the name of the place as the *Shen nung szu*. REISCHAUER suggests the emendation *Szu nung szu*, the agricultural office in the Great Luminous Palace, which is the wrong palace. In fact, Ennin heard *nung* for *lung* "dragon", which may tell us something about Ch'ang-an dialect, or about Ennin's informant.

²³⁹ Ennin's *Diary*, pp. 333, 3412—342, 353, and elsewhere.

²⁴⁰ Ennin's *Diary*, pp. 343—344; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 4, 99.

²⁴¹ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 16a; *T'ang hui yao*, 40, 563; Ennin's *Diary*, pp. 351—354. There is some doubt about the location of this "terrace".

July 16: a "Loft Building for Looking for the Sylphs" (*Wang hsien lou*), with associated galleries and lesser buildings, 539 "spaces" in all, was erected in the Great Luminous Palace²⁴².

[8/7—9/5]: Buddhist shrines and monasteries, public and private, throughout the empire were destroyed. Two temples were allowed to remain in the two capitals; in Ch'ang-an, the *Tz'u en szu* and the *Chien fu szu* were spared, with 30 monks to care for each (their pagodas survive in the twentieth century). All other Buddhist monks and nuns in the capital, along with Mazdeans and Nestorians, were secularized. The rich possessions and lands belonging to the temples were confiscated, and the materials of the condemned buildings were employed in the construction and repair of public buildings, post stations, and other secular edifices. Bronze images, bells, and chimes, were melted down to make coins²⁴³. (Later, Buddhism made some recovery; the Persian and Christian religions made none²⁴⁴.)

September 12: the imperial government announced the destruction of more than 4,600 great Buddhist temples throughout the realm, along with more than 40,000 *cāturdīśa* (*chao-t'i*) and *aranya* (*lan-jo*), i. e. private shrines, chapels and hermitages²⁴⁵.

— : Wu Tsung had been irritated by the sight of private ("Confucian") shrines (*miao*) along the way as he proceeded to make the sacrifice to Heaven in the southern suburb at the winter solstice, and ordered all such shrines removed. Now he modified his decree to the extent of limiting the prohibition to the six Quarters along the south edge of the *Huang ch'eng*, those along both sides of the Street of the Red Sparrow, the main south-leading street, and near the *Ch'ü Chiang* lake-park²⁴⁶.

847 [2/19—3/20]: the reconstruction of the "Basilica Close of the Hundred Fortunes" (*Po fu tien yüan*) in the old palace was ordered, an area of 80 spaces²⁴⁷.

[4/19—5/17]: the new monarch, Hsüan Tsung, allowed the reconstitution of Buddhist temples to the extent of providing accommodation for famous priests long associated with them²⁴⁸.

[8/16—9/13]: Hsüan Tsung was very attentive to his princely brothers, and established a "Basilica of Concord and Harmony" (*Yung ho tien*) for them, with 700 spaces of associated buildings, in the Close of Loved Relations (*Mu ch'in yüan*) in the northeast corner of the city. Here he visited them frequently and drank wine with them, took part in musical performances, and played polo²⁴⁹.

848, February 11: the construction of five new Buddhist temples (in addition to those established earlier) on each street of Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang was authorized, three of them for monks, two for nuns. Each new establishment could ordain 50 persons. Similar arrangements were made for the provinces²⁵⁰.

[2/9—3/8]: repairs were made to the Right Silver Terrace Gate of the Great Luminous Palace, and to the wall as far as the "Wisely Martial Loft Building"

²⁴² *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 4, 16a; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 563. This seems to be the same as the *Wang hsien kuan* built during the summer, according to *T'ang shu*, 8, 3654a, on the palace grounds, "at the Army of Divine Stratagems".

²⁴³ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 248, 8a—8b.

²⁴⁴ ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 240.

²⁴⁵ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 248, 9a.

²⁴⁶ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 2, 40.

²⁴⁷ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 16a; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 564; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 1, 4.

²⁴⁸ *T'ang hui yao*, 48, 854.

²⁴⁹ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 14, 16b; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 564; *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 248, 15a; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 3, 77.

²⁵⁰ *T'ang hui yao*, 48, 854.

(*Jui wu lou*), the tower of the gate formerly called *Hsüan wu* in the north wall of the palace²⁵¹.

849, October 20: an earthquake destroyed many buildings and killed several dozen people in Shensi, including the capital city²⁵².

851 [2/5—3/7]: the construction of Buddhist edifices and the ordination of monks and nuns was freely permitted throughout the realm. (Later in this year some limitations were put on this freedom²⁵³.)

852 Many Buddhist temples were renamed in Hsüan Tsung's reign, perhaps as part of their restoration after the persecution. In this year we note: the *Caṅkramaṇa* Temple (*Ching hsing szu*; cf. 834, July 13) was renamed *Lung hsing* ("Dragon Ascension") *szu*. (There was a Taoist establishment of the same name nearby.) The *Feng en* ("Offered Grace") *szu* in the *Chü te* Quarter in the western part of the city was renamed *Hsing fu* ("Ascended Fortune") *szu*. The *Alaṃkāra* Temple (*Ta chuang yen szu*), built in the *Yung yang* Quarter in the southwestern corner of the city in Sui times, was renamed *Sheng shou* ("Sapience and Longevity") *szu*. The *Hua tu* ("Conversion and Salvation") *szu*, another Sui temple in the *I ning* Quarter in the western part of the city, which boasted a gold-lettered name-board given by Ching Tsung in 825/826, was renamed *Ch'ung fu* ("Revered Fortune") *szu*. The *Hsi ming* ("Illumination in the West") *szu* in the *Yen k'ang* Quarter near the Western Market, whose peonies were celebrated by Po Chü-i, was renamed *Fu shou* ("Fortune and Longevity") *szu*²⁵⁴.

852/879: THE GREAT HIATUS.

880 [5/13—6/11]: a great rain and hail storm. The wind uprooted trees along the streets of the capital²⁵⁵.

881, January 6: Huang Ch'ao took T'ung-kuan and advanced on Ch'ang-an].

881, January 8: disorderly government troops and other dissidents, leading the vanguard of the rebels, looted the capital and burned the Western Market. When Huang Ch'ao entered the city he proclaimed his affinity with ordinary folk, and told them to be without fear. But many of his troops, inspired by hatred of the rich and aristocratic, could not be restrained, and in a few days went about plundering and murdering, until "dead men filled the streets"²⁵⁶.

January 15: Huang Ch'ao entered the Great Luminous Palace²⁵⁷.

January 16: Huang Ch'ao ascended the throne, styling his nation "Ch'i", and the era "Authority of Metal" (*Chin t'ung*)²⁵⁸.

883 [4/11—5/10]: Li K'o-yung, in conflict with Huang Ch'ao and his lieutenants, encamped on the north bank of the Wei River, across from the city, and sent his agents into the capital by night to set fires and kill rebels²⁵⁹.

May 18: having defeated Huang Ch'ao's army south of the Wei, Li K'o-yung entered the capital city, coming by way of the *Kuang t'ai* ("Brilliant and Grand") Gate near the southern end of the east wall of the imperial hunting park, not far from the Great Luminous Palace. Huang Ch'ao and his party set fire to the palace, and fled southwards toward Lan-t'ien, dripping gems along the road. The T'ang army completed the looting of the capital which had been begun by Huang Ch'ao's men, then went after the fleeing rebels. They failed to catch up with them, being preoccupied with picking up abandoned treasures along the road²⁶⁰.

²⁵¹ *Ts'e fu yüan kwei*, 14, 16b; *T'ang hui yao*, 30, 564; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 1, 18.

²⁵² *T'ang shu*, 35, 3715b.

²⁵³ *T'ang hui yao*, 48, 854.

²⁵⁴ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 4, 104—105 and 117—121.

²⁵⁵ *T'ang hui yao*, 44, 794.

²⁵⁶ *T'ang shu*, 225c, 4176c; *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 254, 4a—4b.

²⁵⁷ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 254, 4b.

²⁵⁸ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 254, 4b.

²⁵⁹ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 255, 11a.

²⁶⁰ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 255, 13a.

Hsi Tsung, in exile, directed Wang Hui and T'ien Tsung-i to go and take charge of the restoration of the ravaged city²⁶¹.

885, March 31: Hsi Tsung returned to his capital. "Thorns and brambles filled the walled city; foxes and hares ran this way and that²⁶²."

[11/11—12/9]: Chu Mei, a rival of Li K'o-yung, and one of several men struggling for the possession and favor of the puppet Hsi Tsung, had his men commit arson and murder in the city, and spread rumors that these were the work of Li K'o-yung²⁶³.

886, January 31: Li K'o-yung defeated Chu Mei and Li Ch'ang-fu at Sha-yüan in T'ung-chou. Two days later Li K'o-yung and his Sha-t'o Turkish troops pressed close to the capital; the powerful eunuch T'ien Ling-tzu fled with Hsi Tsung to Feng-hsiang. During these disorders, the building and restoration work achieved in the palace area by Wang Hui, the "Lieutenant-Warden" of the Great Luminous Palace, was annihilated²⁶⁴.

887, January 14: Chu Mei and his adherents were caught and killed in Ch'ang-an by Wang Hsing-yü, his former lieutenant. Hsing-yü allowed his soldiery to run wild, burning and looting. Many of the citizenry, deprived of clothing, froze to death: "the dead covered the ground²⁶⁵."

896 [8/29—9/6]: Chao Tsung fled from Ch'ang-an to Hua-chou. The capital was occupied by Li Mao-chen. All of the new building completed since the Huang Ch'ao occupation was destroyed by fire²⁶⁶.

898 [1/26—2/24]: Chao Tsung commanded Han Chien to go to the capital from Hua-chou and undertake the rebuilding of the palace area²⁶⁷.

900: "Flying bridges" and other structures were built leading from the *Szu yüan* Gate inside the Great Luminous Palace, to facilitate attendance at imperial audiences²⁶⁸.

V. The Death of Ch'ang-an in the Tenth Century

What little remained of significance or beauty in the capital after the calamities of the last decades of the ninth century was quickly wiped out in the first decade of the tenth. On February 11, 904, Chu Ch'üan-chung, the emperor's "protector", having killed all of his sovereign's personal attendants and replaced them with his own men, compelled the removal of the court from Ch'ang-an to Lo-yang. So began the final exodus, with the monarch himself leaving on February 15. Palace buildings, public offices and private dwellings were dismantled, made into rafts on the Wei River, and floated down to Lo-yang. "In consequence, Ch'ang-an was earth-heaps and waste-land²⁶⁹." Soon afterwards, Chu Ch'üan-chung had Chao Tsung himself murdered, and the final struggle among the great warlords for power in the land began²⁷⁰. The dictator immediately desig-

²⁶¹ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 255, 13 b. Wang Hui was Lieutenant-Warden (*Liu shou*) of the Great Luminous Palace, while T'ien Tsung-i was Regulating and Dispensing Commissioner for the Capital Demesne (*Ching chi chih chih shih*).

²⁶² *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 256, 6 a.

²⁶³ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 256, 9 b.

²⁶⁴ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 256, 10 a.

²⁶⁵ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 256, 16 b.

²⁶⁶ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 260, 16 a.

²⁶⁷ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 261 9 b.

²⁶⁸ *Ch'ang-an chih*, 6, 9 b; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao*, 1, 23.

²⁶⁹ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 264, 13 b; *T'ang shu*, 10, 3658 d; ADACHI, *Chōan shi-seki*, p. 153.

²⁷⁰ *T'ang shu*, 10, 3658 d.

nated Han Chien, formerly Chao Tsung's agent, military governor of the deserted metropolis²⁷¹.

This man set about the demolition of the city walls (904—906), and built a new rampart enclosing a town which corresponded approximately to the old government office area, the *Huang ch'eng*, in size and location. This constricted area is essentially the modern town of Hsi-an²⁷². At about this same time, after a protracted storm, the *Ch'ü Chiang* lake dried up. The Yellow Canal which supplied it was cut off, and the whole park was soon converted into cultivated fields²⁷³. Here is how HAN Wo saw the lake on an autumn day, apparently before it had completely disappeared:

Slanting smoke in wispy shreds — where herons and egrets roost;
Aroma of decay from lotus leaves — snapped off in barren mud. A
certain exalted monk, as if placed in a painted picture,
Holds a sutra and stands droning, west of the impounded waters²⁷⁴.

As for the rest of the city:

How could we have known that these myriad acres of rich
and flowering land

Would now, the greater half, be heaps of sherds and rubble?

So wrote TZU-LAN, a literatus of Chao Tsung's court who became a Buddhist monk, in his poem "Lament for Ch'ang-an"²⁷⁵.

And here is WEI CHUANG, now best known for his "Lament of the Lady of Ch'in", in "An Old Precinct of Ch'ang-an".

Filling my eyes — walls and doorways, where herbs of spring
are deep;

Wounded times! wounded affairs! even more — wounded hearts!

The carriage wheels, the horses' traces — where are they now?

At the twelve towers of jade they are nowhere to be found²⁷⁶.

In the early summer of 907, when Chu Ch'üan-chung took the purple as ruler of Liang, he designated Pien-chou, renamed K'ai-feng-fu, as his Eastern Capital, and made Lo-yang his Western Capital. Ch'ang-an was given the new style of Ta-an-fu. In 908, the Yu-ko Army stationed there was renamed *Yung-p'ing* Army²⁷⁷. But the dignity of the former western capital had not quite vanished for ever. Chu Ch'üan-chung's dynasty was overthrown by the family of the Sha-t'o Li K'o-yung, and the "Later T'ang" kingdom restored to the city its old titles of *Ching-chao-fu* and "Western Capital". But soon, under the alien dynasts of Later Chin, the town became an army area again²⁷⁸. None of these changes in administrative labels seem to have had much effect on the fortunes of the neglected city. We read,

²⁷¹ With the title *Yu kuo chieh tu shih*.

²⁷² ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, pp. 153—154.

²⁷³ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng lang k'ao*, 3, 86; Adachi, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 189.

²⁷⁴ HAN Wo, "Ch'ü Chiang ch'iu jih", *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 10, ts'e 7, ch. 3, 12 a.

²⁷⁵ TZU-LAN (fl. 900), "Pei Ch'ang-an", *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 12, ts'e 2, 4 a.

²⁷⁶ WEI CHUANG, "Ch'ang-an chiu li", *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 10, ts'e 9, ch. 5, 4 b—5 a.

²⁷⁷ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 266, 5 a; *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi*, 25, 3 b.

²⁷⁸ *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi*, 25, 3 b.

however, that on September 17, 924, its magistrates petitioned the Later T'ang court to restore the famous hot springs at the Floriate Clear Palace, outside the city proper²⁷⁹. I do not know if the petition was granted. In the second half of the tenth century, at any rate, the handsome buildings at the *thermae* had quite disappeared, though the outer wall of the palace could still be seen — but for that matter so could remnants of the stone supports of the ancient double road to the hot springs built by Ch'in Shih Huang Ti in the third century B. C.²⁸⁰. But the conifers planted on the mountain slopes there by Hsüán Tsung two centuries earlier had spread to cover the entire region with a dense shade²⁸¹. On the site of the former capital itself, palace trees had not fared so well. Thus, of the abundant weeping willows, pagoda-trees and elms in the old Southern (*Hsing ch'ing*) Palace, the greater part had been out down by the common people, so that only a few rows survived until the foundation of the Sung state²⁸². Of the Great Luminous Palace even less survived. The Sung gazetteers do not mention it at all. Presumably it was completely obliterated in the wanton destruction of Huang Ch'ao's time and the purposeful wrecking of Chu Ch'üan-chung. Shao Po, who visited the holy site on Dragon Head heights in the first half of the twelfth century, found some ruined foundations at the entrance, and little else but cultivated fields where the gilded halls of T'ang had once stood²⁸³.

VI. Modern Times

Despite occasional, partial and far from accurate restorations of individual buildings during the intervening centuries, little was done to recover the medieval city until our own century. Indeed, there was still more destruction of surviving relics during the Muslim insurrection of the 1860's²⁸⁴. We owe our present knowledge of the great city not so much to preservation and restoration as to the labors of literary scholars. After the maps of Lü Ta-fang (eleventh century) and of Li Hao-wen (fourteenth century), and the books of Sung Min-ch'iu (eleventh century), Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang (twelfth century), and Hsü Sung (nineteenth century), upon which I have relied so heavily here, the greatest credit goes to Pi Yüan (1730—1797), the most eminent of all connoisseurs of the famous metropolis²⁸⁵. Not only did he make a restoration of the *Ta hsing shan szu* in 1785, but, in addition to many other books on philology and epigraphy, he sponsored the publication of the gazetteer *Hsi-an-fu chih* (printed in 1779), and wrote the illustrated archaeological and antiquarian gazetteer *Kuan-chung sheng-*

²⁷⁹ *Ts'e fu yüan kwei*, 14, 19b.

²⁸⁰ *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi*, 27, 4a—4b.

²⁸¹ *Chia shih t'au lu*, p. 1a.

²⁸² *Chia shih t'an lu*, p. 1a.

²⁸³ SHAO Po (fl. 1138), *Wen chien hou lu* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), 25, 167.

²⁸⁴ E. g. to restored parts of the *Ta hsing shan szu* and to the altered Nestorian temple. *Hsü-hsiu Shan-hsi-sheng t'ung-chih kao*, 130, 4a—4b; *Chōan shiseki*, p. 220.

²⁸⁵ *Hsü-hsiu Shan-hsi-sheng t'ung-chih kao*, 131, 6a.

chi t'u chih (printed in 1781)²⁸⁶. In recent years students of the T'ang capital are much indebted to the work of Hiraoka Takeo, and to the *T'ang Civilization Series* published by the University of Kyoto.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the most conspicuous relics of the T'ang city were the "Great Goose Pagoda", which stood formerly in the *Tz'u en szu*²⁸⁷, and the "Small Goose Pagoda", formerly in the *Chien fu szu*²⁸⁸, both built of brick and both standing in the fields south of the modern town²⁸⁹. There are also bits of the western part of the south wall of the "old" palace, near the northwest corner of the *Huang ch'eng*, traces of the south wall of the Great Luminous Palace with the Dragon Tail way and two galleries of the *Han yüan tien* (doubtless the same remains observed by Shao Po in the twelfth century), the site of the Nestorian temple, and even traces of the tenth century wall of Han Chien, erected on the foundations of the earlier wall of the *Huang ch'eng*²⁹⁰.

In 1957, the Institute of Archaeology of Academia Sinica began the systematic excavation of the Great Luminous Palace. The positions of more than twenty palace halls (*tien*, my "basilicas") were discovered, and the remains of one of these, the *Lin te tien*, completely excavated. This stood on a rammed earth platform, and was surrounded by a colonnade, of which 192 pillar-bases have been uncovered. Among many other important finds, the remains of the northern *Hsüan wu* Gate and of the P'eng-lai Pool have been traced²⁹¹.

Dates of Accession of Ninth Century Rulers

Te Tsung	780	Wu Tsung	841
Shun Tsung	805	Hsüan Tsung *	847
Hsien Tsung	806	I Tsung	860
Mu Tsung	821	Hsi Tsung	874
Ching Tsung	825	Chao Tsung	889
Wen Tsung	827		

²⁸⁶ Most of his writings were brought together and printed in the *Ching-hsün-t'ang ts'ung-shu* (reprinted 1887). See A. W. HUMMELL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Vol. II (Washington, 1944), 622—625.

²⁸⁷ See ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 207; SIRÉN, *Tch'ang-ngan*, pp. 98—99.

²⁸⁸ ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, p. 215; SIRÉN, *Tch'ang-ngan*, p. 100.

²⁸⁹ For surviving ruins see also *Hsi-an li-shih shu-lüeh*, pp. 101—106.

²⁹⁰ ADACHI, *Chōan shiseki*, pp. 157—159.

²⁹¹ *T'ang Ch'ang-an Ta ming kung*, *passim*.

* The title of the great eighth century ruler will be written Hsüan Tsung to distinguish it from this one.

Standardized Translations of Architectural Terms

1. Complex of Buildings

<i>ch'eng</i>	"city wall; walled city" (a city protected by a wall; a great walled subdivision of a city: the <i>Ching ch'eng</i> was Ch'ang-an itself; the <i>Kung ch'eng</i> was the "palace city" within it; the <i>Huang ch'eng</i> was another sub-city, containing government offices.)
<i>fang</i>	"quarter" (a walled residential ward, sometimes containing also temples, shops and gardens; commonly also called <i>li</i> .)
<i>kuan</i>	"[Taoist] temple" (lit. "lookout; observatory".)
<i>kung</i>	"palace"
<i>szu</i>	(a) "office" (important government institution; e. g. <i>Chia ling szu</i> , see "Chronicle" for 803.) (b) "[Buddhist] temple" (Buddhist monastery, called "office" because of the tradition of the establishment of the first Chinese Buddhist institution in a government office building.)
<i>yüan</i>	"close" (group of buildings, usually for a single institution, surrounded by a wall; normally a subdivision of a palace or temple.)

2. Single Buildings

<i>ko</i>	"gallery" (a building of moderate size, usually with an open front or promenade for a pleasant prospect; also sometimes a place of storage [cf. our "art gallery"]; but I have sometimes called the covered ways and wings between buildings or gardens [<i>lang</i>] "galleries".)
<i>lou</i>	"loft building" (a two-storey building with provision for important functions on the second story; sometimes translated "tower", but this wrongly suggests verticality.)
<i>miao</i>	"shrine" (a private chapel, ancestral or "Confucian" temple.)
<i>t'ai</i>	"terrace" (usually a large earthen platform in one more stages, faced with stone, and supporting one or more buildings. Sometimes only an archaic metaphor, as in <i>Yü shih t'ai</i> , "Terrace [tribunal] of Notaries to the Autocrat, the office which originated impeachments.)
<i>t'ang</i>	"hall" (a place for audiences and other public functions, but not as holy and grand as a <i>tien</i> .)
<i>tien</i>	"basilica" (great ceremonial hall in the imperial palace, or on the grounds of an important temple; locus of royal epiphanies and sacred images.)
<i>t'ing</i>	"pavilion" (or "kiosk", a comparatively small building, often taller than long, primarily for recreational purposes.)

3. Others

<i>yüan</i>	"garden"
<i>yüan</i>	"park" (especially a hunting park, but sometimes used loosely for an important garden.)

Glossary

BUILDINGS

ko (galleries)	閣	Ch'in cheng	勤政
		Jui wu	睿武
Chuan lun tsang ching	轉輪藏經	K'an	看
Ta shih	大士	Ming i	明儀
T'ien wang	天王	Ming kuang	明光
kuan (Taoist temples)	觀	Po ch'ih	百尺
		San men	三門
Chih te (nü kuan)	至德 (女冠)	Tzu yün	紫雲
Chin hsien (nü kuan)	金仙 (女冠)	Wang hsien	望仙
Hsüan tu	玄都		
T'ang ch'ang	唐昌	men (gates)	門
Yü chen (nü kuan)	玉真 (女冠)	Ch'ang le	長樂
kung (palaces)	宮	Chao ch'ing	昭慶
		Chien fu	建福
Hsing ch'ing	興慶	Ching feng	景風
Ta ming	大明	Fang lin	芳林
Wei yang	未央	Hsüan hua	玄化
Yung an	永安	Hsüan wu	玄武
lou (loft buildings)	樓	Jih hua	日華
		Kuang hua	光化
An fu	安福	Kuang t'ai	光泰
Ch'en hui	晨輝	Ming te	明德

Szu yüan	思元	K'ai yeh	開業
T'ung ch'ien	通乾	Ling hua	靈華
Wang hsien	望仙	Lung hsing	龍興
Yen hsi	延喜	Shen lung	神龍
Yin t'ai	銀臺	Shen nung	神農
szu (Buddhist temples; government offices)	寺	Sheng shou	聖壽
An kuo	安國	Szu nung	司農
Chao ch'eng	昭成	Tsun shan	遵善
Chao fu	招福	(Ta) Tz'u en	(大)慈恩
Chao te	昭德	Yüan ho sheng shou	元和聖壽
Chia ling	家令	tien (basilicas)	殿
(Ta) Chien fu	(大)薦福	Ch'eng hui	承暉
Ching hsing	經行	Han yüan	含元
(Ta) Chuang yen	(大)莊嚴	Hsüan cheng	宣政
Ch'ung fu	崇福	Kan lu	甘露
Feng en	奉恩	K'an yüeh	看樂
Fo kuang	佛光	Lin te	麟德
Fu shou	福壽	Liang i	兩儀
Hsi ming	西明	Pao ch'ing	寶慶
Hsing fu	興福	Sheng yang	昇陽
(Ta) Hsing shan	(大)興善	Szu cheng	思政
Hua tu	化度	Yang te	陽德

Yung an	永安	Chia ch'eng	夾城
Yung ho	雍和	Chiu t'ien tao ch'ang	九天道場
t'ing (pavillions)	亭	Chu ch'üeh chieh	朱雀街
Fang ya	放鴨	Hsi ch'üeh	西闕
Nan chu	南竹	Huang ch'eng	皇城
Ts'ai hsia	彩霞	Ju ching ts'ang	如京倉
yüan (closes)	院	Po-szu ti	波斯邸
Chi hsien	集賢	Pei li	北里
Ch'ing zu	清思	P'ing ch'üan chuang	平泉莊
Li pin	禮賓	T'ai miao	太廟
Ling fu ying sheng	靈符應聖	Yen ying lu	延英路
Mu ch'in	睦親	QUARTERS	坊
Nan tien	南殿	An i	安邑
Nan t'ing	南亭	An jen	安仁
Po fu tien	百福殿	An yeh	安業
Shao yang	少陽	Ch'ang hsing	長興
Tai lou	待漏	Ch'ang hua	昌化
Yü jui	玉藥	Ch'ang le	長樂
(others)		Ch'in jen	親仁
		Ch'ung hua	崇化
		Ch'ung jen	崇仁
Ch'ao t'ang	朝堂	Chü te	居德

Feng le	豐樂	Ch'ing ming	清明
Fu hsing	輔興	Huang	黃
Hsin ch'ang	新昌	Ts'ao	漕
Hsing hua	興化	Yung an	永安
Hsiu te	修德		
I ning	義寧	GARDENS (yüan)	園
K'ai hua	開化	Feng ch'eng	奉誠
Kuang te	光德	Fu-jung	芙蓉
Kuang tse	光宅	I ch'un	宜春
P'ing k'ang	平康		
Ta t'ung	大同	INSTITUTIONS	
Yen cheng	延政	Chang nei chiao fang	仗內教坊
Yen k'ang	延康	Chiao fang	教坊
Yen shou	延壽	(Tso yu) Chin wu	(左右) 金吾
Yung ning	永寧	Hu pu	戶部
POOLS (ch'ih)	池	Kuo tzu chien	國子監
Ch'ü Chiang	曲江	Nei yüan hsiao erh fan	內苑小兒坊
Lung shou	龍首	(Tso yu) Shen ts'e chün	(左右) 神策軍
Ning pi	凝碧	Tu chih	度支
P'eng lai	蓬萊	Yu kuo chün	佑國軍
Yü tsao	魚藻	Yung p'ing chün	永平軍
		Yü shih t'ai	御史臺
CANALS (ch'ü)	渠		

TITLES

Chieh shih	街使	Li Chen
Ching chao yin	京兆尹	Li Chi-fu
Ching chi chih chih shih	京畿制置使	Li Chin-hsien
Liu shou	留守	Li Chung-i

Li Hao-wen

PERSONS

Chang Chi (8 cent.)	張籍	Li K'o-yung
Chang Chi (10 cent.)	張洎	Li Mao-chen
Chang Hu	張祜	Li Nao
Ch'en Yü	陳羽	Li-shhe
Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang	程大昌	Li Shih
Ch'ou Shih-liang	仇士良	Li Ying
Chu Mei	朱攷	Li Yü
Chu Tz'u	朱泚	Liang Hsiao-jen
Fu (family)	苻	Ling-hu Ch'u
Han Chien	韓建	Lu Tsung-hui
Hsiang Ta	向達	Lü Ta-fang
Hsü Sung	徐松	Ma Ch'ang
Hsü Yin	徐寅	Ma Lin
Huang Ch'ao	黃巢	Ma Sui
K'ang P'ien	康駢	Ou-yang Chan
Kung Liu	公劉	P'ang Yüan-ying
Li Ch'ang-fu	李昌符	P'ei Hsiang

P'ei Su

李真
李吉甫
李進賢
李忠翼
李好文
李克用
李茂貞
李渾
利涉
李石
李應(膺)
李庾
梁孝仁
令狐楚
盧宗回
呂大防
馬暢
馬璘
馬燧
歐陽詹
龐元英
裴向
裴素

		PLACES	
		Ch'an shui	渰水
P'ei Tu	裴度	Chao-ying-hsien	昭應縣
Pi Yüan	畢沅	Chi-chou	隄州
Shao Po	邵博	GEMDYANG (Hsien-ya)	咸陽
Sung Min-ch'iu	宋敏求	GLAK (Lo)	洛
Szu-k'ung Shu	司空曙	GO (Hu)	鄆
Tan Wei	耿緯	GOG (Hao)	鎬
T'ien Ling-tzu	田令孜	GYEG (Ch'i)	岐
T'ien Tsung-i	田從異	Hua-chou	華州
Tu Mu	杜牧	Lan-t'ien	藍田
Wang Ch'í	王棨	Lung shou yüan	龍首原
Wang Hsing-yü	王行瑜	Pin-chou	邠州
Wang Hui	王徽	PYAN (Pin)	豳
Wei Chuang	韋莊	PYONG (Feng)	豐
Wei Shu	韋述	Sha-yüan	沙苑
Wu Ts'ou	吳湊	Ta-an-fu	大安府
Yang P'ing	楊憑	T'AG (T'ai)	郃
Yao (family)	姚	T'ung-chou	同州
Yen Hsiu-fu	嚴休復	T'ung-kuan	潼關
Yung Yün-chih	雍裕之	Yeh hu lo	野狐落
Yü Hsüan-chi	魚玄機		
Yüan Chen	元稹	BOOKS	
Yüan Tsai	元載	Chia shih t'an lu	賈氏談錄

Ch'in chung sui shih chi	泰中歲時記	hu chi	胡姬
Kan sun tzu	乾騃子	kuan chien	官健
Lu shih tsa shuo	盧氏雜說	k'uei fang	櫃坊
Wen ch'ang tsa lu	文昌雜錄	lan-jo	蘭若
		li	里
WORDS		mu yao	木妖
chao-t'i	招提	shen chü	神駒
ch'i t'ing	旗亭	shou po	手搏
chia „beam“	架	t'u chang	圖障
chien „space“	間	tzu ching	紫荊
chiu lou	酒樓	tz'u po	刺柏
fang „quarter“	坊		
fei lung	飛龍		



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Preliminary Remarks on the Structure and Imagery of the "Classical Chinese" Language of the Medieval Period

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PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE STRUCTURE AND IMAGERY OF THE “CLASSICAL CHINESE” LANGUAGE OF THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD *)

BY

EDWARD H. SCHAFER

1. The language studied here is that of texts of the T'ang period (618-907). I shall call this M.C. (for “Medieval Chinese” or “Middle Chinese”).

a. Anomalous vernacular intrusions, such as occasionally appear in Buddhist translations and popular tales, are excluded. In the present state of our knowledge, however, not all such traces of the T'ang vernacular are recognizable.

2. Chinese logographic writing exposes multiple meanings simultaneously and distinctly.

a. Some or all of these meanings had evaporated from words in the contemporary vernacular cognate to those represented by the graphs of M.C.

b. Etymologies remain alive to an extent impossible in literatures recorded in phonetic (alphabetic and syllabic) scripts.

c. Multiple layers of meaning were expressed by Chinese logographs to educated readers of T'ang—an age which admired philology and lexicography.

d. Recent semantic changes were read into archaic texts, and, *pari passu*, a multitude of cherished archaisms survived, intentionally, in the locutions of T'ang writers, and in the interpretations of their readers. The men of T'ang had, to use English analogues,

*) I have left many important questions of structure untouched here — such important matters as word order and particles, for instance.

“housewife/hussy” and “captive/caitiff”, and even richer series, presented to them simultaneously as semantic clusters, each cluster represented by a single graphic symbol.

e. This diachronic effect was variable: secondary enrichment was greater in words and phrases quoted hypostatistically from early books to illustrate or sanction contemporary sentiments and conceptions.

f. All logographic texts, even the “prosiest”, resemble poetry (even that written in phonetic scripts) because of this connotative enrichment.

g. One among the simultaneously offered meanings may be illuminated and emphasized by its contextual neighbors—frequently the neighbor most closely bound to it in a coordinate or attributive pair. Thus, in the binom 金丹, the connotation “elixir” for 丹 is made prominent by the association with 金 “metal/gold”, while in the binom 丹青, the connotation “vermilion” for 丹 is lit up by a spotlight focused from 青 “azurite/blue”. In both cases, subdued echoes of the other connotations persist, maintained by the diachronically multiconnotative logograph; the elixir was a *cinnabar*-elixir and the vermilion was a *cinnabar*-pigment to any T’ang reader.

3. The categories “free” and “bound”, employed by structural linguists, may be applied with profit to M.C. texts, using special criteria.

a. Resemblances are closer to German structure than to English; i.e. for M.C., “free” is a broader category and “bound” a narrower one than in English (or than in the modern Chinese vernaculars and languages which resemble them morphologically and lexically, if not syntactically, such as “Newspaper Chinese”). Indeed, “bound” forms in M.C. are not usually morphemes, or only “temporarily”

morphemes, as when used in certain constructions to stand for a complete binom (see 3e).

b. "Free" forms may occur as independent, monosyllabic "nouns", "verbs" or "particles". (These categorical expressions are merely analogic and impressionistic, wanting careful definition).

c. "Bound" forms are monosyllables occurring in bisyllabic words.

d. Not all lexicographic binoms are bisyllabic words. Chinese dictionaries, and Chinese-Western dictionaries derived in large part from them, do not distinguish clearly among binomial expressions composed of "free forms" (similar to English "South Seas", "front line"), "semi-free" constructions (comparable to English "ultramarine" and "extralegal", all of whose morphemes have also free lives), and binomial expressions composed of "bound forms" (which resemble English "raggle-taggle" and "hodge-podge"). In any case, we have only *graphic* and textual criteria to distinguish them.

e. Binomial expressions composed of bound forms may be classified as follows:

Gestalt binoms: normally predicative; suggesting subjective attitudes and impressions; synthetic rather than analytic labels. Structurally all are rhyming, alliterative, or reduplicative expressions (e.g. 朦朧 "hazily, diffusely luminous, as when the moon shines through thin clouds"; 徘徊 "shilly-shally"; 宛轉 "flexuous, tortuous, sinuous; fluent, pliant"). These can often be recognized in Chinese dictionaries because they are defined with 貌 instead of with 也.

Nominal binoms: normally "nouns", mostly names of animals, plants, minerals, and some artifacts (e.g. 鸚鵡 "parrot"; 玳瑁 "tortoise-shell"; 薔薇 "*Rosa multiflora*"). Traditional etymologies often give distinct meanings to the components of nominal

binoms. So 鳳凰 “phoenix” is explained as “male phoenix and female phoenix” (鳳 may, however, stand for 鳳凰 in certain syntactical arrangements, such as 鳳鸞 “phoenix and simurgh”; see 3g).

There is a class of “*Pseudo-nominal binoms*”. These are partly fused pleonasms. One component has undergone semantic decay to the extent that its connotation can not be distinguished from that of the other component, so that it assumes some of the character of a bound form (e.g. 犀兕 “rhinoceros”¹), originally “rhinoceros and gaur”, and perhaps some vestige of this semantic differentiation survived).

Exotic binoms: loan words (e.g. 葡萄 “grape”; 旃檀 “*candana*, sandal”; 茉莉 “*malli[ka]*, Indian jasmine”). These are frequently, almost inevitably, etymologized, since most Chinese logographs must carry *some* meaning. So the Uighur Turks petitioned the T’ang court asking that their national name be represented phonetically by the graphs 回鶻, which mean “Whirling Falcons”, to suggest their bold and dashing character.

Archaic binoms: familiar tags and quotations from ancient books, part of whose original sense had been forgotten, but secondarily enriched with meanings given by many generations of scholiasts (e.g. 諸侯 “great baron; feudal lord”: this seems to have something to do with 侯 “archer-lord; target-lord; marklord”, but the meaning of 諸 is obscure, and the expression functions as a bisyllabic word; or 鴻臚 “name of the T’ang office in charge of distinguished foreign visitors”: no living sense of the two components was distinguishable, despite attempts to arrive at a convincing etymology).

¹ So W. A. C. H. Dobson, *Late Archaic Chinese* (Toronto, 1959), p. 11. But I am not certain that a T’ang literatus would have so understood it; perhaps he understood “rhino”¹ and/or rhino”², as we would say “Indian and/or Sumatran rhino”.

f. These binomial categories may intergrade with each other. It is not always possible to ascertain whether a literate man of T'ang was aware of the intergradation. Was 琵琶 "lute" only a "nominal binom" to him, or was it also an "exotic binom", as we now think it was?

g. "Bound" monosyllabic units which normally occur in these four types of binom also occur in "free" constructions, especially in coordinate doublets, where they symbolize the basic binom (e.g. 橐駝 "camel", but 橐駝 "camels and mules"; but never simply 橐 "camel". Cf. English "intra- and extra-[mural]").

4. Binomial expressions composed of two monosyllabic "free" forms are extremely common, especially as literary clichés. They are loose "compounds", but there are no convenient criteria, such as stress, for distinguishing forms comparable to "blackbird" and "black bird" in the M.C. graphic sequences ¹⁾.

a. A large class of these expressions is redundant in some degree. These will be called "pleonasm" (C. S. Lewis calls them "doublets of synonyms", and cites an example from the *Prayer Book*: "acknowledge and confess" ²⁾).

¹⁾ Lacking oral evidence, we might be tempted to take great frequency of occurrence of a syntagma (to use Dobson's term) to establish that we have a "word", e.g. a "blackbird" rather than a "black bird". But a glance at some such source-book of doublets as *P'ei wen yün fu* reveals that expressions such as 玉女 and 青龍, which we regard as being composed of two "words", and always translate with two words, have a much higher frequency of occurrence than such syntagmas as 頑礦 and 僕射, which we readily accept as "compounds" and translate with single English words. We are prone to do this since these are either pleonastic (as the first: "crude and coarse"), and we are not patient enough to ponder the nuances of the components; or else they yield strange and exotic English in faithful translation (as the second: "groom-archer" or "equerry-toxophilite"), and we often shy away from the thought that they are semantically analyzable phrases. But neither of these last attitudes gives an adequate linguistic criterion for discovering the structure of the Chinese expression—our response yields information about our own linguistic habits rather than about Chinese morphology.

²⁾ Though I have used the terms "pleonasm" and "gestalt binom" in my classes in "Classical Chinese" for several years, they first appear in a publication in my *Tu Wan's Stone Catalogue of Cloudy Forest: A Commentary and Synopsis* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961), pp. 38-39.

b. Some of these M.C. pleonasms may descend from bound binomials of “Archaic” (Karlgren) or “Old” (Pulleyblank) Chinese. These old binomials seem to have been formed originally by dimidiation, with the two components subsequently becoming separate and free words: *e.g.* $*B^{(u)}GLAK$, represented by 炮烙, 爆爍, etc., but most commonly written as a pleonasm 暴露, “bare to fire or sun” with “expose, reveal”, where by semantic fission each component has attained an independent life as a free form ¹⁾).

c. Some are *collective pleonasms* in which two members of a class stand for the class as English “silks and satins” (rich raiment), “pots and pans” (kitchen utensils). So Chinese 玩好 “things for play and pleasure” (toys, games and the like), 鷹鵂 “goshawks and falcons” (hunting hawks). (Denotations in parentheses.)

d. Some are *alternative pleonasms* in which either of the two components is an exemplar or possible referent, as 鷹鵂 “a goshawk or falcon (or something very like)”.

e. Some are *cumulative pleonasms* in which the semantic effect is additive or reinforcing, and therefore emphatic, as 堅固 “make solid and firm” (strengthen).

f. There are double pleonasms, as 奇形異貌 “of odd shape and unusual aspect” (*cf.* *Aeneid*, I, 57: “mollitque animos et temperat iras”). Here the structure is ABAB; there are also those of the type AABB.

g. Pleonasms are often employed when the writer wishes to balance the phrase units within a sentence—unit matched with unit, doublet with doublet. So 天晴 “the sky is clear”, but 天宇晴霽 “the roof of heaven is clear and fair”.

¹⁾ E. H. Schafer, “Ritual Exposure in Ancient China”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 14 (1951), 172. For many other examples (*e.g.* a binom sometimes written 恐懼, but also 恐怛, etc.), see Paul L.-M. Serruys, *The Chinese Dialects of Han Time According to Fang Yen* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959), *e.g.* p. 126.

h. Writers, especially poets sensitive to verbal nuances, choose a pleonasm in full awareness of its total connotative effect. 鷹鵂 “goshawks and falcons” (the noblest hunting hawks) is by no means the same as 鷹鵂 “goshawks and sparrowhawks” (yellow-eyed accipiters; hawks used in forested country).

5. The genius of a language, and of its literature, lies in its modes of exemplifying, in linguistic symbols, the outer world of nature and society as it is reflected or reorganized in the writer's imagination; that is, in how it symbolizes the inner world of the author.

a. Translation aims to reveal to readers who do not have direct, or have only partial, access to the translated tongue the symbolic structures, in particular the metaphorical allusions, of an alien language. A translation which aims at illuminating the literary craftsmanship, the intellectual riches, and the imaginative resources of a writer in a foreign language, must, to the greatest possible degree compatible with the structure of the translator's language, take into account the semantic subtleties of that writer's lexicon (first of all), and the morphology (secondly) and syntax (lastly) of his language.

b. However, there are “translations”, or rather paraphrases, which have only pragmatic objectives, *i.e.* to provide useful information. This can be done by translating on higher levels of abstraction, ignoring the concrete, individual and precise connotations which are the essence of artistic expression and sophisticated thought. Such do not concern us here.

c. There are also “translations” which, though they have “literary” purposes, frequently ignore the imagery of the translated work, and so produce, at best, a pleasant composition in the translator's own language, retaining the original theme, but without revealing much of the symbolic structure of the original. At worst, they provide uninspired, narcissistic paraphrases for connoisseurs

of the exotic, revealing only the familiar images of the translator's own linguistic milieu.

d. In view of the rich semantic resources of M.C., the English of the "man-in-the-street", however convenient and accessible to a large audience, is inadequate for serious translations. The English language must be exploited to the utmost in breadth and depth, to cope with the variegated, diachronic richness of M.C. and to bring out all that is possible of its color, its flavor, its subtle nuances.



The Auspices of T'ang

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Indiana University where, during the last year, Altaic Studies became firmly established, decided to offer an Indiana University Prize for Altaic Studies to be given each year to a scholar selected by the PIAC meeting.

The reputation of individual American scholars has not been in need of recognition. But I think, that it was now, at Indiana University a few months ago, that the scholarly world became aware of the fact that American Altaists, as a group, are among the strongest in the world. It is up to us to maintain and enhance this reputation.

Because of the general character of the National Defense Education Act, and for various other reasons, Altaic Studies in the United States have, for my liking, been too exclusively linguistic. And, although I can, and did, write as boring an article as anybody else on a suffix or on a conso-

nant, I think I have made it sufficiently clear that Altaic Studies cover a much broader field. They belong to that vast and happily undefined branch of knowledge which we call—Orientalism.¹³

Altaic Studies, I think, constitute a relatively little exploited field within Orientalism. We could do with more students: historians, linguists, ethnographers, art-historians. The harvest is rich but the laborers are few. And I think that American Orientalism in general, and the American Oriental Society in particular, would do well in taking under its wing a young bird that, in a few years, may turn out to be something like a phoenix.

¹³ I hope that my book now in the press: *Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie centrale. Une bibliographie raisonnée des travaux linguistiques, historiques, archéologiques et ethnographiques*, (Wiesbaden, 1963) will clearly illustrate this fact.

THE AUSPICES OF T'ANG

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... esta obsesión de los pájaros, si la quisiéramos comparar con algo, nada mejor que con los ángeles, mediadores entre Dios y los hombres.

CARMEN RODRÍGUEZ *

WINGED CREATURES have always been thought to be akin to spirits. Therefore, in the concreted metaphors of art, supernatural beings have been shown, in many times and places, in birdlike forms, or at least with the wings of bird or bat. It is easy to believe that birds, with their volatile behavior, appearing out of nowhere, then vanishing into the sky, are numinous entities whose power and knowledge go far beyond what we might expect from their insignificant size and sometimes paltry appearance.

The ancient Chinese had recognized bird-spirits. An example is the appearance in broad daylight of a god with a bird's body to a great lord in the seventh century B. C.¹ But, though such deities

had been abandoned by the official cult long before T'ang times, lesser bird-spirits, birds richly endowed with mana, still remained. These were the birds of the auspices.

Spirits are both good and bad, and so are birds. In Chinese tradition, some birds were condemned as exhibiting qualities, such as lack of filial piety, which would be reprehensible in human beings. Others were praised for their excellent morals. But, above all, some were regarded as inherently sinister, as if they were feathered trolls, whose malignancy men did well to avoid at all cost. On the other hand, some were happy, beneficent animals, welcomed and praised by all. The hold of these ideas on the minds of men is exemplified in the person of an officer at the court of the Kings of Chou, whose sole duty consisted in "shooting the uncanny birds within the nation"—birds whose presence brought fear to men's hearts and bad luck to their households.² Related to these

* Quoted by Ramon J. Sender, in "El Hombre y el angel en nuestra era apocalíptica," *Américas*, marzo, 1962, p. 26.

¹ *Mo tzu*, "Ming kuei" (*Szu pu ts'ung k'an*), 8, 3b.

² *Chou li*, "Ch'iu kuan, T'ing shih." See also gloss of Wang Chao-yü (eleventh century) in *Chou li hsiang chieh* (*Szu pu ts'ung k'an*), 32, 16b.

notions was the belief that birds revealed, by their very presence, whether things stood well or ill in the land, or in a town, or at home: evil is attracted to evil; good things appear in good times. Or again, birds were sometimes not so much evidence of present state as prognostic of future condition. Indeed, it was sometimes believed that birds were more than passive emblems of coming events, and actually had foreknowledge of those events, which they chose to reveal to wise men by disclosing themselves in symbolic fashion at the proper time and place. It was right, therefore, that there should be a science of *auspicium*, the observation of birds, and that avian specialists should interpret to laymen the secret meanings of their appearance and behavior.

Moreover, perhaps by the end of Chou times, the cosmological symbolism of birds was partially reduced to a simple pattern, according to the prevailing doctrine of the "Five Activities." So, like many other phenomena, the dominant colors of birds were thought to correspond mystically to the five regions of the world, and these correspondences could be overworked by the superstitious, and exploited by the poet:³

	NORTH (Winter)	
	Dark Bird	
WEST (Autumn)	CENTER	EAST (Spring)
White Heron	Yellow Bird	Glaucous Hawk
	SOUTH (Summer)	
	Vermilion Bird	

By the early part of the Christian era, at least, these names were associated with definite genera or species. The "Dark Bird" is the welcome swallow;⁴ the "Yellow Bird" seems to be the showy oriole;⁵ the "White Heron" is the stately egret;⁶

³ The arrangement given here is that of Chang Hua (third century A.D.) in his commentary on the ancient *Ch'in ching* ("Canon of Avifauna"), which itself says merely that "their colors match the five quarters." (*Ch'in ching*, attributed to Shih K'uang of Chou, is printed in *Po ch'uan hsüeh hai*.)

⁴ Especially the house swallow (*Hirundo rustica*).

⁵ The plausible identification of Bernard E. Read, "Chinese Materia Medica; VI, Avian Drugs," *Peking Natural History Bulletin*, 6/4 (June, 1932), 1-112, No. 299: "Blacknaped Oriole" (*Oriolus chinensis*). Cf. Lu Tien (eleventh century), *P'i ya* (*Tsung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), 8, 193, which gives the alternate names of *huang*

the "Glaucous Hawk" is the noble goshawk.⁷ The "Vermilion Bird" of the hot south, probably the best known of all five to folklore, is the most difficult to identify, if indeed it was ever a single species. A possibility is the Great Scarlet Minivet of South China and South Asia.⁸ A larger and more splendid avatar would be one of the fireback pheasants (*Lophura* sp.) of the southwestern mountains. But probably other gaudy birds were enthusiastically identified with the "Spirit of the South," and Li Shih-chen, in the sixteenth century, thought that the vermilion bird of the south was the miraculous *feng*, which we miscall "phoenix."⁹ No doubt the other directional stereotypes were just as unstable.

Not all kinds of avifauna were noticed by the Chinese augurs. In the main, the birds whose behavior was watched with concern were conspicuous for size, and for their consociation with human beings and their dwellings. Accordingly there is some resemblance between the important birds of the Far Eastern auspices and those of the Roman, especially with regard to the *ascines*, whose cries were attended to, such as the owl and the crow. But the *alites* of the Roman world, such as the eagle and vulture, which were observed for the significance of their movements, were of little importance to the Chinese soothsayers.¹⁰ Notably neglected by the men of T'ang and their predecessors were the waders and other birds of the seashores; the small shy forest birds; the gaudy fowl of the non-classical southlands, such as the parakeets, the kingfishers, and the peacocks. No doubt

li-liu, *ts'ang keng*, and *huang*; in Shantung it is called *p'u shu* "millet snatcher" or *huang p'ao* "yellow cloak."

⁶ Read No. 262: "Little Egret" (*Egretta garzetta*).

⁷ *Accipiter gentilis*.

⁸ *Pericrocotus speciosus*. Similar is the "Short-billed Minivet" (*P. brevirostris*) which migrates from India to Manchuria, and is sometimes seen near Peking. See Tsen-Hwang Shaw, *The Birds of Hopei Province* (Zoologia sinica, Series B, The Vertebrates of China, Vol. XV, Fascicles I and II, Peking, 1936), pp. 595-7, and Armand David and E. Oustalet, *Les oiseaux de la Chine* (Paris, 1877), Atlas Pl. 78. But there are many other red birds in the South, for example, the "Fire-breasted Flower-pecker" (*Dicaeum ignipectum*); the "Scarlet-backed Flower-pecker" (*D. cruentatum*), and the "South China Fork-tailed Sun-bird" (*Aethopyga christinae*). See H. R. Caldwell and J. C. Caldwell, *South China Birds* (Shanghai, n. d., preface of 1931), pp. 197-8.

⁹ *Pen ts'ao kang mu* (Hung pao chai ed.), 49, 11b. There is some ancient authority for this as well.

¹⁰ For the Roman auspices, I depend on *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1956 edition.

the fishermen of the China Sea, the hunters of the remote woodlands, and the ignorant aborigines (as they appeared) of Lingnan had their own omen lore in which these families figured, but their superstitious beliefs had no influence whatever on the official auspices of T'ang. The wise men of that age clung persistently to the prognostic birds displayed long ago in the *Han shu*, birds typical of the original habitat of the civilized Chinese of the Yellow River valley, and therefore important in ancient religion and superstition—that is to say, inland birds, resident in or migrant through the northlands, predominantly birds of open fields and settled regions.

The omens were taken from the physical attributes and the behavior of the birds: their size, especially if unusual; their shape, if strange; the places where they perched; the directions in which they flew; the associations they had with other birds and with human beings. Their voices were significant, especially for bad things—the eerie cry of an owl boded ill for some one.

The most important beneficent attribute was color. Three chromotypes were particularly fortunate: white birds, red birds, and five-colored birds.

Since antiquity the astonishing apparitions of pure white birds and beasts had been taken as signs of wise and good government, and such happy prodigies were delivered to the court by the thankful provincials and even by subject barbarians: "When the virtue [of a kingly one] extends as far as birds and beasts, white birds will descend."¹¹ Or again: "When the kingly one treats himself with thrift and frugality, and when his platforms and belvederes are not extravagant, and when he gives honor and service to aged and old, white sparrows will come."¹² Accordingly, beginning with Han, the dynastic histories abound in records of albino birds sent to the capital by county magistrates as symbols of the piety of the monarch. White swallows and white pheasants were especially popular. But despite the authority of old custom, white birds were sometimes taken to be unlucky signs. Tuan Ch'eng-shih, in the ninth century, wrote: "When concubines and paramours are in possession of the regime, white swallows come."¹³

¹¹ *Hsiao ching yüan shen ch'i* (*Han hsüeh t'ang ts'ung shu*, ts'e 40, p. 39b). In other editions of this old text of omen lore (presumably showing Han ideas), "bird" is written "crow," which differs by a single stroke, and indeed albino crows are very lucky creatures.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 40a.

¹³ *Yu yang tsa tsu* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng ed.*), 16, 123.

But Ch'eng-shih often reported unorthodox views. In this case, he does not reveal his source. But the twittering white swallows here stand obviously for chattering, powdered women, a visible metaphor. Unofficial interpretations of omens, differing widely from those laid down in orthodox canons, are scattered throughout Chinese literature.

But there was no ambiguity about red birds, which always were taken as signs of great good luck. Red was the color of the gods. An old tradition had it that the mandate for Wen Wang of Chou to rule the Chinese people took the form of a text in auspicious vermilion ink, brought to him by a red sparrow.¹⁴ Perhaps, some thought, this was the chick of the lucky *feng-huang* ("phoenix").¹⁵ For the men of T'ang this ancient event was explained as follows: "As to the red sparrow—when the kingly one is filial, it will come with a writing in its mouth."¹⁶ Oracular red birds bearing arcane messages in vermilion letters appeared only to paragons among men. Wen Wang, the spiritual founder of the Chou ruling house, was so blessed, and so was Confucius.¹⁷ These beliefs, which are at least as old as Han, were still current in T'ang. There are a number of medieval examples recorded in *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*. For instance, in the eighth year of the reign of the putative founder of T'ang, a "red sparrow" nested in the gate of a basilica in the imperial palace, in recognition of which the sovereign gave a great feast for his high officers.¹⁸ And in the following year, upon the accession of the "Grand Ancestor," the second monarch of T'ang, the divine red sparrow was observed at Lo-yang, the Eastern Capital.¹⁹ We do not know how many of these fortunate symbols and omens were genuine. Some were certainly forged. When the partisans of the Empress Wu were striving to make her sole autocrat, one of them put pressure on the other great lords to give a false report that:

¹⁴ Cheng Hsüan, prefatory remarks on *Shih ching*, "Ta ya, Wen Wang" (*Mao shih chu shu*, in *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu*, pp. 1312-14). "Sparrow" (*ch'üeh*) might better be "passerine bird," and was in any case used of a multitude of small birds, and even, occasionally, of some very large ones: the peacock was "*k'ung* sparrow," and the ostrich was "*Arsacid* sparrow."

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Hsiao ching wei*, "Tso ch'i" (*Han hsüeh t'ang ts'ung shu*, ts'e 41, p. 3a).

¹⁷ *Ch'un ch'iu wei* (*Shuo fu*, han 5, ts'e 13).

¹⁸ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 24, 2b.

¹⁹ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 24, 3a.

A phoenix had perched on the Palace of
Superior Solarity,
A red sparrow was seen in the Hall of the
Levee.²⁰

There must sometimes have been real birds to authenticate reports of this kind. While the holy vermilion bird of the South would have been exemplified in rare tropical species occasionally sent as gratifying tribute specimens, the traditional symbols of virtuous kings in the north must have been embodied in red birds native to the northland, such as the rose-finch and the crossbill,²¹ or perhaps some larger bird, say one of the more splendid kinds of pheasant.

Even more rare, and more divine, were birds which displayed the five primary colors, corresponding to the cardinal directions and the "Five Activities" underlying all phenomena. Such a one was the crested bird reported in A. D. 74, in Later Han times, in the imperial city.²² This polychromatic creature might have been a beautiful pheasant, such as the monal, a gorgeous fowl now found in the uplands of Szechwan, garbed in metallic blues, greens and red, with coppery glints, and a fine violet crest.²³ But perhaps it is idle to speculate. Another crested, five-colored bird appeared to authenticate the rule of Mu-jung Chün (307-365) over the state of Northern Yen.²⁴ This one was described as swallow-like. Perhaps it was a Paradise Flycatcher,²⁵ which has a crest of steely green-blue, and is otherwise patterned with rich rufous, iridescent blue, and grays and blacks.

Since the formalization of the arts of prognostication under the tutelage of Liu Hsiang and his colleagues in Han times,²⁶ such auspicious

apparitions were carefully noted in the royal archives, and incorporated, in accordance with the prevailing "Five Activities" doctrine, in the dynastic histories, beginning with the *Wu hsing chih* of Pan Ku's *Han shu*. Many of the histories of pre-T'ang times have these treatises, sometimes with the lucky and unlucky omens lumped together,²⁷ sometimes with the two kinds separated in their individual treatises.²⁸ But, unlike its predecessors, the "Tractate on the Five Activities" of the *T'ang shu* omits almost all of the auspicious emblems, and shows us chiefly the darker side of the auspices. Some red and white birds, emblematic of harmony between heaven and earth, are reported in the *Chiu T'ang shu*, however, and many more in the *Ts'e fu yüan kuei* and the *T'ang hui yao*, including some noble apparitions not listed among the lucky auguries of *Chiu T'ang shu*, such as a five-colored wild goose, and even a *feng-huang*. This last named bird was of some importance. Its appearance was reported from Ch'en-chou late in 676; it was said to have been followed by a host of other birds in serried ranks, segregated according to color. This awe-inspiring endorsement of the reign of Kao Tsung brought about the declaration of a new era, "Ceremonious Phoenix" (*i feng*).²⁹

Otherwise the T'ang histories hardly deviate at all from the style and method of the *Han shu*, reporting the same species of birds, the same situations, and the same interpretations. The T'ang tractates are archaizing texts, relying, like their prototype, entirely on the theories of Liu Hsiang and his son, and other Han sources of omen lore, especially the *I chuan* of Ching Fang, written in the first century B. C.³⁰ However, a few sources of

²⁰ *T'ang shu*, 76, 3867d. (Dynastic histories are cited as from *K'ai ming* edition).

²¹ Candidates would be Pallas's Rose-Finch (*Carpodacus roseus*), Shaw, p. 858; Hodgson's Rose-Finch (*C. erythrurus roseus*), Shaw, p. 860; Chinese Crossbill (*Loxia curvirostra*), Shaw, p. 863.

²² *Sung shu*, 29, 1510a; *Hou Han shu*, 66, 0776d, says that this was a crested bird.

²³ *Lophophorus lhuysii*. See David and Oustalet, p. 403 and Atlas Pl. 110.

²⁴ *Chin shu*, 110, 1367c-d.

²⁵ *Tchitrea* (= *Terpsiphone*) *incei*. Shaw, p. 774; Caldwell and Caldwell, p. 193.

²⁶ The art in general was called *shu shu* "the art of numbering," explainable as the art of prognostication through symbols. The Han specialists put heavy reliance on the traditions of the *Hung fan* school, traditionally founded by Chi-tzu for Chou Wu Wang, and elaborated by Liu Hsiang in his *Hung fan wu hsing*

chuang. See *T'ang shu*, 34, 3712c-d; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3203a-b.

²⁷ As the "Wu hsing chih" of *Han shu*, *Hou Han shu*, *Chin shu* and *Sui shu*, and the "Ling cheng chih" of *Wei shu*.

²⁸ *Sung shu* has a "Fu jui chih" (lucky) and a "Wu hsing chih" (unlucky); *Nan Ch'i shu* has a "Hsiang jui chih" (lucky) and a "Wu hsing chih" (unlucky).

²⁹ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, ch. 24 (where, as in *Wei shu*, white swallows are very abundant), and *T'ang hui yao* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), chs. 28-29, pp. 531-40. The phoenix is in *T'ang hui yao*, 28, 533.

³⁰ See Ching Fang's biography in *Han shu*, 75, 0547a-d. We have a version of the *I chuan* in the *Szu pu ts'ung k'an* edition, based on the copy in the T'ien-i-ko of Ming, with a commentary by Lu Chi of the third century. But much of the original book has been lost. The *Szu pu ts'ung k'an* edition contains only what the title suggests, an interpretation of the *I ching*; a section on auguries,

the period of the "Northern and Southern Dynasties," between Han and T'ang, were also used in T'ang, notably the *Jui ying t'u* "Responses as Auspicious Tokens, Illustrated," of Sun Jou-chih of the Liang dynasty.³¹ Books such as these provided conservative interpretations of symbolic visitations of uncanny creatures—the "responses" of Heaven to terrestrial conditions.

But how were these "auspicious tokens" (*jui*) recognized, reported to the T'ang court, and evaluated by the appropriate functionaries? As far as auspicious signs are concerned, we are fairly well off. For the malignant omens, we are not so well informed.

Let us consider the happy auguries first. The responsibility for collecting and authenticating favorable auspices was placed on the officers of the Department of Properties (*Li pu*), a bureau in the *Shang shu sheng*, the executive branch of the central administration of T'ang. This office examined all reports of divine "responses" and, in the case of immovable objects (such as lucky trees), sent an official party to authenticate them on the spot, and to draw pictures of them.³² But as for moving creatures, "... the like of birds and beasts, if they are taken alive, should each be released in plain or wilds, according to its nature."³³ Birds, like other living symbols, were classified in a hierarchy of four grades, in which color was the most important distinction, according to the degree of the blessing which its presence signified:³⁴

Great Auspicious Tokens: *Feng* ("phoenixes" of the first rank) and *luan* ("phoenixes" of the second rank); birds with "coupled wings"; birds with common hearts; birds of eternal happiness.³⁵

abundantly quoted by the dynastic histories, has disappeared.

³¹ "Response" is a response of Heaven to the condition of the realm, revealed in the material form of an "Auspicious Token," i.e. a symbolic animal, bird or plant. The *Jui ying t'u* is quoted in the T'ang history, and was, it seems, generally relied on in official circles. Ch'üan Te-yü, for instance, quotes it in a formal letter of congratulation to the Son of Heaven on the occasion of the capture of a "white sparrow" and a "white mountain magpie" (i.e. albino Blue Magpie). See his "Chung shu men hsia ho Hsing-chou huo po ch'ieh po shan ch'ieh piao," *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 484, 12a-12b.

³² *T'ang liu tien*, 4, 18a.

³³ *T'ang liu tien*, 4, 20b.

³⁴ For the following see *T'ang liu tien*, 4, 18a-20a.

³⁵ Perhaps the same as the *shih-le niao* of Hsüan Tsung's time, identifiable as a multicolored parakeet. See *Chiu T'ang shu*, in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 924, 4a-4b. The present bird is *yung-le niao*.

(Along with auspicious stars, dragons, red-maned white horses, and the like).

Superior Auspicious Tokens: Dark cranes; red crows; blue crows; three-footed crows; red swallows; red sparrows. (Along with three-horned beasts, white wolves, jade tortoises, and the like).

Middle Auspicious Tokens: White pigeons; white crows; glaucous crows; white pheasants; white-headed halcyon-blue crows; yellow swans; small birds giving birth to large birds; vermilion wild geese; five-colored wild geese; white sparrows. (Along with red foxes, white rabbits, long-lived plants, and the like).³⁶

Inferior Auspicious Tokens: Divine sparrows; crowned sparrows; black pheasants. (Along with lucky corn, ginseng, trees with connected venation, and the like).³⁷

Upon the confirmation of a "Great Token," the company of court officers went immediately to the palace to offer a memorial of congratulation to the monarch; fortunate auspices of lesser rank were saved until the end of the year, and felicitations offered for them collectively.³⁸

The *T'ang shu* does not report these welcome apparitions at all, and there are only a few in the *Chiu T'ang shu*. This anomaly (in comparison with earlier histories) may be related to an event reported for the fall of A.D. 725. Hsüan Tsung told his ministers that he could not find that the canonical *Springs and Autumns* recorded such blessed events, and he therefore ordered the provincial magistrates to cease reporting their appearance.⁹ The resulting deficiency of the T'ang records may well have influenced the decision of the compilers of the *T'ang shu* to omit them altogether.

As for the study and verification of presages of disaster, the official annals are reticent. The Grand Notary in the *Chung shu sheng*, the central secretariat, was charged with the compilation of the

³⁶ Different editions of the text have "bird" or "crow" in this passage. I have usually preferred "crow," on the basis of reports in the dynastic histories. "Halcyon-blue crow" might also be "halcyon-blue bird," i.e. the kingfisher. My edition of *T'ang liu tien* mentions other alternatives, of which I have tried to choose the most plausible.

³⁷ "Divine sparrows" are five-colored sparrows; "crowned" [i.e. "crested"] sparrows are reported in my edition as an addition given in another version.

³⁸ *T'ang liu tien*, 4, 20b.

³⁹ *Tzu chih t'ung chien* (Tokyo, 1892 ed.), 212, 18a.

lucky and unlucky prognostications based on the appearance and movements of stars, planets, clouds, winds, and other celestial phenomena. These he reported quarterly to the other great government departments, and they were duly entered in the official diaries,⁴⁰ and in this form transmitted annually to the compilers of the national history.⁴¹ But the manner of gathering and transmitting the omens of inauspicious birds and beasts is nowhere specifically mentioned. This omission seems to be related to the secrecy which surrounded the art of prognostication in T'ang times. Private citizens were not permitted to own or study astrological charts, or even books on astronomy, which were hardly distinguished from the former. The unauthorized possession of charts of the skies, astronomical instruments, divination diagrams, and oracular books, carried the penalty of two years hard labor in public works,⁴² since the arcane wisdom revealed by these documents and instruments was a prerogative of the Son of Heaven. Unlawful possession was, in effect, lèse majesté. Moreover, such knowledge offered a potential danger to the state, in that understanding the meaning of baleful signs could be turned to seditious ends by enemies of the realm. For these reasons, perhaps, the method of authenticating and recording tokens of divine displeasure were kept secret, and not handed down in the public histories of the dynasty.

All of this has to do with the official auspices. Certainly they had many points of agreement with popular omen lore. But we know little about the latter. Only random notes taken down by inquisitive scholars survive. Tuan Ch'eng-shih, that ever-curious collector of rare information, for instance, reports some examples of unofficial bird lore:

Domestic geese warn us of the presence of ghosts.
Night herons are alarmed by fires.
Peacocks shun evil things.⁴³

* * * * *

Now, in translating and annotating the Auspices of T'ang, the following sequence has been used in the treatment of each item:

(1) In **bold face**: the text of *T'ang shu*, 34, 3714a-b (K'ai ming edition), translated. This is

⁴⁰ *Ch'i chü chu*.

⁴¹ *Shih kuan*. See *T'ang liu tien*, 10, 25b.

⁴² *T'ang li shu i* (*Kuo-hsüeh ch'i-pen ts'ung-shu* ed.), 9, 82. Exempted from this law were the apocryphal books of omens attached to the canons of Confucianism in Han times, the *wei shu*.

⁴³ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, 16, 129; *hsü* 8, 240.

the part of the *Wu hsing chih* which deals with birds.⁴⁴

(2) In *italics*: glosses on the translated passage.

(3) Discussion of the birds themselves, and of the omen.

Items about auspicious birds which appear in *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37, 3205c-d, are translated and treated in the same way. They have been interposed, enclosed in square brackets, among the *T'ang shu* items in chronological order.

1. Visitations of Feathered Animals:

The word here rendered "animals" (ch'ung) is also used in a narrower sense: "crawlers; reptiles and insects." Compare Chinese "naked animals," that is "men," with our animal bipes implume. "Visitation" (nieh) might also be rendered "affliction; plague; curse." Han shu, 27b-a, 0407a, defines the word as a monstrous appearance or prodigy of insects (locusts and the like), but T'ang shu applies it to any ill-omened animal.

Because of its general relevance, we translate here a passage which, in *Chiu T'ang shu*, follows the apparition of the sandgrouse (see 7 below). In it precedents from classical history are given to justify the usefulness of auspices to the great strategist and scourge of the Turks in Kao Tsung's time, P'ei Hsing-chien:

P'ei Hsing-chien asked Mao Shen-k'ö, the Notary of the Right, "In what way do the auspices of birds and beasts correspond to the affairs of men?" And he replied, "Although men are the more numinous, still the nature imbued in them and the spirit contained in them are the same as those in the myriad species. Therefore the pro-

⁴⁴ The *T'ang shu* text has already been translated into German by A. Pfizmaier, in his "Seltsamkeiten aus den Zeiten der Thang," *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 94 (Wien, 1879), 7-86; 96 (1881), 294-366. For the bird omens see 94, 44-51. Although a creditable effort, this version suffers from the absence of any commentary or glosses, and also from mistaken identifications of many birds, as "Holztaube" for "cuckoo" (*shih-chiu*, p. 44) and "Staare" for "crested mynahs" (*chü-yü*, p. 45), and many others. He also omits one passage altogether—the episode of the drongos and siskins of A.D. 797. A considerable collection of bird omens of all kinds, especially those in the important military category, appears in Huang Ting (Ch'ing), *Kuang k'uei chi yao*. This was printed in *Cheng hsüeh lou ts'ung k'ö*, but as this collection is inaccessible to most students, they will find the appropriate sections reproduced in *T'u shu chi ch'eng*, "Shu cheng tien," 164 (Ch'in i pu, hui k'ao, 1, 3b-9b).

pitious and baleful are portended by the latter in correspondence with the good and ill fortune of the former. When a king of transcendent virtue receives the Mandate, the dragon and phoenix act as his auspicious tokens, since they are alike in the concordance of their spirits. Therefore, when the Grandfather of Han decapitated the serpent, the certain demise of Ch'in was proven. When Chung-ni was affected by the unicorn, he realized that his own death was near. When the sheep of I were in the pasture, Chou of Yin was already extinguished.⁴⁵ When crested mynahs came to nest, Chao of Lu was fleeing forth.⁴⁶ When the rat danced by the Upright Gate, Tz'u of Yen met the penalty of death.⁴⁷ When the great bird flew in to perch, the Glorious City was defeated forthwith.⁴⁸ For that reason, a princely man, being reverent and respectful, humble and diffident, will think on what is right whenever he acts. Should he, even though secluded and alone, undertake a great affair, he will be aware of the enlightening presence of divine and shining beings, and be fearful lest affliction and hardship come to him. When a pheasant ascended the ear of his cauldron, the Ancestor of Yin made his body lop-sided that he might cultivate virtue. When an owl mounted the corner of his seat, Bachelor Chia composed a rhapsody that he might discourse on destiny. These were prodigies of virtue prevailing, in that both of them came to their ends without affliction."

To sum up, the affairs of men induce sympathetic reactions in birds and other animals which symbolize the inner meaning of those affairs and their final outcome. Such portents could serve as warnings to the wise, even though sometimes melancholy ones, as when the "unicorn" appeared to Confucius (Chung-ni).

2. At the beginning of "Martial Virtue," the Sui commander, Yao Chün-su, was protector of P'u-chou. There was a magpie which nested in the mechanism of one of his ballistas.

"Martial Virtue," the first T'ang reign, was A. D. 618-626. Yao Chün-su was a brave and loyal but unlucky general of the Sui at the time of its fall. He was murdered by his attendants after

famine developed in the besieged city (Sui shu, 71, 2515b). P'u-chou is in the extreme southwest corner of modern Shansi.

The common Chinese magpie is a variety of *Pica pica*, of Eurasian distribution. There is also a "blue magpie" (*Urocissa erythrorhynca*), which the Chinese call "mountain magpie." Both are members of a widespread, jaunty family of motley habit, rich in turquoise blues, greens, and chestnut reds. The handsome bird and its cry had been regarded as good-omened since antiquity. "The numinous magpie is a presage of joy" says the ancient "Canon of the Avifauna."⁴⁹ This agrees generally with European ideas, though the Norse believed that witches might take the form of magpies.⁵⁰ The almost universal feeling of the Chinese is verbalized in the following quatrain by the poet Wang Chien, in which a woman makes an "Evocation to a Magpie," whose presence and voice betoken the return of her man:⁵¹

Divine magpie, divine magpie! good are the
words you speak!
Let the man who has gone turn back soon, with
much profit and costly things!
Now I am planting a good tree within my
courtyard—
It is for you—make your nest in it—it will be
your reward!

The magpie was above all a bearer of happy tidings. A book about the reign of Hsüan Tsung of T'ang says, "When, in the homes of men of this time, they hear the voice of a magpie, all take it as a joyful omen, and that is why it is said that 'the numinous magpie reports joy.'"⁵² The holy bird was a messenger bringing good news to sufferers, a blessed angel announcing relief from misfortune. We have the tale of a man of the seventh century who heard the voice of a magpie outside his prison, "seemingly passing on some words"; three days later the bearer of an amnesty arrived.⁵³ Some-

⁴⁵ See *Kuo yü*, "Chou yü" (*Szu pu ts'ung k'an* ed.), 2, 13b. The "sheep of I" are said to have been divine sheep grazing outside the Shang capital.

⁴⁶ See *Tso chuan*, Chao kung 25. The prodigy of the crested mynahs, not normal residents of Lu, nesting there, presaged the flight of Chao Kung to Ch'i in the fall of 517 B. C.

⁴⁷ See *Han shu*, 27b, a, 0408c. In 80 B. C. a yellow rat danced with its tail in its mouth by the chief gate of the palace of the prince of Yen. This was an omen of the execution of Liu Tan (posthumously Tz'u), fourth son of Wu Ti, for rebellion.

⁴⁸ See *Han shu*, 27b, b, 0411d. This refers to the appearance of an adjutant-stork at Ch'ang-i. See 35 below.

⁴⁹ *Ch'in ching*, 9b. See n. 3 above. Chang Hua glosses "When the magpie clamors, joy is born."

⁵⁰ James Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 1, "Animals" (New York, 1917), 522.

⁵¹ Wang Chien, "Chu ch'üeh," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 5, ts'e 5, ch. 2, 10a-b.

⁵² Wang Jen-yü, *K'ai yüan T'ien pao i shih* (*T'ang tai ts'ung shu*, 3, 69b).

⁵³ *Ch'ao yeh ch'ien tsai*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, 461, 5b. This must have been an old idea; it crops up in other places, as in a poem of Li Po, "Ching luan . . . T'ai shou liang tsai," in *Li T'ai-po wen chi* (*T'ang Civilization Reference Series*, No. 9, Kyoto, 1958), 10, 5b, which says, inter alia, "the magpie among the five-

times the magpie, like the bird-bodied sirens of the Mediterranean,⁵⁴ was conceived more generally as a prophet, whether of good or evil, stimulated somehow by coming events to move and cry.⁵⁵ It was especially prescient of winds, and was an announcer of coming storms, forecasting the overthrow of trees and tall buildings.⁵⁶ This angelic being was also called "Divine Woman."⁵⁷ The various myths devised to explain this name are worthy of separate study; but, at least, the bird-girl recalls the ancient goddess of Yün-meng, clothed in mists and rainbows, and in T'ang poetry she is associated with rain. Next to its cry, the magpie's choice of a nesting place, and the manner of its building, were most significant, whether of good fortune or of winds and rain. The ancient books praised the building art of the magpie, and commented on the fact that it did the work in mid-winter. If it fails to undertake this work then, "the nation will not be at peace."⁵⁸ Not only was the nest skilfully constructed, but its orientation showed the bird's knowledge of cosmic events: it was directed towards the prevailing winds,⁵⁹ and faced away from the planet Jupiter, the "year-star."⁶⁰ The T'ang writer Tuan Ch'eng-shih states that magpies gather sticks for their nests only from the living tree, never from the ground.⁶¹ The nest itself symbolized wifely virtue and the creation and preservation of a home.⁶² In any case a magpie's nest was a lucky thing to have about. T'ang lore, again reported by Tuan Ch'eng-shih, had it that a magpie's nest was always furnished with a central beam, and that

colored clouds, comes flying and crying high out of heaven, transmitting news that the writ of amnesty will come . . ."

⁵⁴ Florence Waterbury, *Bird-Deities in China* (Artibus Asiae Supplement No. 10, Ascona, 1952), p. 66.

⁵⁵ *Huai nan tzu*, "Fan lun hsün" (*Szu pu ts'ung k'an*), 13, 12a, and gloss of Hsü Shen.

⁵⁶ *I t'ung kuo yen*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 921, 1a.

⁵⁷ *Shen nü*. See Ts'ui Pao, *Ku chün chu* (in *Pi shu nien i chung*), b, 5b; Ma Kao (ninth century), *Chung hua ku chün chu* (in *Po ch'uan hsüeh hai*), c, 6b.

⁵⁸ *Chi chung Chou shu* (*Szu pu ts'ung k'an*), 6, 5a.

⁵⁹ *Huai nan tzu*, "Miu ch'eng hsün" (*Szu pa ts'ung k'an*), 10, 11b. But traditions differ as to whether the entrance faced or turned away from the wind.

⁶⁰ Chang Hua, *Po wu chih*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 921, 4a. Chang Hua states that this was not wisdom but instinct (*tsu jan*).

⁶¹ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, hsü 8, 242.

⁶² *Shih ching*, "Shao nan; Ch'üeh tsao," commentary of Cheng Hsüan (second century); see *Mao shih* in *Szu pu ts'ung k'an* ed., 1, 12b.

a person who saw a magpie ascend this beam had noble status in store for him.⁶³ Nonetheless, despite their general luckiness, magpies sometimes presaged evil. This side of their nature was connected with the ability to anticipate high winds. Even the ancient book of *Chuang tzu* had said that magpies will fly up from city walls and tall trees when violent winds are coming.⁶⁴ When a magpie nested in the mast of a ship which was carrying Sun Ho to Ch'ang-sha, his ministers interpreted this as a warning that it would fall.⁶⁵ But perhaps we should say that even presages such as these were good, since they warned of impending danger.⁶⁶ Even so, there were sceptics who doubted the benevolence of the magpie, if only for a while. Arthur Waley has translated an anonymous poem of the ninth century, "The Lady and the Magpie," found written on the back of a Buddhist scripture:⁶⁷

"Lucky magpie, holy bird, what hateful lies you tell!

Prove, if you can, that ever once your coming brought good luck.

Once too often you have come, and this time I have caught you

And shut you up in a golden cage, and will not let you talk."

"Lady, I came with kind intent and truly bring you joy;

Little did I think you would hold me fast and lock me in a golden cage.

If you really want that far-off man to come quickly home,

Set me free; I will bear him word, flying through the grey clouds."

Why was the magpie's nest in Yao Chün-su's ballista unlucky, as it plainly was? Either it meant its overthrow by the winds of misfortune, like Su Ho's mast, or else (and this seems more likely)

⁶³ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, 16, 127.

⁶⁴ Not in the received *Chuang tzu*, but as given in comment of the T'ang scholiast Li Shan on Hsieh T'iao, "Ho fu Wu-ch'ang teng Sun Ch'üan ku ch'eng," in the *Wen hsüan*.

⁶⁵ *San kuo chih*, "Wu chih," 13, 1061b, quoting *Wu shu*.

⁶⁶ On the other hand, Sung writers tell us that it is only in the south that the cry of the magpie is propitious and that of the crow ominous, the reverse being true in the north. See Lo Yüan (twelfth century), *Erh ya i* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng*), 13, 136-137. This generalization does not seem to be born out by pre-Sung evidence at least.

⁶⁷ In *Chinese Poems* (London, Unwin Books, 1961), p. 175.

it signified the immobilization of the weapon by its conversion to the purposes of domestic engineering was emblematic of the end of war and the fall of warriors.

3. [At the beginning of "Honorable Outlook," white magpies nested in a Pagoda Tree in the courtyard of a basilica. Their nests were "matched for joy," like a waist-drum. When his Left and Right Ones declared their congratulations, the Grand Ancestor said, "I have always laughed at the Cultivated Theocrat of Sui for his love of speaking about auspicious signs and tokens. To obtain a good man is an auspicious token. What do we gain for our affairs from mere white magpies?" And he commanded that they be gathered up and taken out into the wilds.]

"Honorable Outlook" was the name of the era proclaimed by T'ai Tsung ("Grand Ancestor," posthumously) of T'ang, A.D. 627-649. "Pagoda Tree" is huai (*Sophora japonica*). A "basilica" (tien) is a ceremonial hall attached to royal palace or holy temple, where the king or god reveals himself. "Matched for joy" is said of things symbolically and luckily paired, as many objects and concepts related to weddings. A "waist-drum" has two heads, and is contracted in the middle like a narrow waist.

The nests of these fortunate albino magpies were built in linked pairs, doubly significant of happiness, but T'ai Tsung scoffed at such wonders—a useful vassal was enough of a marvel for him. The same event is reported in *Yu yang tsa tsu*,⁶⁸ with the additional information that the luckily shaped nest was destroyed by imperial command. We have many records of white magpies for T'ang, including one seen at Ju-chou in 721, which revealed the presence underground of an ancient bronze wine-vessel bearing a prophecy engraved in seal characters.⁶⁹ Most such white birds were forwarded by the local magistrate to the capital, as we have seen, for formal presentation by the courtiers to the Son of Heaven with an essay of congratulation, the doubting example of T'ai Tsung notwithstanding. The text of one of these laudatory documents, composed by no less a literateur than Liu Tsung-yüan, has survived. In it, the magpie is described as follows:

Frosted plumage, candent and clean,
Feathers of jade, fresh and shining.⁷⁰

(It must be remembered that as a literary image "jade(like)" means pure white, never green.)

4. "Honorable Outlook," seventeenth year, spring. Yu, Prince of Ch'i, was Inciting Notary at Ch'i-chou. He enjoyed raising ducks. There was a raccoon-dog which bit the heads of his ducks, taking off more than forty.

A.D. 643. The Prince of Ch'i, one of T'ai Tsung's impulsive and frivolous sons, got involved in politics inimical to his father's interests, and was forced to commit suicide.⁷¹ "Inciting Notary" (tz'u shih) was the title of the civil magistrate of a chou, an administrative region analogous to one of our counties. Ch'i-chou was in Shantung. "Raccoon-dog" (*Nyctereutes procyonoides*) is a sharp-nosed long-tailed mammal, peculiar to the Far East. Its form, like that of the fox, was frequently taken by witch-girls.

The word here translated "duck" represents more than one kind, but especially *Anas* sp., and above all the domestic duck. The wild and domestic ducks are notably absent from Chinese omen lore. Here the decapitation of the ducks symbolizes the impending death of the unlucky Prince of Ch'i.

5. In the fourth month of that year, "C-canine," they installed the Prince of Chin as Grand Son. A hen pheasant perched in front of the Basilica of the Grand Ultimate, and a cock pheasant perched in front of the Basilica of Evident Virtue of the Eastern Palace. The Grand Ultimate was the assembly place for the Three Levees.

The cyclical day "C-canine" corresponds to April 30 in that year. The Prince of Chin (the future emperor Kao Tsung) was made heir to the throne after the deposition of Li Ch'eng-ch'ien, a self-indulgent wastrel.⁷² "Perch" translates chi, normally "flock/gather"; but the meaning "perch" can easily be proved by passages such as "two great crows . . . one of which perched (chi) . . ." ⁷³ In the T'ang shu text, chi implies

⁶⁸ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, 1, 1.

⁶⁹ *Ts'c fu yüan kuei*, 24, 11b-12a.

⁷⁰ Liu Tsung-yüan, "Li pu ho po ch'üeh piao," *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 570, 17a.

⁷¹ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 196, 13a-14b.

⁷² See *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 196, 15; 197, 1a and 3a.

⁷³ *Chin shu*, 28, 1162d.

a singular object more often than a plural one. The Basilica of the Grand Ultimate was the main hall of the old palace (called the "Western Interior" after the T'ang monarchs elected to reside in the Ta ming kung to the northeast of the city), where the court levee was held.⁷⁴ The Basilica of Evident Virtue was the audience hall of the Eastern Palace, the residence of the heir to the throne.⁷⁵ The "Three Levees" were, in antiquity, the "Informal Levee," the "Inner Levee," and the "Outer Levee"; hence a conventional name for all sessions of the court.

There are many kinds of beautiful pheasants in China, especially in the uplands of the west, some very well known in early Chinese literature, others as little known then as now. The most common, and most usually denoted by the word *chih*, was the Ring-necked Pheasant (*Phasianus colchicus* = *P. torquatus*). This was a propitious bird, emblematic of martial valor and glory. A tradition at least as old as Han had it that to shoot a certain kind of pheasant meant death to the hunter within three months.⁷⁶ The appearance of an albino pheasant was extremely fortunate—in one T'ang poem this is a portent of universal peace.⁷⁷ A book of omens written at the end of the sixth century, the *Wu hsing ta i*, states that the pheasant is the Bird of Fire (one of the "Five Activities" or metaphysical energies), and is under the influence of the fiery planet Mars; it also typifies the *yang* side of the cosmic dualism, and is a figure of martial authority.⁷⁸ In some situations, however, this aspect of the pheasant was unimportant, and the stately bird brought ill luck to a city or palace, as a type of wild creature symbolizing a desolate habitat—civilized places turned into wilderness.⁷⁹ Our pheasants of the year 643 were emblems of future glory at the residence of the new heir presumptive, and at the imperial palace, to which he was destined to move. Another controlling factor appears to be the old name "Gate of the Pheasant,"

which had been given in antiquity to the South Gate of the capital city, the uniquely royal gate.⁸⁰

6. "Eternal Beauty," fourth year. There was a beast a ten-foot and more in height beside the house of Ts'ai Tao-chi, a man of Sung-chou. Its head was akin to that of a goat, with one horn; it was deer-shaped, horse-hoofed, and ox-tailed; it was five-colored and had wings. It was said in antiquity that if there were a bird with the shape of a domestic animal, there would be a great affair of arms.

A.D. 653. Sung-chou is in eastern Honan.

This war-boding monster was imaginary, or hallucinatory, or synthetic. Possibly its appearance was taken to presage the insurrection of the sorceress Ch'en Shih-chen late in that year, though this was confined to Chekiang.⁸¹

7. Fifth year, seventh month, "H-ophidian." There was a small bird like a sparrow in the Palace of a Myriad Years, which gave birth to a child as large as a cuckoo.

*August 25, 654. This was one of Kao Tsung's special palaces; it had been given this name on September 22, 651, having been the Palace of the Nine Consummations until then.*⁸² The binomial name of the cuckoo, used here, **si-k'iau*, is onomatopoeic. It has nothing to do with **k'iau* "dove."

Surely this was a cuckoo-child. Incredibly, the Chinese augurs seem not to have been aware of the parasitic habits of the cuckoo, shared by all forty-two species, of which there are several in China. This one was probably the common Asiatic cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus*).⁸³ We cannot tell what the deceived mother was. *Ch'ieh*, here translated "sparrow," stands for all sorts of passerines, and also many other small song-birds. Sparrows were also called "lucky guests" (*chia pin*), as in Li Chiao's poem "Sparrow" ("The luck guest perches on the apricot beam."),⁸⁴ because they

⁷⁴ *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao* (text in T. Hiraoka, *Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, Texts*, Kyoto, 1956), I, 1b and 2b.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 6b.

⁷⁶ Liu Hsiang, *Shou yüan* (*Szu pu ts'ung k'an*), "Li chieh p'ien," 4, 15b.

⁷⁷ Li Chiao, "Chih," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 2, ts'e 1, ch. 4, 8a.

⁷⁸ Hsiao Chi (fl. 594-605); *Wu hsing ta i* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng*), 5, 116.

⁷⁹ E. g. *Chin shu*, 28, 1162d; episode of the accession of the Lord of Hai-hsi in A.D. 365.

⁸⁰ Li chi, "Ming t'ang wei."

⁸¹ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 199, 15a-b.

⁸² *Chiu T'ang shu*, 4, 3071b. On the same occasion the Jade Floriate Palace was converted into a Buddhist temple.

⁸³ See O. F. von Möllendorf, "The Vertebrata of the Province of Chihli with Notes on Chinese Zoological Nomenclature," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 11 (1877), p. 93, No. 195, Read, No. 293.

⁸⁴ Li Chiao, "Ch'ieh," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 2, ts'e 1, ch. 4, 8a. This is one of a series of poems on birds,

nest close to human dwellings.⁸⁵ But, in the main, sparrows and their like are not noticed in the auspices—unless because of a special relationship to more important birds, or for unusual behavior in large flocks, or because they are clothed in auspicious colors. We have an instance of the last kind from T'ang history, which tells how, after a "strange sparrow" sang in a courtyard tree on the fifth day of the fifth month following the birth of a child (a certain Ts'ui Hsin-ming), the omen was unriddled by the great court astrologer-notary (*T'ai shih ling*), Shih Liang, to mean: "The sparrow which sang was five-colored: this child will be conspicuous in letters, but, as sparrow-kind is insignificant, his place will not be very high."⁸⁶ Tiny birds do not presage great things. What about the supposed generation of a cuckoo in the sparrow lineage? Ancient precedent states that when a creature bears other than its like, some great man will not be succeeded by his own kin.⁸⁷ Then again, it was said, "The birth of a large bird to a small bird—this comes when earth and land are opened wide for the kingly one."⁸⁸ That is, a great and holy ruler will come out of insignificant parentage. The meaning of this present omen is not clear: perhaps it forecasts the dissension which raged in Kao Tsung's gynaeceum during this year, resulting from the failure of Lady Wang, the chief wife, to bear a son. She was supplanted in the following year by Lady Wu, who was evidently to become sole ruler.⁸⁹

8. Harmonious Dew, prime year. A flock of crying sandgrouse flew in through the frontier, following each other until they shaded the wilds. In the "justified month" of the second year, they went back again, flying northward as far as the north of Ling and Hsia, where all fell dead to the ground. When they were inspected all lacked heads.

Winter of A.D. 679-680. The "prime year" is the first year of an era, as the "justified month" is the first month of a year. Ling and Hsia are in northern Shensi, on the edge of the Ordos.

The seed-eating Pin-tailed Sandgrouse, or Pal-

beasts, stones, trees, artifacts and the like, all in the same form.

⁸⁵ Ts'ui Pao, *Ku chin chu (Pi shu nien i chung)*, b, 5b.

⁸⁶ *T'ang shu*, 201, 4099b.

⁸⁷ *Han shu*, 27b, b, 0412a.

⁸⁸ *Sung shu*, 29, 1059d.

⁸⁹ See especially *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 199, 17a-b.

las's Sandgrouse, are dappled, pigeon-like, gregarious birds, which flock in the Mongolian deserts. Crying like pratincoles, they move into Hopei in severe winters.⁹⁰ One of their best qualities was their succulence. Consider the elegant viands admired by Liu Chün (A.D. 462-521):

Teal and wild goose, to fill to satiety;
Spring mud-turtle, a delicious viand;
Indigo fowl, and winter mushrooms;
Jewel of taste—the frosted sandgrouse.⁹¹

These irregular migrants from the north were sometimes called "Turkish Sparrows," libellously, but for obvious reasons;⁹² even more ancient was the name "Border-raiding Pheasants,"⁹³ and an old etymology equated **tuât* "sandgrouse" with **d'uât* "theft."⁹⁴ The unusually large migration of the winter of 679-680 is also recorded in the *Chiu T'ang shu* auspices, which note that it took place just before the border raids of the Western Turk **Uæn-d'wän*.⁹⁵ "When the Turkish Sparrows fly south, it is a portent that the Turks will violate the frontier!"⁹⁶ The reported mass decapitation (by men or weasels?) was a sign of Pei's victory over the nomads.

9. After "Cultured Illumination," there were repeated presentations from all the Subcelestial Realm of hen fowl transformed into cocks. Some were half transformed.

The era "Cultured Illumination" was proclaimed by Jui Tsung in 684, but soon ended. "Presentations" were made to the throne by the provincial magistrates.

The domestic chicken does not figure largely in

⁹⁰ David and Oustalet, 389-390; Möllendorf, p. 93, No. 202; Read, No. 282; Shaw, pp. 476-480.

⁹¹ Liu Chün, "Tung yang chin hua shan hsi chih," in *Liu Hu-ts'ao chi (Han Wei liu ch'ao pa san chia chi)*, 11a.

⁹² Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i (the T'ang pharmacologist), quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 48, 7b.

⁹³ *Erh ya*, "Shih niao," ch. 17.

⁹⁴ *Ch'in ching*, p. 3a.

⁹⁵ See also *T'ang shu*, 3, 3640b and *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 202, 13b, with the notes of Hu San-hsing. *Chiu T'ang shu* has *men* in error for *wen*. Chang Tsu, *Ch'ao yeh ch'ien tsai* (ed. of *Pao yen t'ang pi chi*), 1, 6b, also records the event, and describes the birds in somewhat more detail.

⁹⁶ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 37; compare *T'ang shu*, 215a, 4131d-4132a. Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i (in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 48, 7b), also says of these incursions of swarms of sandgrouse that the frontiersmen foretell invasions of "brigands" from them.

the omens. The two great augurs of Han disagreed as to its symbolic meaning. Ching Fang thought that the barnyard fowl "was aware of time" (since it announces the dawn), and was ill-omened, since "one who is aware of his time, is about to die." Liu Hsiang differed with this view—he took it that since the bird was a minor domestic animal, presiding over time (a mere clock-attendant, as it were), it stood for control of government in the hands of petty officials.⁹⁷ The Sui handbook of auspices, "The Great Sense of the Five Activities" (*Wu hsing ta i*), observes that it is the animal of the zodiacal sign *yu*, which is also represented by the pheasant and the crow. Its Activity (i. e. "element") is Metal, and it therefore represents martial virtue. Its clarion call is like a military signal, and the belligerence of fighting cocks is notorious. At the same time it stands for *yang* (the solar element), fire, and the South.⁹⁸ None of this is too pertinent to the sex changes reported late in the seventh century. But there were ancient interpretations of such transformations. When a cock changes into a hen, he no longer cries out, he leads his flock no more, and he loses his spurs; this, then, is an emblem of emasculation.⁹⁹ When the hen becomes a cock, it is a sign that a vassal will oppress his superior.¹⁰⁰ This is more revealing, but the true augury is told by *Chiu T'ang shu*, a propos of this very sequence of events: "A portent that the Heaven Patterned would preside over the Levee." That is, the Empress Wu, "Patterned after Heaven," would soon, like Egyptian Hatshepsut, assume the masculine role of Son of Heaven, autocrat of the Chinese, a hen transformed into a cock.

10. "Spectacular Dragon," fourth year, sixth month "H-ophidian," conjunction. A crow perched on the beams of the Basilica of the Grand Ultimate. It was chased off, but would not go away.

A.D. 710. This was a reign of Chung Tsung, restored to the throne. "H-ophidian" was July 2. "Conjunction" refers to the conjunction of sun and moon in the sky, at the time of the new moon, and therefore, by convention, to the first day of the lunar month.

The word *wu*, here rendered "crow," stands

more properly for "corvine bird," or "Corvidae." It was and is applied to most if not all of the members of that family—ravens, crows, and sometimes even nutcrackers, jays, and magpies. But more narrowly it was used of ravens, rooks, crows, and jackdaws. In the sixteenth century, Li Shih-chen distinguished four kinds of *wu*, but his descriptions contain contradictions.¹⁰¹ However, the old evidence seems to indicate the following identities for his four "crows": (1) *tz'u wu*: Black Jackdaw (*Coloeus neglectus*), (2) *ya wu*: Pied Jackdaw (*Coloeus dauricus*),¹⁰² (3) *yen wu*: Colared Crow (*Corvus torquatus*),¹⁰³ (4) *shan wu*: North China Chough (*Pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax*). Of these we shall see only the black jackdaw in the T'ang auspices, under the name of "tender crow" (*tz'u wu*). Unqualified *wu* "crow" seems to have included (1) the common Eurasian Carrion Crow (*Corvus corone*), (2) the Large-billed Crow, or Jungle Crow (*Corvus coronoides*), and (3) the Chinese Rook (*Corvus frugilegus*), all of which are large glossy black birds. Of these, the "Large-billed Crow" appears often in literature as just that, *ta tsui wu*. Both Po Chü-i¹⁰⁴ and Yüan Chen¹⁰⁵ wrote long poems entitled "Large-billed Crow," in which they gave the bird a bad name for rapacity. A much older book had described it as an alarmist whose cries warn of the presence of hunters.¹⁰⁶ In the Chinese omens, the crow is generally an inauspicious bird, as it is in many parts of the Old World.¹⁰⁷ An old classical poem has the lines "Nothing red if not a fox; nothing

¹⁰¹ For instance, *ya wu* must, according to his description, be either the Pied Jackdaw or the Large-billed Crow, but he cites features which make either identification impossible. See *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 49, 10b. For more on the crow lore of Eastern Asia, the reader should consult B. Laufer, "Bird Divination among the Tibetans (Notes on Document Pelliot No. 3530, with a study of Tibetan phonology of the ninth century)," *T'oung Pao*, 15 (1914), 1-110. This document is based on Indian sources, and gives precise instructions for taking the omens from a kind of bird sometimes called "crow" and sometimes "raven"—probably the auspices proper to the Indian crow have been adapted to the Tibetan raven.

¹⁰² I base this identification on *Hsiao Erh ya* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng*), 4, 80; and Kuo P'u, comment on *Erh ya* (*Szu pu ts'ung k'an*), c, 11a, which say that the *ya wu* is small, has white underparts, and is given to flocking. This fits the Pied Jackdaw perfectly.

¹⁰³ For this bird, see also 37 below.

¹⁰⁴ In *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 7, ts'e 1, ch. 2, 14a.

¹⁰⁵ In *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 6, ts'e 8, 6b-7b.

¹⁰⁶ *Ch'in ching*, 2a, and commentary.

¹⁰⁷ Hastings, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 510.

⁹⁷ *Han shu*, 27b, a, 0408b.

⁹⁸ *Wu hsing ta i*, 5, 116.

⁹⁹ *Han shu*, 27b, a, 0408b.

¹⁰⁰ *T'ien chieh jo*, quoted in *Sung shu*, 30, 1512a.

black if not a crow,"¹⁰⁸ which is to say that everywhere one looked there were red foxes and black crows, equally baleful, presaging disaster for the country. The crow was the bird of *yin*, the shadowy principle, but because of the myth of the crow in the sun, which was the essence of *yang*, the bird partook somewhat of this as well, hence the supposed benevolence of some species.¹⁰⁹ Accordingly, though sometimes ambiguous, crows usually appear in literature as images of malevolence. The theme "A Crow Cries by Night" (*Wu yeh t'i*), named for a popular tune, is very frequent in T'ang ballads. Here is a poem by Nieh I-chung with that title:¹¹⁰

All of the horde of birds have gone home to
their branches.
But crow! crow! *you* are not roosting!
Still, it might be that you know his mistress'
resentment,
And so you cry towards her green window.

These are the words of a lonely or deserted wife. She refers to herself humbly as "his mistress." The cawing of the crow at her window may be simply an evil symbol of her black grievance, but may also, like the magpie's cry, presage her husband's return.¹¹¹ Standing opposite the crow in Chinese lore was the image of the happy magpie. The two appear together, repeatedly, like feathered incarnations of Ahri-man and Ahura-Mazda. An ancient augury had it that when a crow fought with a magpie, it presaged the expropriation of military authority, with looting and slaughter.¹¹² In the fifth century, when a crow once fought with a magpie over a nesting place, and killed the magpie, this was taken to mean the ruin of a king's son.¹¹³ On the other hand, a century later, when a crow and magpie were found nesting together, the association was thought to have been induced by the local prevalence of filial piety and social responsibility.¹¹⁴ Some items of popular crow lore:

¹⁰⁸ *Shih ching*, "Pei feng," Pei feng.

¹⁰⁹ *Wu hsing ta i*, 5, 116.

¹¹⁰ Nieh I-chung, "Wu yeh t'i," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 10, ts'e 1, 6b.

¹¹¹ But see Po Chü-i's poem on the same theme translated in A. Waley, *The Life and Times of Po Chü-i*, 772-846 A. D. (London, 1949), p. 144, which shows, as Waley says, "the popular belief that when a crow caws at night it means that a prisoner will be pardoned."

¹¹² Ching Fang in *Han shu*, 27b, b, 0411c-d.

¹¹³ *Chin shu*, 87, 1309c, reign of Wu Chao Wang of Western Liang.

¹¹⁴ *Sui shu*, 72, 2516c.

if you eat the eyes of a crow, you will be able to see the forest demons, and if you press the liquid from them and pour it into your own eyes, you will be able to see ghosts by night.¹¹⁵ When a crow's wings seem heavy in flight, it will rain.¹¹⁶ If you are going on a journey, and a crow goes crying ahead of you, it will attract many joys.¹¹⁷ Of this last omen, Tuan Ch'eng-shih says: "it is not carried in the old auguries." One kind of crow, at least, was always auspicious; this was the three-legged crow, which was said to live in the sun. It must be conceded that some sceptics did not credit the truth of this. Wang Ch'ung, for instance, argued that the sun was composed of fire in which no such creature could survive.¹¹⁸ Indeed Wang Ch'ung's scepticism went even further—he thought that all ominous animals of unusual appearance were spontaneous mutants, whose appearance might chance to coincide with welcome or unwelcome events.¹¹⁹ But despite such unbelievers, three-legged crows were actually forwarded to the palace from time to time as signs of great good fortune. Such a one had been caught in the capital city in 762, for instance.¹²⁰ But a more famous one was sent to the Empress Wu in 690 as a sign of divine approval of her newly proclaimed Chou dynasty. Jui Tsung, a royal nonentity at this time, said that the bird's foremost foot was a forgery, and so it proved to me.¹²¹ Artificial marvels like this must have been all too common.¹²² But our crow which perched on the great basilica in 710 was one of the maleficent two-legged variety. Chung Tsung had just been restored to the purple, and this was his holy hall. The crow appeared on July 2. On July 3 Chung Tsung died.¹²³

11. "Opened Prime," twelfth year, eleventh month, "E-murine." A cock pheasant flew tamely inside the Palace of Purification on

¹¹⁵ Ch'ien Ts'ang-ch'i, in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 49, 11a.

¹¹⁶ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, 16, 127.

¹¹⁷ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, 16, 127.

¹¹⁸ *Lun heng*, "Shuo jih p'ien."

¹¹⁹ *Lun heng*, "Chiang jui p'ien."

¹²⁰ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 25, 4a; (*Chiu*) *T'ang shu*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 920, 6a.

¹²¹ (*Chiu*) *T'ang shu*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 920, 6a.

¹²² It is astonishing that no bad omens are recorded for the reign of Wu Hou. We should expect an abundance of them to have been reported. Perhaps a regime as sensitive as this one kept the augurs under strict control.

¹²³ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 209, 13a.

Mount T'ai. The sacrifices of Sky-mound and Earth-platform are used to report the consummation of exploits. As there are no sacrificial affairs weightier than these, it is unlucky when a wild bird flies there tamely, not shunning the guards of the Forbidden Place.

The twelfth year of Hsüan Tsung's reign "Opened Prime" would correspond to A.D. 724, but there was no E-murine day in the eleventh month of that year. "Twelfth year" is a mistake for "thirteenth year" (A.D. 725), the year in which the great ceremony actually took place.¹²⁴ The day was December 17. The "Palace of Purification" was for the ritual purging of the Son of Heaven, by prayer, fasting, and meditation, before the sacrifice, at which he reported "the consummation of exploits," justifying his reign. "Guards of the Forbidden Place" were the personal guards of the sovereign.

Preparations for this elaborate ritual, which brought the Son of Heaven close to his spiritual parent, reinforcing his charismatic energy, were begun a year earlier, in the winter of 724, when the plan of the ancient sacrifice was discussed.¹²⁵ The royal procession actually reached the foot of the sacred mountain in Shantung on December 15 of 725, just before the winter solstice. The monarch performed the sacrifice to Heaven on December 19, and that to Earth on December 20.¹²⁶ The pheasant appears here in its unlucky aspect, as a wild creature invading civilized precincts (see 5 above). The case was like that of a pheasant seen in Yang-chou in 882, whose presence was unriddled thus: "When a wild bird enters the house, the army office will become vacant," and so it transpired.¹²⁷ But the desolation around the altars of Mount T'ai, which we should expect from the occurrence of this prodigy two days before the sacrifice, is not recorded in the books of history—on the contrary, auspicious meteorological signs showed forth after the ceremony.¹²⁸ However, the great sacrifice was not offered again during T'ang,¹²⁹ and it seems most likely that the omen signified the desertion of the holy place for the next few hundred years.

¹²⁴ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 212, 18a-b.

¹²⁵ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 212, 16b.

¹²⁶ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 212, 18a-b. Cf. *Chiu T'ang shu*, 8, 3082d-3083a.

¹²⁷ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 182, 3550d.

¹²⁸ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 8, 3083a.

¹²⁹ *T'ung chih* (K'ai ming ed.), 43, 582c, records no later instance.

12. Twenty-fifth year, fourth month. Two crows, two magpies, and two crested mynahs nested together at P'u-chou. A magpie nurtured a "tender crow" at Lung-chou.

A.D. 737. P'u-chou is in western Shantung, near the Yellow River. Lung-chou is in Shensi, up the Wei River from Ch'ang-an.

The Chinese crested mynah (*chü-yü*; *Aethiopsar cristellatus*) is a sociable black bird with yellow bill and legs, a resident of the lowlands of Central and South China.¹³⁰ According to an ancient tradition, it was never found north of the Chi River, which, in former times, ran through Honan and Shantung into the sea south of the Yellow River. Like the tangerine, which is replaced in the north by the thorny lime, it is a peculiar product of the "earth breath" of the South,¹³¹ that is, of the characteristic emanation of the southern soil, which determines what kinds of creature might live there. P'u-chou and Lung-chou would be near the northern limits of its habitat. The jaunty bird was much admired for its ability to speak, especially after its tongue was trimmed—indeed it was thought to surpass the parrot in this art.¹³² An old tradition said that it could be taught to fetch fire,¹³³ and it was said that a liquor prepared by mixing the lens of its eye with human milk and applied to one's own eyes gave one power to see through smoke and mists.¹³⁴ Albino mutants were sometimes seen, as the one celebrated in a poem by Wei Ying-wu,¹³⁵ which begins:

Crested mynah! crested mynah!
All the horde are like lacquer—
You alone are like jade!

("Laquer" implies "black," and "jade," as always, suggests a pure white color.) But even the normal black mynah was usually a propitious bird. It is reported that just before Ts'ui Hsing-kung was raised to the important fifth rank of the official hierarchy, a crested mynah deposited on his table the ring and fish-token pouch which were the prerogatives of that dignity.¹³⁶ But this gen-

¹³⁰ Caldwell and Caldwell, p. 11.

¹³¹ *Chou li*, "Tung kuan; k'ao kung chi."

¹³² Liu I-ch'ing (4th cent.), *Yu ming lu*, quoted in *T'ai ping yü lan*, 923, 2a; *Yu yang tsa tsu*, 16, 128; Ch'en Ts'ang-chi, in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 49, 10a.

¹³³ Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i, in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 49, 10a; *Yu yang tsa tsu*, 16, 128.

¹³⁴ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, 16, 128.

¹³⁵ Wei Ying-wu, "Pao juan chu po chü-yü ko," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 3, ts'c 7, ch. 9, 6b.

¹³⁶ (*Chiu*) *T'ang shu*, quoted in *T'ai ping yü lan*, 922,

erally well-liked bird had its darker side. Commenting on the appearance of a crested mynah during the reign of Chao Kung of Lu in 517 B. C., the Han augur Liu Hsin took it as an evil sign, since this was a barbarian bird (it nests in holes in trees and deserted buildings, just as savages live in caves) nesting on the soil of the Central States, and presaged the expulsion of Chao Kung into the wilderness.¹³⁷ The "tender crow" (where "tender" implies "showing loving care; parental tenderness") is the black jackdaw, a rather gregarious consorter with rooks, and prone to haunt roofs and towers as well as trees. It had been noted since antiquity for its supposed habit of returning to the nest after reaching maturity to feed its mother.¹³⁸ Accordingly it was also styled "filial crow."¹³⁹ Po Chü-i wrote another poem about this bird, entitled "A Tender Crow Cries by Night."¹⁴⁰ This has been translated by L. Cranmer-Byng as "The Little Crow."¹⁴¹ Unfortunately the translator has mistaken the meaning of the epithets "tender" and "filial," and though he gives us a pathetic picture of "the little lonely crow . . . waiting and wailing for the mother breast," it is not a mother's love which the young bird wants—it wants a mother to love! Because of this respectable reputation, the jackdaw is a bird of good omen.¹⁴² The auspices of 737, with birds of different species nesting together and nurturing each other, would appear to be favorable. But good omens are not commonly reported in *T'ang shu*, and, except for the honors given Li Lin-fu and Niu Seng-k'o after the disgrace of Chang

Chiu-ling in this year, it was a year filled with unpleasantnesses, ranging from the enforced suicide of two princes, to the destruction of the Ming T'ang, the "Luminous Hall." Perhaps this avian tenderness represented the humane spirit of Hsüan Tsung, which led to a reform of the laws and prisons, and the abolition of fifty-eight capital crimes, in the seventh month of this year.¹⁴³

13. Twenty-eighth year, fourth month, "G-draconian." A "tender crow" nested in a bracket-truss of the Basilica for Promulgating Government. On "H-ophidian" it nested again in a bracket-truss of the Basilica for Promulgating Government.

May 24 and 25, A.D. 740. Important state affairs were conducted in this building.

Another good omen, surprising in *T'ang shu*. The two great ministers, Li Lin-fu and Niu Seng-k'o offered formal congratulations to Hsüan Tsung because of this prodigy.¹⁴⁴ It was a good year in T'ang. Rice and silk cloth were cheap. "Within the seas there was wealth and stability."¹⁴⁵

14. "Heavenly Treasure," thirteenth year. There was a magpie in Yeh-hsien which nested within a carriage-wheel rut. Nesting on the ground, rather than nesting in a tree, is to mistake one's place.

A.D. 754, the forty-second year of Hsüan Tsung's reign. Yeh-hsien is in Honan.

This was the year in which An Lu-shan was summoned to court to demonstrate his loyalty. After he was denied appointment to the privy council on the grounds of illiteracy, he hastened back to Fan-yang to prepare his revolt.¹⁴⁶ Here was a wild creature who had mistaken his place.

15. "Ultimate Virtue," second year, third month. Wu Ling-hsün, a commander for An Lu-shan, besieged Nan-yang. There was a magpie which nested in the mechanism of a ballista inside the walled city. When three chicks had been produced it departed.

A.D. 757. Nan-yang is in Honan.

This was a cruel year. In its first month An Lu-shan was disembowelled in his own tent;¹⁴⁷

11b. However, see *Han shu*, 27b, b, 0411c, where a white crested mynah is said to be an omen of drought!

¹³⁷ *Tso chuan*, Chao kung, 25; *Han shu*, 27b, b, 0411c.

¹³⁸ Möllendorf, p. 89, No. 150.

¹³⁹ *Ch'in ching*, 2a. The trait of filial piety was sometimes extended to others of the Corvidae. See *Erh ya chi*. Perhaps this explains why Yüan Chen, in his poem "Ta tsui wu," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 6, ts'e 8, 6b-7b, has "the one whose beak is white is named 'tender.'" This could only be the rook, the base of whose bill is white. However, in Po Chü-i's matching poem on the same theme ("Ho ta tsui wu," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 7, ts'e 1, ch. 2, 14a), the corresponding verse has "the one whose beak is small is tender and filial." It is possible that the "white" of Yüan Chen's effusion is an editorial or copyist's substitution.

¹⁴⁰ Po Chü-i, "Tz'u wu yeh ti," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 7, ts'e 1, ch. 1, 14b.

¹⁴¹ L. Cranmer-Byng, *A Feast of Lanterns* (London, reprint of 1936), p. 68.

¹⁴² See the biography of Ch'eng-kung Chuan, in *Chin shu*, 92, 1319d.

¹⁴³ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 214, 13b.

¹⁴⁴ *Ts'e fu yüan kuei*, 24, 19b.

¹⁴⁵ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 214, 19b.

¹⁴⁶ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 217, 1a-2b.

¹⁴⁷ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 219, 6b.

shortly thereafter, Arab and Sogdian troops came to aid the T'ang soldiery under Kuo Tzu-i against the forces commanded by the great rebel's lieutenants;¹⁴⁸ Shih Szu-ming seized An Lu-shan's booty and defied his son and successor, An Ch'ing-hsü.¹⁴⁹ Nan-yang was defended by the provincial magistrate, Lu Chiung. The siege lasted a full year, and the starving inhabitants of the city died like flies. A single rat fetched several hundred cash. Finally the indomitable commander made a successful sortie, burst through the enemy lines, and escaped.¹⁵⁰ Here, as in 2 above, the nesting of the magpies in the war engine signified that it was rendered harmless.

16. ["Great Chronometry," eighth year, fourth month, "E-simian." There was a pair of magpies in the Basilica of Honor in the Sylphine Observatory at the Empyrean Tumulus. They brought mud and faggots in their mouths to patch up fifteen places all told where nests had fallen apart in the basilica.]

April 29, A.D. 743. The "Empyrean Tumulus" (ch'ien ling) was the great barrow of Kao Tsung. The "Sylphine Observatory" will have been a Taoist temple at the holy tumulus, and the "Basilica of Honor" a ceremonial hall on the temple grounds. Chiu T'ang shu (pen chi), 11, 3094d, has hsi "rent, lacuna" for the ch'ao "nest" of our text. This agrees with the account of the same event in Yu yang tsa tsu, 16, 127-128. We should therefore emend the basic text to read "... to patch up fifteen places, which were rent and falling apart, in the basilica."

In recognition of the birds' pious act, the whole company of court officers formally offered congratulations to the reigning monarch.¹⁵¹ Here the auspicious birds lent their divine craft of house-building to the preservation of a sacred dynastic building, plainly giving supernatural sanction to the continuance of the ruling family.

17. "Great Chronometry," eighth year, ninth month. A great bird was caught at Wu-kung, with fleshy wings, a fox's head, and four feet with claws; it was more than four feet long; its hair was red, and it was like a bat. It was followed by a flock of birds which clamored at it.

This comes near to being a "visitation of feathered animals."

A.D. 773. Chiu T'ang shu has "at the Wu-kung ["Martial Exploits"] Basilica," which is otherwise unknown. I take it that T'ang shu and Yu yang tsa tsu are right in having only Wu-kung, a township adjacent to the capital. Chiu T'ang shu adds that the creature was shot down by Chang Jih-fen, a commander of the imperial guards.¹⁵²

This "bird" must have been one of the Giant Flying Squirrels (*Petaurista* sp.) of Eastern Asia. The Red Giant Flying Squirrel (*P. petaurista* of South China) is three "feet" long, including the tail (the T'ang "foot" was shorter than ours). The unfortunate animal must have wandered far from its natural habitat, or perhaps it had escaped from captivity. The meaning of the omen is unclear. But see 6 above, where a monstrous mammal-like bird presaged war. In this month Ko-shu Huang revolted and seized Canton; there were also wars with the Tibetans.¹⁵³

18. [Eleventh year. They caught a red crow in Wei-chou.]

A.D. 776. Wei-chou is up the Wei River from Ch'ang-an.

The rare and propitious "red crow" is a mystery. No Chinese bird seems to qualify for the name, unless a red sport of the common crow is possible, which I have not heard. The North China Nutcracker (*Nucifraga* sp.) is related to the crows, but it is hard to think that its brown plumage would be styled "red" (*ch'ih*). Then there is the Maroon Oriole (*Oriolus trailii*), which lives in a broad belt from the Himalayas to Formosa: it is bright red, except for its black head and wings, and might be styled a "crow," since jackdaws and jays of much the same size and shape are so called. If one such stray or migrant bird wandered into North China, the prodigy would have been realized. Whatever were the heroic originals of such reported apparitions, they were immensely auspicious. A classical sample: Mo-tzu, though he opposed aggression, allowed the chastisement of wicked rulers through armed might; such events were always presaged by supernatural tokens; accordingly the philosopher observed that a red crow had brought a kingly scepter to Wen

¹⁴⁸ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 219, 8b and 10a.

¹⁴⁹ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 219, 10b.

¹⁵⁰ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 219, 13b.

¹⁵¹ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, 16, 127-8.

¹⁵² Compare the same story as given in *Yu yang tsa tsu*, 16, 129.

¹⁵³ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 224, 19a-b.

Wang of Chou, signaling the destined overthrow of the wicked Shang nation.¹⁵⁴ Therefore the revelation of a red crow was emblematic of the reign of a prince who was concerned for his people, though not avaricious of power.¹⁵⁵ The most famous of all "red crows" had appeared, "like a god or numen," before the gratified eyes of Sun Ch'üan, ruler of Wu, in A. D. 238, in recognition of which the existence of a new era was declared, to which the name "Red Crow" was given.¹⁵⁶ This flame-colored bird, like the three-legged crow, embodied the pure essence of the life-giving and illuminating sun. The Wu poet Hsüeh Tsung, in his "Lauds for the Red Crow,"¹⁵⁷ praised it in these words:

Fiery glowing—the red crow;
It is the germ of the sun;
Vermilion feathers on cinnabar body;
It is born in an exceptional era.

In T'ang times, other than the instance recorded in *Chiu T'ang shu*, we observe that a red crow and a white magpie perched in a tree at the home of a recluse named Chu Jen-kuei, signifying his virtue.¹⁵⁸ This seems a rather insipid sign—far from the godly fire-colored bird which appeared to Sun Ch'üan. But those had been years of a more splendid divinity. No obviously happy affair marks the history of 776. The appearance of the red crow must be taken simply as a guarantee of divine support for the reign of Tai Tsung.

19. Thirteenth year, fifth month. There was a crested mynah which incubated two magpies at the Left Army of Plume Forest.

A. D. 778. The "Plume Forest Army" was a body of imperial guards, named for a cluster of stars, "the heavenly army of the plume forest."

Compare 7 above.¹⁵⁹ The magpies are propitious birds—we should therefore assume a pair of fortunate successors to a personage in high place. In 779 Tai Tsung died, to be succeeded by his son (posthumously Te Tsung), with the hero Kuo Tzu-i as regent.¹⁶⁰ Possibly Tai Tsung was the

crested mynah, Te Tsung and Kuo Tzu-i the pair of magpies.

20. "Honorable Prime," fourth year, third month. There was a magpie which made a nest of mud in a phoenix-tree at the Sanctum of Penetralian Writings. The nesting of a magpie shows knowledge of the stages of the year [star], since it is the most knowledgeable of feathered animals. But now, because the mud was exposed, it was destroyed when the nest encountered wind and rain.

A. D. 788; but both *Chiu T'ang shu* and *Yu yang tsa tsu* have 787. The earlier date is confirmed by relevant events, for which see below. The "phoenix-tree" (Firmiana simplex = Sterculia plataniifolia) is *wu-t'ung*. The "year-star" is Jupiter; see 2 above. The "Sanctum" (sheng, a substitute for chin "tabooed; forbidden," i. e. office made sacred by association with the holy palace); "penetralian writings" (chung shu) were the documents and archives of the sacred penetralia of the imperial palace. This "sanctum" was the imperial secretariat.

In the sixth month of 787, that intelligent and useful minister, Li Mi, who had served four emperors in succession, was finally appointed "Attendant Gentleman" in the Sanctum of Penetralian Writings.¹⁶¹ He was surely the human replica of the magpie nesting there. The annexed statement about the sad fate of a friable nest of mud, unsupported by sticks, is an enigma.¹⁶² It would appear to show that this particular magpie was unusually ignorant of astrology and meteorology, and so came to disaster. But Li Mi's career continued to prosper. Perhaps it was a random and ill-informed interpolation of the Sung historian. The same pure mud nesting is reported in *Yu yang tsa tsu*,¹⁶³ with a different postscript: "Setting fire to such a nest will exorcise the fox-bogles."¹⁶⁴ This is a typical bit of folklore collected by Tuan Ch'eng-shih, but seems irrelevant to the present affair.

¹⁵⁴ *Mo tzu*, "Fei kung" (*Szu pu ts'ung k'an*), 5, 12b.

¹⁵⁵ *Sun shih jui ying t'u*, quoted in *T'u shu chi ch'eng*, "Ch'in ch'ung tien," 22, "Wu pu, hui k'ao," 3.

¹⁵⁶ *San kuo chih*, 47 ("Wu chih," 2), 1036b.

¹⁵⁷ *Ch'üan San kuo wen*, 66, 6b.

¹⁵⁸ *T'ang shu*, 115, 3942d.

¹⁵⁹ The present incident occurs also in *Chiu T'ang shu*, but instead of two magpies, the mynah incubates a "sparrow," a rather different omen we should think.

¹⁶⁰ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 225, 15b.

¹⁶¹ *T'ang shu*, 7, 3650b, and 139, 3986c.

¹⁶² It does not appear in the *Chiu T'ang shu* version.

¹⁶³ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, 16, 128.

¹⁶⁴ Although exorcism may have seemed to some persons an appropriate way to deal with "fox-bogles" (*hu mei*), it appears that the "Fox-god" or "Fox-bogle" was a popular household deity, worshipped by peasants since early T'ang times. See Chang Tsu, *Ch'ao yeh ch'ien tsai*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, 447, 5b.

21. In that year, summer, all the crows within the confines of Cheng and Pien flew off in flocks and perched within the confines of T'ien Hsü at Wei and Po and of Li Na at Tzu and Ch'ing. They brought wood in their mouths with which they made a rampart two or three feet high, and ten *li* in diameter. Hsü and Na, taking this to be an evil thing, set fire to it, but they sojourned in it again with confidence. Blood flowed from the mouths of all the crows.

The first occurrence of the phrase "within the confines" seems to be a copyist's error. All other sources¹⁶⁵ give "the two chou of" instead. Cheng-chou and Pien-chou are in Honan. T'ien Hsü and Li Na were young Shantung warlords, holding fine titles awarded by a helpless court for military "services," T'ien died in 796 at the age of 33, and Li at the age of 34.¹⁶⁶ Wei and Po are in western Shantung; Tzu and Ch'ing are in eastern Shantung. The two warlords commanded armies called "Army of Wei and Po" (sometimes P'ing-lu Army) and "Army of Tzu and Ch'ing (sometimes T'ien-hsiung Army) respectively. "Sojourned . . . with confidence" (hsin su) is a cliché meaning "resided a second time."

The invasion of the rampart-building crows from Honan appears to symbolize some military action taken against T'ien Hsü and Li Na, but I find no record of such a threat from the West. There were many miracles in this year, however. For instance, the Yellow River ran inky black for a large part of its course, and this stygian stream even reached Pien-chou.¹⁶⁷

23. Tenth year, fourth month. There was a great bird which flew and perched within the palace. It ate various bones for a number of days. They caught it, but it would not eat, and died.

¹⁶⁵ *Chiu T'ang shu* and *Yu yang tsa tsu*, 16, 127. *Chiu T'ang shu* evidently used *Yu yang tsa tsu* as a primary source, since the language is identical (though the *Tsung shu chi ch'eng* edition of *Yu yang tsa tsu* has "Fourteenth year of Honorable Prime" instead of "Fourth year")—or possibly Tuan Ch'eng-shih had access to the official historiographers' archives when he was employed at the imperial library, and so drew on the same material as the compilers of *Chiu T'ang shu*. The event is also reported in *Chiu T'ang shu*, 13, 3101d (*pen chi*).

¹⁶⁶ *T'ang shu*, 210, 4120a; 213, 4126a; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 124, 3427b; 141, 3459d.

¹⁶⁷ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 13, 3101d.

A.D. 794. The event is also reported in *Chiu T'ang shu*, both in the "Wu hsing chih" and the "pen chi."¹⁶⁸ The latter adds "this spring there was incessant rain—clear skies were rare."

No ready interpretation is available, though the omen seems poor.

24. Sixth month, "H-ovine," moon-dark. A water bird perched on a warehouse of the Left Store.

The same year, July 31. "Moon-dark" is by convention always the last day of the lunar month. The "Left Store" in the capital city administered the storage of government goods of all kinds, except for jewels, precious metals, and the like, which were the responsibility of the Right Store.¹⁶⁹

This apparition is reported also in *Chiu T'ang shu*, both *Wu hsing chih* and *pen chi*.¹⁷⁰ The latter version adds: "That night violent rains and great winds broke the trees." We shall see more about the significance of "water birds" with the unusual appearance of a "bald stork" in 36 below. In Han times, Liu Hsiang had declared that water birds were "blue" omens, and symbolized the insolence of vassals towards their superiors, which took the form of outrageous and brazen fashions in costume. Moreover, like the intrusion of other wild birds into the palace, their presence gave warning of desolation there.¹⁷¹ But no affair of ugly consequence for the state which might have been foreshadowed by our strange fowl appears in this year of 794.

25. Thirteenth year, tenth month. In Huai-chou, there was a yellow sparrow which came and went in the nest of a drongo, nurturing it with food.

A.D. 797. *Huai-chou* is in Honan.

Nowadays "yellow sparrow" is a name for the siskin,¹⁷² but it is the sort of name that must have been applied to a variety of small yellow birds in many times and places.¹⁷³ In mid-Han times, a

¹⁶⁸ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 13, 3103a.

¹⁶⁹ *T'ang liu tien*, 20, 17a.

¹⁷⁰ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 13, 3103b.

¹⁷¹ *Han shu*, 27b, b, 0411d.

¹⁷² Shaw, p. 847.

¹⁷³ Chen Hsüan, in a gloss on the *Chou li* ("Hsia kuan," Lo shih, in *Szu pu ts'ung k'an* ed., 7, 32a), gives the "yellow sparrow" as an example of a "spring bird," which appears after winter "hibernation" in the southern provinces. The siskin, on the other hand, is a northern bird, accustomed to coniferous forests, which

"yellow sparrow" had symbolized the great "usurper" Wang Mang, whose cosmic color was yellow, overcoming the red of legitimate Han.¹⁷⁴ There are two drongos in China, of which the Black Drongo is the more common.¹⁷⁵ These handsome, glossy insectivores were widely famed for their vociferous and pugnacious habits. Their resonant cries precede the dawn, so much so that the late T'ang poet Wu Jung was astonished to find another bird which was "earlier than the drongo";¹⁷⁶ it was also admired for its belligerent attitude towards such carnivorous predators as the goshawk and falcon.¹⁷⁷ Unhappily, I find no suitable historical incident which might correspond to the dauntless mothering of this regal bird by a little yellow passerine.

26. Fourteenth year, autumn. There was an odd bird, colored blue, like a dove or magpie, which was seen outside the suburb of Sung-chou. In every place where it stopped, a flock of birds guarded it with their wings, and brought rice and millet in their mouths to nurture it. The people of Sui-yang went in crowds to the wilds for a decad of days to watch it.

A.D. 798. *Sui-yang is the chief township of Sung-chou in Honan.*

Chiu T'ang shu adds this: "But no person knew its name. Li Ao,¹⁷⁸ a man of that county, saw it, and said, 'This is *luan*, next in rank to a *feng*.' " The *luan* was a holy bird, a bird of good omen, the token of a realized golden age.¹⁷⁹ In literature it is coupled with the mysterious *feng*, miscalled "phoenix,"¹⁸⁰ and with the sacred Manchurian

migrates southward in the fall and winter. Cheng Hsüan's "yellow sparrow" was no siskin; more likely it was one of the yellow wood-warblers coming up from the south for the summer.

¹⁷⁴ *Han shu*, 27b, a, 0410a.

¹⁷⁵ *Dicrurus cathoecus*. See Möllendorf, p. 85, No. 127. I have elsewhere (*The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*) tried to show that the semi-legendary *kalavinka*, of Buddhist fame, was the Great Paradise Drongo of South Asia, a great rarity in China.

¹⁷⁶ Wu Jung, "Wen t'i-hu niao," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 10, ts'e 7, ch. 3, 2a.

¹⁷⁷ See the summation in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 49, 10a.

¹⁷⁸ Li Ao was an eminent man of letters, a follower of Han Yü, and for a while an official government historian.

¹⁷⁹ *Ch'in ching* (*Po ch'uan hsiieh hai*), 1b: "The *luan* is a bird which betokens good."

¹⁸⁰ It is not always clear what symbolic birds represented in medieval art are *feng* (or *feng-huang*) and what are *luan*. There are primitive "phoenixes" shown in Han and Six Dynasties art, with feet together and head

crane, which shows the divine red spot on its crown. Some say that the *luan* is a kind of *feng*, others that "it resembles the *feng*."¹⁸¹ One ancient source states that it is like the Reeves' pheasant,¹⁸² whose long tail plumes were used for ceremonial insignia, but that it is more gorgeously colored;¹⁸³ another claims that it is a red gallinaceous bird, with polychromatic patternings;¹⁸⁴ another that it is the blue variety of *feng*, as in our present auspicious story.¹⁸⁵ But in truth a conscientious search of the literature reveals purple *luan*, glaucous *luan*, sombre *luan*, halcyon-blue *luan*, pink *luan*, vermilion *luan*, red *luan*, and even uncolored *luan*. In one source, it is fringed with white.¹⁸⁶ In any case, it is the blue-red part of the spectrum which is emphasized, not the yellow-green (despite the "glaucous" bird), which is strongly suggestive of the rich family of East Asian pheasants. Like many admirable birds, the *luan* dances when it hears music,¹⁸⁷ and, also like others, it sings when it sees its image in a mirror, as in a tale about the King of Kapiśa.¹⁸⁸ In one tradition this marvelous bird, in its fiery red form, is seen as the essential red spirit,¹⁸⁹ accordingly, it seems, it was the germ of fire and the sun in the

tucked in; in T'ang a developed form appears in dance posture with one leg lifted and head held high, but despite its association with Iranian designs, this seems not to be of Iranian origin. See Basil Gray, *Buddhist Cave Paintings at Tun-huang* (London, 1959), pp. 51-52. Indeed the "sunbird" of late Persian iconography, the *simurgh*, descended from the Old Persian *saēna*, was partly derived from the Chinese "phoenix." See Schuyler Cammann, "Ancient Symbols in Modern Afghanistan," *Ars Orientalis*, 2 (1957), 32. But the iconography of the early Chinese "phoenix" is still little studied.

¹⁸¹ So *K'un-lun t'u*, quoted in *Pao p'u tzu*, as found in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 916, 2a.

¹⁸² Chinese *ti*, *Syrnaticus reevesii*.

¹⁸³ *Shan hai ching*, "Hsi shan ching," ch. 2 (in *Szu pu ts'ung k'an*, a, 17b).

¹⁸⁴ *Shuo wen*, ch. 4a.

¹⁸⁵ Chang Tsu, *Ch'ao yeh ch'ien tsai* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng*), 3, 31. This is a T'ang source, and may indicate that the idea of a blue *luan* is specifically T'ang.

¹⁸⁶ *K'un-lun t'u*, as in 181 above.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ Liu Ching-shu (?—ca. 468), *I yüan* (*Hsüeh chin t'ao yüan*), 3, 1a. The king buys a *luan*, which will not sing for him. His wife says that all birds sing when they see their like, and advises him to hang a mirror before it. When the *luan* sees its image in the mirror it cries out sadly, and soars up to disappear in the sky. Cf. F. Hirth, "Chinese Metallic Mirrors," *Boas Anniversary Volume* (New York, 1906), pp. 208-256.

¹⁸⁹ *Shuo wen*, ch. 4a; *Jui ying t'u*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 916, 2a.

form of a bird. Its name was given in antiquity to a kind of carriage bell, and one authority believes that it was simultaneously a sun-bird and a soul-bird, whose image was placed on the funeral car.¹⁹⁰ This notion seems to be preserved physically in the form of toy "bird chariots," and goblets in the same form, known from Han to T'ang times, which apparently originated in Bronze Age Europe, and spread to China by way of Siberia.¹⁹¹ The *luan* as chariot bell suggested the idea that the bird was responsive to music, especially to paeans, as registered in the *Shuo wen*: "Its cries hit exactly on the Five Tones, and when the sounds of lauds are made, it comes."¹⁹² But however it came to be associated with the tingling of chariot-harness, for the men of T'ang this association was only remotely allusive, and entirely literary; they hardly remembered the archaic sun-birds, seeing them, if they were learned men, only faintly as angelic avian spirits of a distant age, perhaps the distorted reflections of some real fowl. But throughout the ages, though rarely, instances of *luan* epiphanies continued to be recorded in respectable documents. Here is a selection: a savage tribe presented a *luan*-bird to the second ruler of Chou;¹⁹³ a *luan* flew about the grounds of a Han palace in 55 B.C., plainly seen by many employees;¹⁹⁴ a *luan* was seen in a royal park of Liang in A.D. 502; when two peacocks flew from the royal hunting park near Loyang into the royal city in A.D. 615, a captain of the guards reported them as *luan*, and a splendid hall was built at the spot where they were seen.¹⁹⁶ As for T'ang, other than the case here commented on, a *luan* was observed at Ho-chou in Anhwei in 627, and another at Yen-chou in Shantung in 647, both evidently honoring the glorious reign of T'ai Tsung.¹⁹⁷ And indeed the miraculous vision of a *luan* was recognized as emblematic of universal peace.¹⁹⁸ It was

also said that "When the officers and protectors of the Son of Heaven are raised up by reason of virtue, the *luan* is in the wilds."¹⁹⁹ The idea of the *luan* must have been complex in origin, but its historical appearances, if not of pheasants and other exotic birds escaped from imperial gardens, must have been as several of the bewildering variety of gaudy pheasants and tragopans, clad in crimson or azure, strayed from their upland pastures. We should take the instance of 798 to point to the rise of a great sage or pious administrator, but I find nothing certain in the histories.

27. Eighteenth year, sixth month. Crows perched in T'eng-hsien of Hsü-chou, bringing faggots in their mouths to make a rampart. Among them were one white crow and one cyan crow.

A.D. 802. *Hsü-chou is in what is now northern Kiangsu.*

White crows, like three-legged crows, are propitious. Specifically the appearance of such an albino pointed to proper reverence shown at the ancestral temples.²⁰⁰ White crows were formally presented to the T'ang court on several occasions, and odes were written in honor of the fortunate omens.²⁰¹ A "cyan" (or perhaps, dark blue-green, Chinese *pi*) crow is a novelty in this history of the auspices. But there are many examples of "dark green (or glaucous) crows" (*ts'ang wu*) as good-omened apparitions,²⁰² including one in 635, early in T'ang.²⁰³ These were interpreted as meaning that a virtuous sovereign, one who hates the taking of life, was showing loving kindness to his people.²⁰⁴ Our "dark blue" or "dark blue-green" crow was surely an example of these lucky

p'u tzu, as quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 916, 2a; *Shang shu chung hou*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 916, 1a. *Pao p'u tzu* (*Szu pu ts'ung k'an*), 2, 12b, reports that it was commonly thought that *luan* and other auspicious beasts were antique inventions, artificial miracles intended to inspire zeal for good in the hearts of the rulers of China, but never actually seen in modern times.

¹⁹⁰ *Ch'un ch'iu yen k'ung t'u*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 916, 1a.

¹⁹¹ *Nan shih*, 57, 2680a.

¹⁹² E.g. *fu* on white crows by Chang Yüeh, P'ei Tu and Meng Chien, in *Ch'üan T'ang wen*.

¹⁹³ E.g. *Chin shu*, 28 1162d; *Wei shu*, 112b, 2187b; and one is supposed to have been seen during the reign of Chou Wen Wang (*Jui ying t'u*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 920, 8a).

¹⁹⁴ *Ts'e fu yüan kwei*, 24, 4a.

¹⁹⁵ *Jui ying t'u*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 920, 8a; *Sung shu*, 28, 1504a.

¹⁹⁰ Carl Hentze, "Le symbolisme des oiseaux dans la Chine ancienne," *Sinologica*, 5/2 (1957), 65-92; 5/3 (1958), 124-149; see in particular pp. 73 and 75.

¹⁹¹ B. Laufer, "The bird-chariot in China and Europe," *Boas Anniversary Volume* (New York, 1906), pp. 410-424; C. C. Seligman, "Bird-chariots and Socketed Celts in Europe and China," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 50 (Jan.-Jun., 1920), 153-158.

¹⁹² *Shuo wen*, ch. 4a.

¹⁹³ (*Chi chung*) *Chou shu*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 916, 1b.

¹⁹⁴ *Han shu*, 8, 0311b.

¹⁹⁵ *Nan shih*, 6, 2563c.

¹⁹⁶ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 182, 16a-b.

¹⁹⁷ *Ts'e fu yüan kwei*, 25, 3b and 8b.

¹⁹⁸ *Shan hai ching* (*Szu pu ts'ung k'an*), a, 17b; *Pao*

"dark green" crows, and equally auspicious. Indeed all crows show a blue or green metallic gloss, especially in good light. In particular, the Large-billed Crow, sometimes called North China Jungle-Crow, is glossy blue, smeared with purple.²⁰⁵ But I find no historical event which might have been foreknown from this ominous invasion of wall-builders.

28. "Primal Accord," prime year. A magpie nested on level ground in Ch'ang-chou.

A.D. 806, the first year of the new reign of Hsien Tsung, who had actually acceded in the previous year. Ch'ang-chou is in modern southern Kiangsu.

Compare 14 above, where the same omen was taken to mean "to mistake one's place." The reference is uncertain, though it may portend the abortive rebellion of Liu P'i in Szechwan.²⁰⁶

29. Fourth year, twelfth month. A flock of crows perched by night on T'ai-hang Mountains.

Early 810. The T'ai-hang Mountains form the boundary between Shansi and Hopei.

The application of the evil omen is uncertain. Perhaps it has some reference to the revolt of Wang Ch'ung-tsung in Hopei this winter.²⁰⁷

30. Thirteenth year, spring. At the office of Tzu-ch'ing-fu, within the city wall, crows and magpies took away each other's chicks, nurturing each as its own offspring. They clawed and struck at each other in turn, nor could they be kept from doing so.

A.D. 818. For "Tzu-ch'ing-fu" we might say "Archive-residence of Tzu and Ch'ing," that is, headquarters of the Moderating and Ruling Commissioner (chieh tu shih), the military legate in eastern Shantung. Cf. "Tzu and Ch'ing" in 21 above. My "crows" is an emendation, replacing "birds," as required by the sense.

Possibly this refers to the rift between the hereditary commissioner Li Shih-tao and his lieutenant Kao Mu.²⁰⁸ Ching Fang's *I chuan* says, "When one arrogates the power of punitive campaigns, robbing and killing, the weird will be a fight between crow and magpie."²⁰⁹

31. ["Long Felicitation," prime year, sixth month. Crows nested in an elm tree of the family of Chang Hsien, a man of Lei-tse-hsien in P'u-chou. When the wind knocked two chicks down from it, a magpie from another tree brought the two crow chicks to its nest and nurtured it.]

A.D. 821. Both "crows" and "crow" in this passage are emendations for "birds" and "bird." P'u-chou is in Shantung.

Evidently a case of the good cherishing the bad, but I find no satisfying historical referent.

32. "Precious Chronometry," prime year, eleventh month, "C-simian." Crows cried out by night.

January 9, 826.

Nothing obviously fitting happened this year, but exactly one year later (January 9, 827, in our calendar), the dissipated young emperor Ching Tsung was assassinated.²¹⁰ Could there be a connection?

33. "Opened Perfection," prime year, intercalary fifth month, "C-canine." Crows perched at the Temple-office of T'ang the Stabilizer; after a month had passed they dispersed.²¹¹ Sparrows perched at the Temple-office of the Esoteric Law. Swallows perched on the grave of Hsiao Wang-chih.

July 5, 836. "Temple-office" is szu, actually "government office." When the first Buddhist scriptures were brought to China in the first century of our era, they were housed in the "Office" in the capital which was in charge of foreign visitors. From then on, all Buddhist establishments were styled "offices." In T'ang, some szu were government offices, some were Buddhist temples. I cannot find the "Temple-office of T'ang the Stabilizer" (T'ang an szu), which was presumably in Ch'ang-an. The "Temple-office of the Esoteric Law" (Hsüan fa szu) was in the An-i Quarter of the capital.²¹² Hsiao Wang-chih was an esteemed statesman and sometimes regent of Han.²¹³

The crown-omen is bad, but its meaning cannot be ascertained positively. Perhaps it signified evil men undermining the stability of T'ang—the name

²⁰⁵ Shaw, p. 611.

²⁰⁶ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 237, 1b ff.

²⁰⁷ *T'ang shu*, 211, 4122b-c.

²⁰⁸ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 240, 10b.

²⁰⁹ *Han shu*, 27b, b, 0411c-d.

²¹⁰ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 243, 16a.

²¹¹ This much of the report is also in *Chiu T'ang shu*, 17b, 3124b.

²¹² *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 3, 22b.

²¹³ *Han shu*, 78, 0556b ff.

of the temple being more significant than its use. In this month the emperor Wen Tsung was criticized for taking the two young daughters of his distant relative, the wicked official Li Hsiao-pen, under his "protection."²¹⁴ Perhaps this is alluded to here. The swallows on the grave of a good minister of ancient times may have had a similar purport. "Sparrows" have been discussed in 7 above. There are a number of Chinese swallows, but it is the common Eurasian house-swallow (*Hirundo rustica*) which was usually noticed. Swallows were "birds of darkness" (*hsüan niao*), representing the *yin* metaphysical energy. Hsiao Chi saw proof of this in the red patch on the swallow's chin, representing the germinal *yang* within the *yin*, and by its forked tail, which stands for the duality of *yin*.²¹⁵ Nonetheless this was a popular and lucky bird. Since antiquity it had been admired as a conscientious home-builder, gathering mud for nests in faithful pairs, a welcome sign of spring under the eaves. Its arrival in the north from its winter quarters was associated with the mid-spring month, especially with the equinox, when the ancient ceremonies of mating and the sacrifices to the fertility gods had been held.²¹⁶ Indeed the swallow was the totemic ancestor of the Shang dynasty: the girl Chien-ti became pregnant after gulping down a swallow's egg at the time of the vernal equinox, and so became the ancestress of the great god-king T'ang.²¹⁷ Accordingly, the failure of the spring migration could be a disastrous sign for the household—no wombs were quickened where the birds failed to nest.²¹⁸ Here is a bit of ninth century lore, preserved by Tuan Ch'eng-shih:

In old belief, when swallows did not enter the house, its wells would be empty. Take paulownia, and make a male and a female, one of each, and throw them into the well—the swallows are sure to come.²¹⁹

(That is, male and female figures were to be made of paulownia (*t'ung*) wood.)

²¹⁴ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 245, 16b-17a; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 169, 3519b.

²¹⁵ *Wu hsing ta i*, 5, 113.

²¹⁶ See *Li chi*, "Yüeh ling" (1867 ed.), 3, 43, and the commentary of Ch'en Hao (Yüan dyn.). The chief deity was the *kao mei* "high matchmaker."

²¹⁷ See *Shih ching* "Shang sung," and the story is reported in *Shih chi*.

²¹⁸ *Chi chung Chou shu* (*Szu pu ts'ung k'an*), "Shih hsün chieh," 6, 2b, and 4a, with notes of K'ung Ch'ao (Chin. dyn.).

²¹⁹ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, 16, 128.

34. Second year, third month. Magpies nested at an old grave outside of the Gate of True Exaltation. When magpies make nests they know how to avoid the year [-star]; also, ancient prognosticators used their height or lowness to divine water and drought. That they now made cavities in a grave rather than nesting in a tree was unpropitious.

A.D. 837. *I do not find this gate* (Chen hsing men) *at Ch'ang-an, though there was a Gate of Extended Exaltation* (Yen hsing men) *in the east wall of the city. There was a Kiosk* (t'ing) *of True Exaltation in the imperial park; perhaps the two are related in some way. The year-star is Jupiter; see 2 above. This prodigy, lacking the comment, is also reported in Chiu T'ang shu, which has "wild magpies"; it also has "sixth month" instead of "third month."*

Possibly this is a reference to a widespread locust plague,²²⁰ or to the mutiny of the Ho-yang Army,²²¹ both of which occurred in the sixth month of this year.

35. Autumn. Flocks of Turkish crows flew from north of the frontier in through the frontier.

The "Turkish crow" must be the great Siberian raven (*Corvus corax*), which winters on the Sino-Mongolian border, but is rare in north China.²²² I find no other T'ang reference to the prophetic raven, which is so well known to the peoples of northern America, Asia and Europe;²²³ its prescient powers were unknown to the augurs of T'ang. Like the sand-grouse it symbolized the nomadic enemies of T'ang, and indeed, the Turks and the Tanguts both ravaged the marches of northern Shansi in the early autumn of this year.²²⁴

36. Fifth year, sixth month. There was a flock of bald storks which flew to perch in the Forbidden Park. The stork is a water bird.

A.D. 840. *The "Forbidden Park" was the great imperial hunting park north of the city of Ch'ang-an, with its zoological gardens, aviaries, and experimental plant nurseries.*

²²⁰ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 17b, 3125a.

²²¹ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 245, 18b.

²²² Shaw, pp. 608-9.

²²³ See Waterbury, p. 66. Among the cultures close to China was that of the Tungus, who "... believe that the raven has the power of prophesying ..."

²²⁴ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 245, 19a.

The "bald stork" is the ugly, scavenging Adjutant-stork (*Leptopilus javanicus*), a close relative of the marabou of tropical Africa. It lives in the lake regions of south China.²²⁵ Strays in north China would be great marvels, and would be expected only in exceptionally hot years. As we have seen in 24 above, a water bird appearing in a civilized place was a bad omen. Ts'ui Kuang, a high official and excellent augur of the Northern Wei, had remarked on the appearance of an adjutant-stork at the imperial palace in A.D. 520 that ". . . this greedy and evil bird, owned by wilderness and mere, ought not to enter into the basilica. . . ." ²²⁶ An earlier appearance of the same kind of stork in A.D. 226 in a pleasure garden of Lo-yang had presaged the death of the sovereign.²²⁷ Our T'ang instance seems to have been posthumously ominous, since the emperor Wen Tsung had died on February 10 of this year, at the age of thirty-three.²²⁸ His obsequies were celebrated by his successor in the eighth month of this year, however, and it may be that the unpleasant birds were thought to portend that event.²²⁹

37. "Assembled Glories," prime year. In Chang-tzu of Lu-chou there was a white-necked crow fighting with a magpie.

A.D. 841. *Chang-tzu is a town of Lu-chou, in the T'ai-hang mountains of Hopei.*

The "white-headed" or "white-necked" crow of the Chinese texts is the Collared Crow (*Corvus torquatus*) of our own time, the "swallow crow" of some ancient sources,²³⁰ and the "ghost sparrow" of the southlanders, whose crying forboded evil.²³¹ Therefore the poet Tu Fu has a "white-headed crow" cry out over the west gate of Ch'ang-an as Hsüan Tsung prepares to flee into Szechwan

before the approaching hordes of An Lu-shan.²³² A battle between a white-necked crow and a black crow in Han times had been taken as an omen of war between kind.²³³ A crow fighting with a magpie was evil set against good.²³⁴ In this year the upstart Kirghiz harassed the declining Uighurs,²³⁵ who had held the men of T'ang in contempt, and there were two mutinies of the Chinese armies in Hopei.²³⁶

38. "Great Centering," tenth year, third month. A mob of fowl completed a nest at the Levee of Wu-t'ang in Shu-chou. It was seven feet broad and one foot high. Neither water fowl nor mountain birds failed to be tame and familiar. Among them was one which had a human face, green plumage, and a purple-blue beak, whose sound was "kam!" Men spoke of it as the "kam animal." The prognostication is, "Should there be an extraordinary bird come and sojourn within the city, there will be arms in the nation, and men will devour one another."

A.D. 856. *Shu-chou is in Anhwei.*

This is the familiar omen of the wild creature in human haunts, symbolizing their coming desolation. Moreover, Ching Fang had written, "When a bird cries at gate or pylon with a human sound, that city will perish."²³⁷ No event to which this monstrosity could point has been found, though there was a major insurrection of aborigines in Lingnan in 857.²³⁸ Could these savages have been the gaudy animals with human faces who would lay waste the towns of T'ang?

39. "Total Comprehension," seventh year. There was a sparrow at the hundred-mile garrison of Ling-t'ai in Ching-chou which gave birth to swallows. When they became large, all flew away. The Tradition of the Changes of Ching Fang says, "When brigand vassals are in the nation, the prodigy for that is swallows giving birth to sparrows." The same doctrine applies to sparrows giving birth to swallows.

²²⁵ *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 47, 1a; Caldwell and Caldwell, p. 312; David and Oustalet, p. 449; Read, No. 249. Cheng Tso-hsin, *Chung-kuo niao-lei fen-pu mu-lu*, Pt. I (Peking, 1955), p. 59 applies the old name "bald stork" (*t'u ch'iu*) to the vulture *Aegypius monachus*; it is to be hoped that this confusing usage will not be perpetuated.

²²⁶ *Pei shih*, 44, 2892d.

²²⁷ Wei Wen Ti (San kuo). *Sung shu*, 31, 1517a.

²²⁸ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 246, 7b.

²²⁹ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 18a, 3126d, reports the appearance of the adjutants for the following year, 841, along with unusual displays of meteors, but it seems even less significant then.

²³⁰ See the discussion of crows in 10 above, and also *Chung hua ku chin chu* (*Po ch'uan hsieh hai*), c, 7a.

²³¹ *Ch'in ching*, 2a, with gloss.

²³² Tu Fu, "Ai wang sun," *Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series*, Supplement No. 14, Vol. II (September, 1940), pp. 43-44.

²³³ *Han shu*, 27b, b, 0411c.

²³⁴ Cf. 30 above.

²³⁵ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 18a, 3126d.

²³⁶ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 246, 12b-13a.

²³⁷ *Sui shu*, 23, 2415d.

²³⁸ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 249, 11b-12a.

A.D. 866. Ching-chou is in Kansu.

Besides the meaning given, which originated with Ching Fang,²³⁹ such unnatural births also portended the failure of the true heir to inherit.²⁴⁰ In this year occurred the Nan-chao invasion of Annam, which was finally smashed by the Chinese.²⁴¹ Probably of greater relevance here were the Tibetan raids on T'ang.²⁴²

40. Eleventh year, summer. A pheasant perched on the office of Ho-nei-hsien.

A.D. 870. Ho-nei-hsien was the administrative seat of Huai-chou in Honan.

The prognosis is unclear.

41. During "Total Comprehension," there was a strange bird in Wu-yüeh. It was extremely large, with four eyes and three legs. It cried out in the mountain forests, and its sound was "lo-p'ing!" The prognostication is "There will be men-at-arms in the nation, and men will eat one another."

A.D. 860-873. Wu-yüeh represents a considerable region about the mouth of the Yangtze, especially what is now Chekiang province.

These were savage times. We have already observed the Nan-chao invasion of the Annamese Protectorate in 39 above; Nan-chao also raided Szechwan and Kweichow in 873.²⁴³ More to the point, probably, was the disastrous mutiny of the troops conscripted to serve against Nan-chao in Annam; led by P'ang Hsün, they ravaged Huainan in the fall of 868.²⁴⁴ This must have been an important contributing factor to the widespread famine in this year, which was especially severe in and around Loyang, the eastern capital.²⁴⁵

42. "Empyreal Token," fourth year, spring. North of Lu-chiang-hsien a magpie nested on the ground.

A.D. 877. Lu-chiang-hsien is in Anhwei.

Another bad year. Two great rebels, Wang Hsien-chih and Huang Ch'ao, were on the march, killing and plundering.²⁴⁶ Compare 14 above,

where a magpie nesting on the ground has been diagnosed as a reference to that other great rebel, An Lu-shan.

43. Sixth year, summer. An owl-eared (?) pheasant perched on the tower and hsien-office of Yen-shih. It was Liu Hsiang's doctrine that if a wild bird came into a place, the palace apartments would be vacant.

A.D. 879. Yen-hsih-hsien was in Ho-nan-fu.

"Owl-eared pheasant" is an attempt to translate *ch'ih-chih*. Assuming (which is not absolutely necessary) that this is an attributive and not a correlative construction, comparable to the well-established term *yao-chih* "sparrowhawk pheasant," i.e. a breed of pheasant colored and patterned like a sparrowhawk, we are left with the difficult problem of identifying *ch'ih*. The usual dictionaries sometimes equate it with *yüan* "kite,"²⁴⁷ and sometimes give it the meaning of "owl," though it appears to refer particularly to "horned" and "eared" owls, not to the round-headed kinds.²⁴⁸ It was long ago suggested²⁴⁹ that ancient Chinese representations of "owls," some even as late as the T'ang dynasty, were frequently very pheasant-like, and might actually represent one of the crossoptilons or tragopans, types of "eared" pheasants, rather than owls. Our tentative "owl-eared pheasant" would then be one of these remarkable pheasants. It is not clear what it was taken to forebode—the empire was much troubled by "bandits" and marauding warlords this summer.²⁵⁰

44. "Extensive Illumination," prime year, spring. There was a flock of nightjar birds in I-ch'eng-hsien of Chiang-chou which flew to perch at the hsien-office. They were pursued by

²⁴⁷ The *ch'ih wei* finials on Chinese buildings are plainly the forked tails of kites. See Yoshito Harada, *Tō-a ko-bunka kenkyū* (3rd ed., Tokyo, 1944), pp. 357-364.

²⁴⁸ Especially in the term *chüeh ch'ih*, for the horned "Eagle-owl" (*Bubo bubo*), plainly distinguished from *hsiao*. Thus the "clever woman" in *Shih ching*, "Tang chih shih, Chan yang": "is a *Strix*, is a *Bubo*" (*wei hsio wei ch'ih*). The kite/owl ambiguity might be bridged by taking *ch'ih* to apply also to the buzzard-hawks, the slow-soaring mouse-eaters, in particular the *Buteoninae*, whose habits have much in common with both kites and owls—but perhaps this is too daring.

²⁴⁹ By A. de Carle Sowerby, in "The Owl in Chinese Art," *China Journal*, 25 (July, 1936), 8-12.

²⁵⁰ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 253, 11b-12a.

²³⁹ Quoted in *Han shu*, 27b, b, 0412a.

²⁴⁰ Ching Fang, quoted in Kan Pao (fourth cent.), *Sou shen chi* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng*), 6, 43.

²⁴¹ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 250, 18a-18b.

²⁴² *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 250, 18a.

²⁴³ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 252, 8a.

²⁴⁴ *T'ang shu*, 9, 3655a.

²⁴⁵ *T'ang shu*, 35, 3714c.

²⁴⁶ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 253, 1a.

all the common birds, which clamored at them. "Lighted Expatiation," prime year, second month. So it happened again. The nightjar is otherwise named **chiuən-yuo*.

A.D. 880, then 885. Chiang-chou is in south-western Shansi.

The Eastern Nightjar (*Caprimulgus indicus*),²⁵¹ or nighthawk, or goatsucker, was known to the medieval Chinese under a variety of names, sometimes **t'i-chiau*,²⁵² sometimes **chiu-liu*²⁵³ (the form used in *T'ang shu*), and sometimes **chiuən-yuo*,²⁵⁴ all presumably dialectical variants. This nocturnal, insectivorous, and (as it appeared) ghostly bird was often confused with the owls,²⁵⁵ and shared the poor reputation of that family, being styled 'weird bird,'²⁵⁶ and feared as a thing of evil.²⁵⁷ It was also believed that these goblin creatures were fond of eating human finger-nails, which gave them prescience of good and evil; they announced evil tidings by crying on afflicted rooftops. Moreover they brought devilish harm on babies, whose clothes should therefore never be left out under the stars.²⁵⁸ In our present case, the omen must refer to the governor of Chiang-chou, who was a Sha-t'ò Turk.²⁵⁹ But although 880 was a troubled year, with incursions of the Sha-t'ò in the north,²⁶⁰ and mutiny and desertion among the garrisons on the Annamese frontier,²⁶¹ the fate in store for the governor himself has not been ascertained. As for the year 885, when the same incident recurred, there were disorders everywhere; the commands of Hsi Tsung's court were obeyed only in a few dozen counties (*chou*) in parts of Kansu, Shensi, Szechwan, Hupei and

Kwangtung-Kwangsi.²⁶² When the emperor visited the old capital of Ch'ang-an this year.

Thorns and brambles filled the walled city,
Foxes and rabbits traversed it this way and that.²⁶³

Chiang-chou was an important outpost of Ch'ang-an, but its fate is not known.

45. "Central Accord," prime year, third month. There was a crow in Ch'en-liu which changed into a magpie.

A.D. 881. Ch'en-liu was in the K'ai-feng region of Honan.

Evidently this transformation signified the successes of Huang Ch'ao.²⁶⁴ See 46.

46. Second year. There was a magpie which changed into a crow. In antiquity they used crows to divine whether an army would be victorious or be overcome. When a crow changes into a magpie, it is an image of the plain people following brigands. When a magpie changes back into a crow, it is the image of brigands who have become plain people again.

A.D. 882.

Possibly the brigands who became plain people were Li K'ò-yung and the 17,000 warriors of the Sha-t'ò tribe who came down from the north to aid the royal faction this year.²⁶⁵

47. Third year. The household of a government employee in Hsin-an-hsien had caught and kept a pheasant, which they cared for so that it was as tame as their chickens. But after more than a month it fought with them, and so died.

A.D. 883. Hsin-an is in Honan.

"When the Subcelestial Realm is disordered, no fowl nor bird will make room for one another—how much more is this so of men!"²⁶⁶ The omen seems to suggest a valiant barbarian, though a tamed one, overwhelmed by a throng of mediocrities. I find nothing like this in Hsin-an or elsewhere. This year Huang Ch'ao suffered defeats at the hands of Li K'ò-yung.

48. Fourth year. A goshawk in the household of plain people in Lien-shui of Lin-huai was

²⁵¹ Shaw, pp. 529-531; Caldwell and Caldwell, pp. 199-200; Cheng, p. 201. There are other, less common species, in China, e.g. *C. affinis monticolus*.

²⁵² See *Tz'u t'ung*, pp. 1064-5, for a list of graphic variants. But some dictionaries equate this with *chüeh ch'ih*, the Eagle-owl. See n. 248.

²⁵³ See *Tz'u t'ung*, p. 1057, for a list of graphic variants.

²⁵⁴ In addition to the present text, see Han Yü, "She hsün-hu," in *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 5, ts'e 10, ch. 5, 15b, a satirical poem beginning "There is a bird which flies by night—its name is *hsün-hu*."

²⁵⁵ In particular, with the insectivorous owlets (*Glaucidium* sp.). *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 50a, 12b.

²⁵⁶ *Kuai niao*; see *Ch'in ching*, 9b, with commentary.

²⁵⁷ *Yu yang tsa tsu*, 16, 131.

²⁵⁸ *Ling piao lu i* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng*), b, 14.

²⁵⁹ In 881 at least; *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 254, 7b.

²⁶⁰ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 253, 15b.

²⁶¹ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 253, 17a.

²⁶² *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 256, 6a.

²⁶³ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 256, 6a.

²⁶⁴ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 254, 7a ff.

²⁶⁵ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 255, 5a-5b.

²⁶⁶ *T'ang shu*, 195, 4084b.

transformed into a domestic goose, but could not swim. The goshawk, a predatory bird, strikes out, and is the image of a military vassal. The goose, though clear and clean of plume and feather, is incapable of flying far; having no utility for grappling and striking, it does no more than fill kitchen and larder.

A. D. 884. *Lin-huai is in Anhwei.*

The yellow-eyed, long-taloned goshawk (Chinese *ying*) was the favorite hunting bird of the Chinese falconers, a symbol of controlled ferocity, rated even above the falcon for its swift boldness, and therefore the type of the efficient military man. Here we have such a valiant creature emasculated. This was the year of the final defeat and death of Huang Ch'ao.²⁶⁷

49. "Shining Disclosure," prime year, twelfth month. On Chi-chin Mountain, at P'ing-lu in Shan-chou, there was a pheasant with two heads joined at the neck facing its back, which roosted and perched on the loggia of the Chi-chin granary. Several months later a flock of several hundred pheasants came, fought with it, and killed it.

Early 886—the twelfth month began on January 9. *Shan-chou is in western Honan.*

This monster, destroyed by its own kind, evidently foreboded some disaster for a man of war, and there were many likely candidates in these years of civil war. We observe that in this month Li K'o-yung's forces routed Chu Mei and Li Ch'ang-fu and their host, near Ch'ang-an. It was a sad year for this old center of civilization. Huang Ch'ao had burned the palaces of Ch'ang-an, and the city had suffered other ravages of war. Now the defeated and disorderly troops looted and burned the ancient capital again, or what little had been restored of it.²⁶⁸

50. Second year, justified month. Pheasants and kites cried out by night in the wilds by Hu-cheng and Wen-hsiang.

A. D. 886. *These are townships in Kuo-chou, Honan.*

The kites were probably Black-eared Kites (*Milvus korschun* = *M. lineatus*), a widespread species. The hovering kite had always been associated with the wind, which it exploited so gracefully. Therefore Cheng Hsüan's second century

commentary on *Li chi*²⁶⁹ says, "When the kite cries, there will be wind." With the Chinese as with us the bird gave its name to a primitive flying machine (*chih yüan* "paper kite"). In the present instance, kites and pheasants appear only as wild creatures giving warning of savage events to come. Though I can not tell what the archivist-augurs had in mind, I note that T'ien Ling-tzu, the powerful eunuch, haled the emperor Hsi Tsung away from the palace in this month, and thereafter rival factions continued to dispute the possession of the sacred person.²⁷⁰

51. Seventh month. A magpie set its nest afire at Chung-t'iao Mountain.

Chung-t'iao Mountain is in Shansi.

See 52.

52. Third year, seventh month. A magpie once again set its nest afire. Ching Fang's *Tradition of the Changes* says, "When the Lord of Men is violent and cruel, birds set their homes on fire."²⁷¹

A. D. 887.

Tuan Ch'eng-shih also notes that if you burn a magpie's nest at the *wu* hour on *Tuan-wu* day, and use the ashes (?) to cauterize an invalid, he will instantly be cured.²⁷² The stick-nests of the magpie must be very vulnerable to lightning, giving the appearance of avian arson. The "Lord of Men" in these years was the unfortunate Hsi Tsung, the puppet of a series of ambitious ruffians. No doubt much violence was done in his name.

53. Third year, tenth month. At Wu-cheng in Tz'u-chou, a hornless owl and a horned owl fought and killed one another.

A. D. 887. *Tz'u-chou, sometimes Fen-chou, is in Shansi.*

See 43 above for "horned owl" (*ch'ih*). "Hornless owl" (*hsiao*) would apply to the genera *Ninox*, *Athene* and *Strix*—though it must be confessed that nowadays at least it is used also for *Asio* "Short-eared Owl" (*tuan-erh hsiao*). The owl is an ominous bird in most parts of the world, and is widely associated with witches, sorcerers and demons.²⁷³ It was appropriate that in Madagascar

²⁶⁹ "Ch'ü li, shang."

²⁷⁰ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 256, 10b ff.

²⁷¹ Cf. *Han shu*, 27b, b, 0411d.

²⁷² *Yu yang tsa tsu*, hsü 8, 242.

²⁷³ Hastings, *Encyclopaedia*, pp. 523-4.

²⁶⁷ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 256, 1b.

²⁶⁸ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 256, 10a.

the souls of sorcerers were called "owls."²⁷⁴ But sometimes the owl was reckoned an auspicious bird, as in Athens. In any event, it is always an angel, a spirit-bird. In China it was usually a dark angel, a bearer of evil tidings.²⁷⁵ The men of T'ang also believed that if you ate the eyes of an owl, you could see ghosts in the night.²⁷⁶ But the cry of the owl was often taken to be a good omen.²⁷⁷ There was, for instance, the case of the Chin general Hsieh Ai. One night two owls cried in his headquarters. But instead of taking alarm, he said, "'When playing at *lu-po*, he who gets the "owl" will prevail. The owls which now cry in my headquarters are a sign that I shall overcome the enemy.' At that, he advanced to battle, and great was the smashing of them."²⁷⁸ Then, in T'ang times, there was the case of one Chang Wen-ch'eng. When his wife cried out in alarm at an owl hooting one morning in their courtyard, "Wen-ch'eng said, 'Make haste to sprinkle and sweep, for I am about to amend my official station.' The words were no sooner done than the visitors with congratulations were at his gate."²⁷⁹ This bird, which brought good news as if it were a magpie, was far from the mother-eating demon-fowl of antiquity. Still, the augurs tended to be conservative, and the owls which destroyed each other in 887 are evidently symbols of the mutual extermination of two great rascals. But I can not identify them.

54. "Shining Mutation," second year. The Moderating and Ruling Commissioner of Yu-chou, Liu Jen-kung, "butchered" Pei-chou, and departed. There were ten and more nightjar birds which flew into his tent by night. They were chased away, but came again.

A.D. 899. *The 'Moderating and Ruling Commissioner' (chieh tu shih) was the imperial legate in a region, virtually an independent ruler in these times. Yu-chou is in Hopei, in the vicinity of modern Peking. To "butcher" a walled city, here*

²⁷⁴ Waterbury, p. 53.

²⁷⁵ For a medieval instance, see *Sui shu*, 23 2415d, with reference to the mother of the last ruler of Northern Ch'i.

²⁷⁶ Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i, in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 49, 12b.

²⁷⁷ A number of historical instances collected by Ku Wen-chien (Sung), in his *Fu-hsüan tsa lu* (in *Han fen lou Shuo fu*, ts'ei 10, ch. 18, 11b).

²⁷⁸ *Chin shu*, 86, 1306b.

²⁷⁹ Chang Tsu, *Ch'ao yeh ch'ien tsai* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng*), 1, 12.

*the administrative seat of Pei-chou, meant to massacre all of its inhabitants. Pei-chou is in southern Hopei. Liu Jen-kung was a skilled military engineer, a sapper, a siege tactician, trying to extend his zone of power southward.*²⁸⁰ *The Tzu chih t'ung chien version of this event, which took place in the first month of the year, says, "Of the Myriad and more households within the walled city, he butchered all without exception, and had the corpses thrown into Clear Water." ("Clear Water" is the name of a river). As a result of this atrocious deed, other cities which he besieged resisted him bitterly rather than surrender.*

The omen apparently refers to Jen-kung's severe defeats by his great rival, Chu Ch'üan-chung, the future monarch, in the third month of this year.²⁸¹ After that, his power declined.

55. In the time of the Radiant Ancestor, there was a bald stork which nested on a corner of the Basilica of Repose. The theocrat personally shot and killed it.

A.D. 889-906. "Radiant Ancestor" (*Chao tsung*) is the posthumous "temple title" of the last T'ang emperor. The "Basilica of Repose" is the monarch's private chamber.

The killing of this ill-visaged bird by the last of the imperial Li family should have augured well for him. It is difficult to find historical support for the omen.

56. "Heavenly Restoration," second year. The theocrat was at Feng-hsiang. In the eleventh month, "D-ophidian," the sun attained its southing. That night, with a quick-risen wind, there were several thousand birds, which, by the brightening of day, were flying about and clamoring. They did not stop for a number of days. From the time that the "Carriage and Harness" were in Ch'i, there were several myriads of birds which regularly roosted in the various trees in front of the basilica. The men of Ch'i called them "Divine Daws."

A.D. 902. *Feng-hsiang was an important city, a short distance up the Wei River from Ch'ang-an. "Eleventh month, D-ophidian" was December 17, the winter solstice. "Carriage and Harness" is a formal metaphor for the Son of Heaven and his suite, conceived as in some stage of a journey.*

²⁸⁰ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 261, 13b; *T'ang shu*, 212, 4125c-d.

²⁸¹ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 261, 14a-b.

CHINESE GLOSSARY

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Chi-tzu 箕子
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Huang Ting 黃鼎
Shih K'uang 師曠
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Books

I chuan 易傳
Jui ying t'u 瑞應圖

Kuan k'uei chi yao 管輅輯要
Wu hsing ta i 五行大義

Words

ch'ao 巢 [窠]
chi 集
ch'ih chih 鷓鴣
ch'ih wei 鷓鴣尾
chū-yū 鸚鵡
chūeh ch'ih 角鷓
*d'uāt 奪
hsi 隙
hsiao 巢
hu-mei 狐魅
huang 皇
huang li-liu 黃栗留
huang p'ao 黃袍
hung fan 洪範
*xiu-liu 鷓鴣

meng 盟
p'u shu 搏黍
shan wu 山鳥
shih-chiu (*si-kiau) 鷓鴣
ti 翟
*t'i-xiau 鷓鴣
ts'ang keng 倉庚
t'u ch'iu 秃鷲
*tuāt 鷓
tz'u wu 慈烏
wen 溫
ya wu 雅鳥
yao chih 鷓鴣
yen wu 燕鳥
yūan 鵲

"Ch'i" is another name for the Feng-hsiang region. "Basilica" renders tien, a great ceremonial hall in a royal palace or holy temple.

"Divine Daws" attempts to translate *shen ya*. A Sung source gives this as a local term, at Pa-ling in Hunan, for a crow or daw which the natives feared to kill.²⁸² I take *ya* (and *ya wu*) to refer particularly to the corvines which we style "jack-daws," and here to pied jackdaws. The omen is not clear. The luckless Chao Tsung was shut up in Feng-hsiang under the protection of Li Mao-chen, harassed by the forces of Chu Ch'üan-chung, the future founder of the new state of Liang. It was an exceptionally severe winter, and the imperial party, as well as other residents, suffered great privations.²⁸³

57. Third year. In Hsüan-chou there was a pheasant-like bird, though large-tailed, with fire shining like scattered stars. It perched at the Gate of the Guisarme. With the brightening of day there was a great fire at the Administrators' Bureau, in which everything was consumed, only the apparatus of arms surviving.

²⁸² Fan Chih-ming, *Yüeh-yang feng t'u chi* (in *Ku chin i shih*), p. 15a. The phrase also occurs in Tu Fu, "Kuo Tung-t'ing hu," in edition of *Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series*, Supplement No. 14, Vol II (1940), pp. 564-5.

²⁸³ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 263, 10b-11a.

A.D. 903. Hsüan-chou is in Anhwei. The "Gate of the Guisarme" is the gate of the residence of a mandarin, where a guisarme was planted to signalize his distinction as a member of the Third Class or higher.²⁸⁴ The "Administrators Bureau" was the business office of the local government.

The bird must have been one of the many splendidly spangled pheasants native to China, here portending the wasting of a civilized place. Moreover, the fiery glints in its plumage imaged the destructive flames in the office building.

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²⁸⁴ *T'ang shu*, 159, 4021a.

TWO MONGOL DOCUMENTS FROM THE KORYŎ SA

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Introduction

IN VIEW OF THE CLOSE RELATIONS that existed between the Koreans and the Mongols almost to

that the *Koryŏ sa*, the official history of the Koryŏ period (918-1392),¹ should contain information of the end of the Yüan dynasty, it is not surprising

* This paper is an expanded version of the relevant section of my Master's Thesis, "Early Koryŏ-Mongol Relations, with Particular Reference to the Diplomatic Documents," University of California, January, 1963.

Please note the following bibliographical remarks and abbreviations:

KS *Koryŏ sa*^a (photolithographic edition of Yŏnhi University, Seoul, 1955). Based on the original 1454 printed edition.

SH *Secret History*, cited according to the edition of Shiratori Kurakichi, *Onyaku möbun Genchō hishi*^b (Tokyo, 1942).

SHI *Secret History*, interlinear glosses.

SHT *Secret History*, intersectional Chinese translation.

YK *Yüan Kao-li chi-shih*,^c in *Kuang-ts'ang hsüeh-ch'ün ts'ung-shu*.^d

YS *Yüan shih*, *Ssu-pu pei-yao* edition.

The *Meng-ta pei-lu*^e (by Chao Hung,^f 1221) and the *Hei-ta shih-lüeh*^g (by P'eng Ta-ya,^h 1232, and Hsü T'ing,ⁱ 1237) are cited according to the texts of Wang Kuo-wei, as printed in *Hai-ning Wang Ching-an hsien sheng i-shu*.^j

¹ The *Koryŏ sa*, unlike the *Yüan shih*, passed through



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NOTES ON T'ANG CULTURE, II*

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1. Bacchanals

The Gion-matsuri is a Kyoto summer festival of world-wide reputation in our own times. Its origins are obscure, and the ceremony has mixed Buddhist and Shinto attributes, although it is now associated with the Buddhist Gion 祇園 Temple in Kyoto, itself named for the holy garden Jetavana in Śrāvastī. According to tradition, temples of this name appeared in the Kansai region in the seventh century, but the known origins of the famous July celebration are much later.¹ The festival is distinguished, as all conscientious tourists know, by a grand procession of man-drawn floats, called *yama* and *hoko*, through the streets of the former Japanese capital.

Analogues to this handsome ceremony can be found in the great public drinking festivals held in China between the eighth and the eleventh centuries. These popular events, called *p'u* 酺, the "bacchanals" of my title, had antecedents at least as old as the third century B.C., although traits comparable to those of the modern Japanese festival can not as yet be traced back that far. Indeed the word *p'u* occurs in the *Chou li*, where, according to the scholiasts, it is the name of a baneful spirit to whom spring and autumn sacrifices were offered in late Chou times.² Although the expiatory or apotropaic aspects of the rite are not mentioned in texts of Han times and later, they could easily have survived in popular practice and have been transmitted to medieval Japan, where the Gion Festival of the tenth century had the purpose of

* A first series of "Notes on T'ang Culture" was published by Professor Schafer in *Monumenta Serica*, 21 (1962), 194-221.

1) For a study of the festival based on Japanese sources and informants, see Helen B. Chapin, "The Gion Shrine and the Gion Festival," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 54 (1934), 282-289.

2) *Chou li*, "Ti kuan; tsu shih 族師," and commentary.

exorcising the demons of pestilence.³

In post-Chou times, on the official level at any rate, the *p'u*-bacchanal was usually authorized for a fixed number of days, usually three or five, by the imperial court, to celebrate an occasion of national rejoicing.⁴ The first such *p'u* was, it seems, decreed under Ch'in Shih Huang Ti in 222 B.C., after a series of glorious victories.⁵ Well celebrated in Han times, a *p'u* was occasionally decreed in later centuries, and then brilliantly revived under the T'ang monarchs. I have noticed the following instances in the T'ang period (it is noteworthy that almost all of these are recorded in the *pen chi* chapters of *Chiu T'ang shu* and are not to be found in the corresponding sections of *T'ang shu*):

630: a five-day bacchanal, accompanied by a general amnesty (a common accompaniment) in honor of the two great victories of Li Ching 李靖 over the Turks.⁶

633: a three-day bacchanal in the capital city, because of the establishment of order in the realm.⁷

634: a three-day bacchanal on the occasion of the heir to the throne's attaining his majority.⁸

659: a three-day bacchanal on the occasion of the heir to the throne's attaining his majority.⁹

660: a three-day bacchanal after a great victory in Korea.¹⁰

662: a three-day bacchanal on the expiration of a month after the birth of an heir to the throne.¹¹

3) Chapin, p. 283.

4) See the *Shou wen* definition: "When the royal virtue is spread about (*pu* 布); it is a great drinking of wine."

5) *Shih chi*, 6, 0024a. (References to dynastic histories cite *K'ai ming* edition, except for the two T'ang histories, for which I follow the *Ssu pu pei yao* edition.)

6) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 3, 1a.

7) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 3, 2b.

8) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 3, 3a.

9) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 4, 7b.

10) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 4, 8b.

11) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 4, 9b.

674: Kao Tsung observed the bacchanal from a gallery of the *Han yüan tien* 含元殿, a basilica of the Great Luminous Palace (*Ta ming kung* 大明宮).¹²

682: a three-day bacchanal in honor of the birth of a son to the heir presumptive.¹³

712: Jui Tsung watched a "bacchanal and feast" for the officers of his administration from a loft-room over a palace gate. The celebration "linked daytime with nighttime through the course of a month and some days."¹⁴

732: a three-day bacchanal after sacrifice to the Earth God (*hou t'u* 后土).¹⁵

735: a bacchanal and palace feast after the ritual plowing, but also in honor of the great captain Chang Shou-kuei 張守珪.¹⁶

738: a three-day bacchanal on the designation of a new heir to the throne.¹⁷

739: a five-day bacchanal, with remission of a year's taxes, after the offering of an honorific title to Hsüan Tsung.¹⁸

754: a three-day bacchanal after the gift to Hsüan Tsung of another honorific title.¹⁹

Naturally these gay celebrations did not pass uncommented on by the censorious. Thus the magnate Yen T'ing-chih 嚴挺之 reprimanded Jui Tsung himself for the folly and excess displayed in his bacchanal of 712.²⁰ But there seems little doubt that the bacchanals of Hsüan Tsung went far beyond that one in splendor and luxury—indeed that monarch was posthumously censured by

12) *T'ang shu*, 115, 6b.

13) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 5, 10a.

14) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 99, 9b.

15) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 8, 17b.

16) *T'ang shu*, 133, 4a.

17) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 9, 2a-2b.

18) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 9, 2b.

19) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 9, 10b.

20) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 99, 9b.

his early Sung historian for his "bestowals of bacchanals and rewards, while allowing freedom to seduction and wantonness."²¹ It is in a description of Hsüan Tsung's bacchanals that we first detect analogies with the Japanese Gion Festival:

He would first set out both the seated sections and the standing sections of classical musicians from the Grand Ordinaries, along with foreign musicians employing drums and wind instruments, and also the unclassified musicians and various entertainments of the Instruction Quarter, and of the metropolitan county and its townships. Moreover he would have "mountain cars" and "land-going ships" loaded with musicians come and go. He also sent out the palace women to dance "The Rainbow Skirt and Feather Dress." Further, he would instruct a hundred of his dancing horses to offer him "Long Life!" holding beakers in their mouths, and would also bring out his rhinoceroses and elephants into the arena, where they alternately bowed and danced.²²

The commentary of Hu San-hsing 胡三省 on this passage says:

"Mountain car": a roofed gallery is extended over a car; to this variegated silks are applied, making the aspect of a mountain forest. "Land-going ship" (旱船): bamboos and wood are lashed to make the shape of a ship, and decorated with silk cloth and floss. Ranks of men inside it carry it on its way.²³

These "mountain cars" will remind the observer of the floats of the Gion-matsuri called *yama* "mountains," many of them furnished with trees and other vegetation; the "land-going ships" will surely suggest the *funaboko* 船矛 "ship-spear" float,²⁴ with its freight of musicians. The mode of propulsion is reversed, however. In the modern Japanese procession the "mountains" are carried on men's shoulders, while the "ship" is pulled on a wheeled carriage. The expression "mountain car" has also long

21) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 9, 15a.

22) *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 218, 17b. Compare the account in *T'ang shu*, 22, 3a, which gives other interesting details of these celebrations, held especially on Hsüan Tsung's birthday (the *ch'ien ch'iu chieh* 千秋節), but without mentioning the "mountain cars" and "land-going ships."

23) *Ibid.*

24) The large car-floats called *hoko* 矛 "spear" in Japanese, appear to be an indigenous variation; it has been suggested that the emblematic spear on top of each float is a phallic symbol derived from the cult of Susanoo, imported from Izumo. See Chapin (note 1 above), p. 285.

been used in Chinese of a kind of natural prodigy, also called "mulberry root car" (桑根車), said to appear spontaneously in the wilds when the whole realm is at peace. Doubtless the "mountains" of the bacchanal processions are intended to be artificial replicas of these.

Official bacchanals did not disappear with the end of Hsüan Tsung's reign in the middle of the eighth century. They were revived by T'ai Tsung of Sung, who authorized a bacchanal early in 985 after issuing an edict justifying it as an occasion for sovereign and people to join in pleasant celebration of national felicity. Then too "mountain cars and dry-land ships came and went on the autocrat's road."²⁵ Similar is the bacchanal ordered early in 1008; there were "square carts," "roofed carts" drawn by oxen and covered with rich embroideries and damasks, and "dry-land ships."²⁶ When Chen Tsung made a progress to worship at T'ai-shan in the same year, each major town along his route displayed "mountain cars" and "bunting-covered ships" (*ts'ai ch'uan* 綵船) laden with musicians.²⁷ The Liao emperor too held a bacchanal in the Peking region in 1025, a particularly prosperous year, and featured a grand illumination of the streets, through which the sovereign strolled incognito.²⁸ It would appear that the custom was transmitted to Japan either in early T'ang or early Sung. I am informed by Professor Chi-chen Wang that the festival survives in north China. He says that "the 'dry-land boat' survives in Shantung (and probably in all northern China), where it is one of the principal attractions which the villagers stage for the New Year festivities, the other being stilt walkers. The boat may be as long as 15-20 ft., gaily decorated and carried by one or more men (depending upon the size of the boat) in colorful theatrical costumes. They stand in the boat, revealing only the upper parts of their bodies. The boat is probably lashed or suspended from their waists. The curtain around the boat hides most of the lower parts of their bodies; only their feet can be seen."

25) *Sung shih*, 113, 4760d-4761a.

26) *Sung shih*, 113, 4761a.

27) *Sung shih*, 113, 4761a.

28) *Liao shih*, 17, 5753d.

2. Incubi and Succubi

The Chinese have always been much interested in dreams, which figure importantly in their literature and lore. From the earliest times attempts were made to reduce the bewildering variety of dream-experiences to some sort of system. The oldest and best known of these classificatory schemes is that of the book of *Lieh tzu*,²⁹ which arranges dreams according to their supposed causes. Po Hsing-chien 白行簡, a writer of the T'ang period, pointed out the occurrence of three kinds of dreams not alluded to in classical sources. He seems indifferent to the psychic causes of the dreams, and emphasizes rather the relations of the people involved in them; they are as follows: (a) A dreams of going somewhere and is met by B, who is awake; (b) A (awake) does something and B dreams of it; and (c) there is an interpenetration of the dreams of A and B.³⁰ Neither of these books, however, with their special emphases, exhausted the ancient lore of dreams. A modern Japanese authority has attempted a more sophisticated statement than either of them, in terms of the oldest and most persistent Chinese assumptions about the nature of dream experiences: (a) the world of dreams reflects the world of "reality"; (b) dreams may anticipate the future, and can be interpreted by diviners; (c) souls travel in dreams; (d) it is possible to communicate with spiritual beings in dreams.³¹ This system will serve us best here. Perhaps it may be reduced to two propositions: (a) the world of dreams is an annex or extension of our everyday world; our acts in one have results in the other; (b) every kind of human and divine relationship occurs in both worlds. In the opinion of some the dream world was *more* real than the ordinary

29) *Lieh tzu*, "Chou Mu Wang" 周穆王. They are dreams proper (unconditioned) (*cheng meng* 正夢); dreams resulting from nervous excitement (*o meng* 噩夢); dreams caused by preoccupation with a specific thought (*ssu meng* 思夢); "waking dreams"—those reflecting real events (*wu meng* 寤夢); "joy dreams" (*hsi meng* 喜夢); and "fear dreams" (*chü meng* 懼夢).

30) Po Hsing-chien, *San meng chi* 三夢記 (in *T'ang tai ts'ung shu*, 16, 82a-85b).

31) Shimizu Eikichi 清水榮吉, "Chūgoku no setsuwa to shōsetsu ni okeru yume 中國の説話と小説における夢" *Tenri daigaku gakuhō*, 7 (1956), 81-91.

world, therefore one was more likely to encounter divine beings there.³²

The classic exemplar of dream-love appears in the two "rhapsodies" (*fu*) attributed to Sung Yü 宋玉, which tell of two ancient kings who had dream-affairs with a fertility goddess robed in mists and rainbows at the holy places of the Ch'u kingdom.³³ The opposite relationship, in which the mother of a king conceives after a dream liaison with a god, is exemplified in a number of traditions of the Han-T'ang interlude. The Lady Kou 苟, for instance, had connection with the divine Hsi-men Pao 西門豹 after praying for a son in his river-temple, and bore the great Fu Chien 符堅, ruler of Former Ch'in.³⁴ The mother of Liang Wu Ti became pregnant embracing the sun in a dream,³⁵ and the mother of Liang Yüan Ti, Wu Ti's son, was fertilized by the moon as she lay asleep.³⁶ These celestial affairs were in fact disguised unions with dragons, as is plainly stated in the story of the Lady Kao 高 who dreamed that she was pursued by the sun, which found her hiding under her bed, changed into a dragon and coiled around her. From this mating came Wei Hsüan Wu Ti.³⁷ Impregnation by a sun-dragon did not exclude the efficacy of normal sexual relations with the emperor—rather it confirmed the divine source of the imperial blood and its mana, and guaranteed the legitimacy of the prince.

Divinities of lesser stature than these might love mortal men in dreams. Pre-T'ang stories are early prototypes of a long and rich series of tales of young men who enjoy romantic encounters with ghost ladies, fox-fairies and other lovely spirits in that other world. An example is the story of Ts'ui Tzu-wu 崔子武, written down in the third century, who dreamed of a visit by a lovely girl who said to him, "The daughter of the Dragon King desires

32) E. H. Schafer, "Mineral Imagery in the Paradise Poems of Kuan-hsiu," *Asia Major*, 10 (1963), 86-87.

33) *Kao T'ang fu* 高唐賦 and *Shen nü fu* 神女賦.

34) *Chin shu*, 113, 1372d.

35) *Nan shih*, 6, 2561b.

36) *Nan shih*, 8, 2567b.

37) *Pei shih*, 4, 2754b.

intimate pleasure with Esquire Ts'ui"; the fortunate young man later recognized his mistress in a painting in a mountain temple.³⁸ It is hard to distinguish such tales of dream encounters from stories of meetings with ghosts when the latter do not state explicitly that the affair took place in a dream.³⁹ Probably no distinction is necessary. Ghosts, like gods, reveal themselves most fully and naturally in the bright world of dreams. But a man could even enjoy ordinary human love in a dream: such was the case of Hsü Ching 徐精 (as we are told in a tale from the beginning of the fifth century) whose wife came to his bed as he slept far away from home; on his return the following year, she bore him a child as a result of this strange meeting.⁴⁰

Examples of all of these old themes can be found in T'ang literature: the mating with a god (often in some animalian avatar); the transient love affair with a beautiful woman, perhaps not really human; the dream reunion with one's wife. Thus, for the first:

The mother of Chang Yüeh 張說 dreamed that there was a jade swallow which came flying from the southeast and thrust itself into her bosom; from this came a pregnancy, and she gave birth to Yüeh, who ultimately was made Steward-Minister. It had been a favorable omen of the utmost in nobility!⁴¹

The famous story of Lady Jen, often translated, tells of a youth's passionate affair with a beautiful fox-fairy.⁴² Finally, it is told that when Yang Kuo-chung 楊國忠, Hsüan Tsung's last prime

38) Yü Huan 魚豢, *San kuo tien lüeh* 三國典略, quoted in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi* 太平廣記, 327, 1a.

39) For instance, the typical story of a young traveller who is taken in by a hospitable maiden, makes love to her, and finds himself alone on a deserted burial plot next morning; as (anon.), *Chen i lu* 甄異錄, in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, 324, 1a-1b.

40) Liu I-ch'ing 劉義慶, *Yu ming lu* 幽明錄, quoted in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, 276, 7b.

41) Wang Jen-yü 王仁裕, *K'ai yüan T'ien pao i shih* 開元天寶遺事 (in *T'ang tai ts'ung shu*, 3, 46b).

42) Shen Chi-chi 沈既濟, *Jen shih chuan* 任氏傳.

minister, was away on a mission, his brooding wife had a daytime dream of intercourse with him, and subsequently bore him a son. Although Kuo-chung himself believed that this prodigy had actually been induced at a distance by strong mutual passion, the story was laughed at in other quarters.⁴³

Such tales as these, and the beliefs which underlay them, were common enough in T'ang times, but earlier parallels can easily be found, as we have seen. But something new takes place in T'ang—or so it seems from fragmentary surviving records. In that age we first encounter many medical prescriptions for the suppression of nocturnal sexual fantasies.⁴⁴ When the pharmacopoeia of Chen Ch'üan 甄權 recommends the use of a potion containing opalized fossils (that is, the best “dragon bones”) against “night dreams of intercourse with ghosts,”⁴⁵ it is clear that a new attitude has developed since Han times, at least among medical men: dream experiences can be modified by the use of drugs. Presumably this means that some dreams at least were understood to have a physiological basis.

Some of these medicines were advocated specifically for males, and these were to be taken internally. Typical is the root of the water hyssop *Bacopa Monniera*:⁴⁶ “It controls night dreams by male persons of intercourse with ghosts and the emission of sperm.”⁴⁷ The same purposes are served by the seeds of Chinese colza (*Brassica chinensis* var. *oleifera*),⁴⁸ oysters,⁴⁹ and the preserved testicles of seals or sea otters.⁵⁰ Sometimes the recipe specifies

43) *K'ai yüan T'ien pao i shih* (in *T'ang tai ts'ung shu*, 3, 48a).

44) Earlier pharmacopoeias had prescribed for nocturnal emissions without mentioning ghostly presences. T'ao Hung-ching, for example, recommended dragon bone and oysters (quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 46, 36a).

45) Quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu* 本草綱目, 43, 21b. Cf. E.H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963) p. 180.

46) Chinese *pa-chi-t'ien* 巴戟天.

47) Chen Ch'üan 甄權, quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 12b, 21b.

48) Chinese *yün-t'ai* 蓂臺. Sun Ssu-miao 孫思邈, quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 26, 29a.

49) Meng Shen 孟詵, in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 46, 36a.

50) Ch'en Ts'ang-chi 陳藏器 (eighth century) and others in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 51b, 34a. Cf. Schafer (note 45 above), p. 192.

"intercourse and connection with human beings in dreams, with the emission of sperm," for which the white bark of the Silkworm Thorn (*Cudrania cuspidata*)⁵¹ is prescribed.⁵² So human souls could disturb one's dreams as much as ghosts and demons.

Different drugs, such as deer horn⁵³ and old bronze mirrors⁵⁴ were prescribed for women who copulated with phantom lovers. Sometimes drastic external treatment was required, as the fumigation of the genitals of the haunted woman with burning realgar⁵⁵ or gum guggul (*Balsamodendron* sp.).⁵⁶ It should be noted that many of these drugs were general anti-demoniacs and that some of the incubus-ridden women for whom they were employed were no ordinary dreamers but were suffering from severe psychic disorders. This is shown by the language of the text which prescribes realgar for women who copulate with evil beings. It is an old recipe of the fourth century, surviving in T'ang times, and describes such women as those who "... speak alone, laugh alone, melancholy-minded and distracted."⁵⁷ This unique passage, however, says nothing of dreams, a peculiarity of the T'ang materia medica.

3. "Seven Jewels" Work

The Sino-Japanese word *shippō* 七寶 means "cloisonné"; it is an abbreviation of *shippō-yaki* 七寶焼, lit. "seven-jewels firing." The cognate Chinese expression *ch'i pao*, however, is not now used in that sense—the modern word for cloisonné is *ching-t'ai-lan* 景泰藍. But the term *ch'i pao* occurs abundantly in early Chinese literature and the question arises whether it ever refers to cloisonné work there. It is conceivable that this usage may have become obsolete in China after (hypothetically) having been transmitted to Japan and preserved in its original meaning.

51) Chinese *che* 柘.

52) Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i, in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 36, 44a.

53) By Meng Shen, in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 51a, 29a.

54) By the *Ta ming jih hua pen ts'ao* 大明日華本草 (late tenth century), in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 8, 33a.

55) See Schafer (note 45 above), p. 220.

56) *Ibid.*, p. 170.

57) Ko Hung 葛洪, *Chou hou po i fang* 肘後百一方, quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 9, 40a.

Before attempting to identify the kind of technique referred to by *ch'i pao* in early times it is important to understand something about the birth and lineage of cloisonné work. The term is sometimes applied loosely to ancient jewelry in which cut gems or glass plaques are arranged in metal cells; this ought properly to be called "cell-work inlay." At a later stage, pieces of colored glass were softened by heat, or perhaps melted, to fix them in their places; perhaps this process could be styled "proto-cloisonné." Finally, glass was ground to make a frit which, melted in metallic cells, yielded true enamel work, that is, cloisonné, or *champlevé*.⁵⁸ True enamels on gold from the Mycenaean age have been found in Greece, Crete and Cyprus—the oldest belonging to the thirteenth century B.C.; they appear again in Greek gold jewelry of the sixth century B.C.⁵⁹ The technique was used in southern Russia at about the same time, following closely upon the introduction of the Asiatic "polychrome style," with cell-inlays of amber and other materials, by the "Scythians" in the seventh century B.C.⁶⁰ It seems likely that enamel technology spread from this source to western Europe, where it appears among the Merovingians; meanwhile Celtic enamels seem to have derived from a different source. The famous Byzantine work reached a climax in the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁶¹

As for the Far East, cell-inlays of precious metals, colored glass, and precious stones (especially turquoise) in bronze, were being made in Chou times, and may be as old as Shang.⁶² In the first century A.D., Wang Ch'ung 王充 wrote of artificial gems, presumably of lead glass but indistinguishable from the real things, made in many colors by the Taoists of Han.⁶³ This ancient technology still survived in T'ang times: from that period we have

58) See Harry Garner, *Chinese and Japanese Cloisonné Enamels* (London, 1962), p. 14.

59) *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19.

60) *Ibid.*, p. 20.

61) *Ibid.*, p. 20-21.

62) *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30. For the Shang example (glass), see also Soame Jenyns, "The Problem of Chinese Cloisonné Enamels," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1949-50.

63) Wang Ch'ung, *Lun heng* 論衡, "Shuai hsing p'ien" 率性篇.

bronze mirrors whose backs are inlaid with gold, silver, mother-of-pearl and other substances; pearl, crystal and turquoise inset in gold hairpins; and allied to these, mother-of-pearl, amber and tortoise-shell inlaid in lutes made of the finest woods.⁶⁴

The beginnings of true enamel work in the Far East are obscure. Apparently gold and silver jewelry was filled with blue-green paste, in a liquid or soft condition, by the sixth or seventh century A.D., if not earlier, in Korea.⁶⁵ By the seventh century, at least, the arts of glass and enamel were established in Japan.⁶⁶

A great source of controversy is a twelve-lobed silver mirror preserved in the Shōsōin whose back shows a leaf-design filled with green and brown enamels, using a lacquer adhesive. This unique object has been described as eighth century T'ang work; or early Japanese work done under Korean influence; or Korean work; or Japanese work done many centuries later. Generally, the proponents of eighth century manufacture rely on such analogies with the design on the mirror-back as they can discern elsewhere in Asia at that time, and on comparable primitive cloisonné work in Korea and Japan supposed to be of this early date.⁶⁷ The opponents of this idea regard the mirror as late Japanese work, chiefly, it seems, because most authorities have thought that there was no true enamel work in China before the introduction of Byzantine-type cloisonné technique there before late Yüan or early Ming.⁶⁸

64) For examples see *Shōsōin tana-betsu mokuroku* 正倉院棚別目録 (Kyoto, 1951), Nos. 69, 71, 73, 75, 77, 80, 81, 102, 103, 115, 415, 727; Henry Trubner, *The Arts of the T'ang Dynasty* (Los Angeles, 1957), Nos. 145, 304, 320, 322, 323, 354.

65) Dorothy Blair, "The Cloisonné-backed Mirror in the Shosoin," *Journal of Glass Studies*, 11 (1960), 89-90.

66) Blair, *ibid.*, pp. 91-92; Garner, (note 58 above), p. 96. Garner rejects the gilt-bronze lotus-pedestal with blue paste champlévé in Kyoto claimed for the T'ang period by Sueji Umehara and accepted by Blair, p. 89.

67) Especially Blair, pp. 83-88. Cf. H.C. Gallois, "About T'ang and Ta Ts'in," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1935-36, 38-50, and Soame Jenyns, "Review of Sir Harry Garner, *Chinese and Japanese Cloisonné Enamels*," *Artibus Asiae*, 25 (1962), 221.

68) Especially Garner, pp. 30, 96-99. He considers the piece to be not earlier than the seventeenth century. R.M. Chait, "Some Comments on the Dating of Early Chinese Cloisonné," *Oriental Art*, 3 (1950), 67-78, regards it as early Ming.

If it is possible that cloissoné enamels were made in T'ang China, it is also possible that the expression "seven jewels" was applied to it, as it is in modern Japan. The term itself therefore needs study. Originally it was a translation of Sanskrit *saptaratna*; its seven Indic components, well known in Chinese Buddhist literature, were translated in various ways. One is a set given in the T'ang dictionary of the monk Hui-lin 慧琳: *chin* 金 "gold" (*suvarṇa*); *yin* 銀 "silver" (*rūpya*); [fei]-liu-li [吠] 琉璃 "opaque colored glass" (originally a blue-green gem; cognate to 'beryl') (*vaīḍūrya*); *p'o-li[-chia]* 頗梨[迦] "transparent glass" (originally 'crystal' [*sphaṭika*]);⁶⁹ *ch'ih chen-chu* 赤眞珠 "red pearl" (*lohitamukta*): *ma-nao* 瑪瑙 "carnelian" (*aśmagarbha*); *chü-ch'ü* 車渠 "mother-of-pearl" (*musāragalva*).⁷⁰

Outside of Buddhist writings, however, which were much more closely bound to Indian usage, the term was used in Chinese literary texts from Chin to T'ang and Sung times in a much less specific way, being applied to multicolored decoration with gems and glass (that is, artificial gems) of almost any sort. This includes strings of beads, beaded hangings, and indeed any kind of polychrome beadwork. Examples are the "ornaments of seven jewels" sewed to the crown of the King of Bali;⁷¹ the hangings of the carriage of the Sui emperor as he went to a great archery meet;⁷² the "precious crowns of seven jewels" bestowed by imperial commissioners on Buddhist monks in the ninth century;⁷³ the Jurchen monarch had a "seven jewel" carriage, whose hangings "... used pearls for its seven-jewel droplets" (七寶滴子用眞珠).⁷⁴ But gem and paste insets and inlays, whether in metal or in wood work, were also called "seven jewels." Examples are a "seven jewel couch";⁷⁵ a "seven jewel bowl" sent to China by

69) Some lists give *mei-kuei* 玫瑰 in this position.

70) Hui-lin 慧琳, *I ch'ieh ching yin i* 一切經音義 (*Tōkyō daizōkyō*), ch. 25, p. 464a.

71) *Nan shih*, 78, 2731b.

72) *Sui shu*, 8, 2362b.

73) E.O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (New York, 1959), p. 233. The same source, p. 255, also tells of "scripture boxes" in the same technique at Wu T'ai shan.

74) *Chin shih*, 43, 5943a.

75) *Pei shih*, 27, 2833a.

the Turks;⁷⁶ a "seven jewel palette-brazier," whose internal fire kept ink from freezing in winter;⁷⁷ a high seat decorated with "seven jewels" for victors in debates on the classics;⁷⁸ a "seven jewel knife";⁷⁹ a zither ornamented with "seven jewels";⁸⁰ an opaque glass "seven jewel wine-goblet";⁸¹ chamber pots overlaid with "seven jewels";⁸² a "seven jewel" folding chair and a gold vase covered with "seven jewels" sent to Sung Chen Tsung by the King of Vietnam (Chiao-chih 交趾).⁸³ I cannot guess the identity of the substances inset with "seven jewels" of which the handles of many horse-whips were made.⁸⁴

If true cloisonné enamels were indeed made in T'ang times, early predecessors of those executed in a more sophisticated technique brought to China from Byzantium by early Ming times, it is certain that they were then called *ch'i pao* "seven jewels."

4. Archaeology

Antiquarian interests which attempt to satisfy curiosity about the unknown past complement living traditions. The discoveries of the antiquarian feed, enrich and deepen those traditions. Curiosity, especially curiosity about the beginnings and development of civilization, is the fertilizer of culture and humanity, and the enemy of barbarism. It may even generate a new and revolutionary culture, as did the feverish investigations into classical antiquity by the antiquarians of the Italian renaissance. In China, the interdependence of a continuous tradition, which included a strong belief in the importance of all historical studies and the

76) *Sui shu*, 2, 2349a.

77) Wang Jen-yü, *K'ai yüan T'ien pao i shih* (T'ang tai ts'ung shu, 3, 46a).

78) *Ibid.*, 3, 40a-40b.

79) Li Shang-yin 李商隱, "Ch'un yu" 春游, *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩, *han* 8, *ts'e* 9, ch. 2, 29a.

80) Tuan Ch'eng-shih 段成式, *Yu yang tsa tsu* 酉陽雜俎 (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed., 6, 51.)

81) Yüeh Shih 樂史, *Yang T'ai-chen wai chuan* 楊太真外傳 (T'ang tai ts'ung shu, 13, 73b).

82) *Wu tai shih*, 64, 4468c.

83) *Sung shih*, 488, 5713a.

84) E.g. *Chin shu*, 6, 1092b.

careful preservation of historical records and interpretations, with antiquarian preoccupations leading to the refinement and enrichment of the traditions and histories, was particularly close. But the two ways of looking at the past were not always developed and emphasized to the same degree there.

Among accepted antiquarian studies are philology, the study of old texts and their language; etymology, the study of word origins; exegesis, the interpretation of texts; and archaeology, the discovery, preservation and interpretation of monuments and material artifacts. All these activities are known to Chinese tradition. In addition, the medieval Chinese had a strong interest in the recovery and preservation of stories about well-known places and persons of the past. Two titles in the *T'ang shu* bibliography provide examples of this class: Li Chang 李璋, *T'ai-yüan shih chi chi* 太原事迹記,⁸⁵ on the antiquities of the northern town of T'ai-yüan, and Yü Chih-ku 餘知古, *Chu kung ku shih* 渚宮故事, on the vanished state of Ch'u.⁸⁶ In T'ang times there were also books on old names, customs, fashions and practices. Such was a book on antiquities, the *Chung hua ku chin chu* 中華古今注 of Ma Kao 馬縞. This miscellany of the ninth century, based on the received text of Ts'ui Pao's 崔豹 *Ku chin chu* 古今注 contains linguistic and historical data on types of buildings, garments, materials, flora and fauna, and the like.⁸⁷ Similar to it was a book on first beginnings, the *Shih shih* 事始 attributed to Liu Hsiao-sun 劉孝孫, the Sui mathematician.⁸⁸ It is noteworthy, however, that neither of the two T'ang "encyclopaedias," the *I wen lei chü* 藝文類聚 (early seventh century), and the *Ch'u hsüeh chi* 初學記 (ca. 700) have sections especially

85) *T'ang shu*, 58, 18b.

86) *Ibid.*

87) A good edition is *Po ch'uan hsüeh hai* 百川學海.

88) Or to Liu Chiang-sun 劉將孫 (*Ssu k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu*, ch. 166). The history of this text is confused. The *Han fen lou Shuo fu* 涵芬樓說郛 preserves a remnant of this book, attributed to Liu Ts'un 劉存 ((*ts'un* 存 is presumably a corruption of *hsiao* 孝). (There is also a *Shih yüan* 事原, attributed to Liu Hsiao-sun; from internal evidence it must be post-T'ang.) The *Ssu k'u* editors take the view that an ancient book named *Shih shih*, of unknown authorship, has been confused and intermingled with a T'ang book of the same name.

devoted to antiquities. This should not necessarily be taken as evidence of the lack of sophisticated interest in the subject, but rather as a sign that *all* scholarship was permeated with references to the past.

The present paper, however, will not be primarily concerned with general antiquarianism in T'ang, but specifically with T'ang archaeology, that is, with serious interest in old artifacts.

The history of Chinese archaeology has yet to be written. It has long been believed that professional archaeology began in Sung times, and we are now indebted to R.C. Rudolph for a study of the subject⁸⁹ in which he shows convincingly that the Sung scholars "... had progressed far beyond the 'cabinet of curiosities' stage, still current in Europe at a much later date, and were engaged in intelligent research concerned with identification, etymology, dating, and interpretation. Moreover, they practised, within the limitations imposed upon them by the advancement of science at that time, most of the critical methods and devices used in modern archaeological work."⁹⁰ It is my purpose here to show that this professionalism had its roots in T'ang, if not earlier.

The relics of the past sought by the men of T'ang may be classified in a number of ways. I propose to arrange them here in accordance with the motivation of the collector, or, more precisely, in accordance with the kind of value he found in the objects he sought.

Some objects, prized because they were old, were also valued because they still had utility. Among these were old ink-slabs. T'ao Ku 陶穀, a student of strange names for things and customs writing in the middle of the tenth century, prized as an heirloom a palette with two ink receptacles made of a glossy purplish stone, bearing an old T'ang inscription.⁹¹ Before him the late

89) R.C. Rudolph, "Preliminary Notes on Sung Archaeology," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 22 (1963), 169-177.

90) *Ibid.*, p. 169.

91) T'ao Ku 陶穀, *Ch'ing i lu* 清異錄 (ed. of *Hsi yin hsüan ts'ung shu* 惜陰軒叢書), b, 29b.

T'ang poet Wu Jung 吳融 (?-ca. 903) had written a *fu* on "Old Tile Palettes."⁹²

The debris of past ages might be turned to new uses. Old bricks were sought by medical doctors: patients with any of a number of abdominal complaints warmed them up, covered them, and sat on them to absorb their healing heat.⁹³ Bronze coins bearing old inscriptions were effective against cataract.⁹⁴ Old graves yielded water regarded as poisonous, but it was collected by the agents of pharmacologists and applied to all sorts of lesions.⁹⁵

Not too far from these healing antiquities were ancient utensils and implements thought to have holy power as the gifts of gods or as the former possessions of heroes. Such objects might confer present blessings on their owners, or promise benefits to come. When, in the seventh century, some ancient halberds were dug up on the land of one Yin Ssu-chen 尹思貞, it was regarded as natural that he should receive high official rank forthwith, formally signaled by an array of halberds at his gate.⁹⁶ Deeply embedded in popular lore was the belief that ancient two-edged swords, called "treasure swords" (*pao chien* 寶劍), extracted from the soil, particularly the soil of ancient tombs, were magic swords, swords of power, swords rich in mana, swords flickering with purple light. Analogues to this belief are not uncommon in other parts of the world—notably in Europe during the Migration Period.⁹⁷ In all places it was the same. The holy sword passed from divine hero to divine hero down through the ages, the transient possession of great knights, of liberators, or kings. These powerful weapons fascinated many Chinese writers. Li Po, who wrote of the sword in the tomb of an ancient Han monarch—a treasure sword

92) Wu Jung, "Ku wa yen fu" 古瓦硯賦, *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文, 820, 4b-6a.

93) Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i 陳藏器, quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 7, 28b.

94) Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i, in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 8, 33a.

95) Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i, in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 5, 23b.

96) *T'ang shu*, 128, 2a.

97) For example, see H.R. Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England: Its Archaeology and Literature* (Oxford, 1962).

"worth a thousand-weight of yellow metal"—was one of these.⁹⁸ It is reported that An Lu-shan owned a "treasure sword of flying steel," and asked permission of his sovereign to grant it a title of nobility. This unprecedented but reasonable request was denied.⁹⁹

Another typical "treasure" was the ancient bronze tripod-cauldron, regarded since antiquity as a holy token of universal sovereignty. An example is a tripod discovered in the bottom of a river in 734, during the reign of Hsüan Tsung, one in a long list of similar discoveries.¹⁰⁰ Such a find might be authenticated as a heaven-sent sign of approval of the regime, and become the occasion of the proclamation of a new era, or the confirmation of an era-name recently adopted. An example of the latter was the declaration of the new reign "Heavenly Treasure" (*t'ien pao* 天寶) on February 10, 742, in honor of Hsüan Tsung's complete conversion to Taoism, an act shortly followed by unprecedented honors to Taoist saints and Taoist books. "Heavenly Treasure" was a name for the highest and most arcane level of Taoist doctrine; the appropriateness of the choice was given divine sanction on February 17, when it was reliably reported that Lao Tan himself had appeared at a gate of the palace and announced that he had deposited a sacred talisman at the site of the former dwelling of the ancient holy man Yin Hsi 尹喜, who had long ago given the sacred Taoist scripture to Lao-tzu at the Han-ku Barrier. A mission sent to the designated spot dug up a "numinous token of heavenly treasure" (*t'ien pao ling fu* 天寶靈符).¹⁰¹

Another motive for collecting antiquities was the pleasure of owning fine products of human artifice. This attitude, the admi-

98) Li Po, "Ch'en ch'ing tseng yu jen" 陳情贈友人, *Li T'ai-po wen chi* 李太白文集, 11, 5a.

99) T'ao Ku, *Ch'ing i lu*, b, 35a.

100) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 8, 18b.

101) *T'ang shu*, 5, 11b; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 9, 4b; *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 215, 3a; *T'ang shu*, 38, 3a; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 38, 22b; *Yüan ho chün hsien t'u chih* 元和郡縣圖志 (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* edition), 6, 168. *T'ai ping huan yü chi* 太平寰宇記, 5, 10a puts the excavation of the divine token *before* the declaration of the new era, but the other sources disagree. Compare the causes of the declaration of the ninth century reign "Treasure Response" (*pao ying* 寶應); see E.H. Schafer, "The Origin of an Era," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 85 (1965), 543-550.

ration of art and technology, would explain in part the love of excellently made palettes and swords, in addition to the other reasons given above for preserving them. But archaeological interest, as we now understand it, seeks information—admiration is not enough.

Of very great importance was the ambition to possess mementoes of famous persons of the past, known if not always admired in history and classical studies. The men of Ch'ang-an, the capital city, took pride in the survival nearby of two monumental relics of the Ch'in period—a stone image, reputed to represent the strong man Meng Pen 孟賁, erected by a bridge over the Wei River by Ch'in Shih Huang Ti,¹⁰² and, not far away, the stone posts which once supported, it was said, a double carriageway leading from Hsien-yang to the health-giving hot-springs at Mount Li 驪山, raised by that same monarch.¹⁰³ Individuals cherished old artifacts for the same reason. While on duty in a remote southern province, a friend of the T'ang poet Wei Ying-wu 韋應物 obtained an old bronze cauldron, reputed to have been the possession of the ancient alchemist Ko Hung 葛洪. Ying-wu's verses comment: "You took it and showed it to men of our age; they did not recognize it as a treasure," adding the polite advice that his friend might hope to brew an elixir of immortality in the venerable receptacle.¹⁰⁴ The former possessions of great kings and heroes were particularly prized. In the ninth century Wei Tuan-fu 韋端符, an official of the court of Mu Tsung, made an emotional record of his visit to the residence of a descendant of Li Ching 李靖, the great strategist of early T'ang, closely associated with both T'ai Tsung and Kao Tsu, famous for his victory over the Turks. Wei's host showed him a number of mementoes of his illustrious ancestor, including a jade-mounted belt presented to him by Kao Tsu after his victory over Hsiao Hsien 蕭銑, a rival claimant to the throne—it had been a gift to the emperor from the city of Khotan. He also displayed a handsome robe of glitter-

102) *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi*, 25, 15b-16a.

103) *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi*, 27, 4a-4b.

104) Wei Ying-wu, "Hsin-chou lu shih ts'an chün Ch'ang Tseng ku ting ko" 信州錄事參軍常會古鼎歌. *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 3, ts'e 7, ch. 10, 4b.

ing white tapestry, a purple damask jacket ornamented with the conventional figures of mounted horsemen and such wild animals as lions (*suan-ni* 狻猊), tigers and camels, and a pair of trousers for wearing with boots. All were of non-Chinese manufacture. There were also other objects, such as an ivory ceremonial note-tablet and a coconut-shell cup. Tuan-fu was much moved by the sight of these souvenirs, over two hundred years old, and above all by a manuscript edict of T'ai Tsung himself. The reasons for his admiration were varied. The garments exemplified the fine craftsmanship of that distant era, but he honored them even more as tokens of the finest human relationships: the noble sovereign did not disdain to bestow on a faithful vassal a jade belt, a rare object from a distant land.¹⁰⁵

Not too different from the love of objects associated with famous men was the romantic admiration of ruins or desolate sites associated with them. They were often the occasion for rather sentimental poetry, as when Li Po climbed a dilapidated wall in the footsteps of two famous personages of the fourth century, looking for traces of the places once familiar to those ancient worthies. He hoped to recapture their noble feelings for himself.¹⁰⁶ A much smaller object might make one sigh for a vanished heroine, as when Tu Fu made verses about an ancient mirror, thinking it might have reflected the beauty of Hsi Shih 西施 herself.¹⁰⁷

Of more immediate value than emulation and piety was the inspiration of epigraphy, whose language, reflecting the nobility of an earlier age, could serve as a model of thought and conduct, and provide a mirror for government. The old term for epigraphic remains was "metal and stone" (*chin shih*) emphasizing that the glorious achievements of great men of the past were recorded on

105) Wei Tuan-fu, *Wei Kung ku wu chi* 衛公故物記, *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 733, 1a-2b; *T'ang tai ts'ung shu*, 10, 15a-16b.

106) Li Po, "Teng Ching-ling Yeh-ch'eng hsi pei Hsieh An tun" 登金陵冶城西北謝安墩, *Li T'ai-po wen chi*, 19, 3b.

107) Tu Fu, "Tseng Ts'ui Shih-san p'ing shih kung fu" 贈崔十三評事公輔, *A Concordance to the Poems of Tu Fu* (Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement No. 14, Vol. 2, Peiping, 1940), p. 417.

imperishable materials: "Therefore," says the *locus classicus*, "their works and achievements are engraved in metal and stone."¹⁰⁸ Among a host of eulogies, panegyrics, codes of conduct, maxims, noble sentiments, and other memorabilia, the "Stone Classics" are preeminent. From at least the second century A.D. the canonical texts of the "Confucian" tradition were inscribed on stone slabs to insure the preservation of the authenticated and orthodox texts. From the seventh century at least, and probably earlier, it was customary to make reproductions of these guaranteed stone originals by rubbing over them with ink on paper. By the beginning of the eighth century the fundamental works of Taoism were also being cut in stone. The authentication and dissemination of the holy scriptures of Buddhism were also ensured in the same way during T'ang.¹⁰⁹ But indeed *all* epigraphic remains were treasured for the great intrinsic worth of their contents, the reliable information about the past they conveyed, and even for the classical elegance of their script.

So old artifacts could provide not only norms of behavior, but also standards of style, form, and imagery for practitioners and connoisseurs of the arts. So a chime made of the classical Stone of Ssu-pin 泗濱 was cherished as the proper instrument for the performance of ancient airs even after its official replacement by the Stone of Hua-yüan 華源 in the middle of the eighth century.¹¹⁰ Similarly, an old bell dug up in a plowed field was tested by a connoisseur who rejoiced to discover that its note was one of the classical series of twelve fundamental tones.¹¹¹

I have found no convincing evidence of the search for ancient remains purely in the interests of accurate information, uncontaminated by special interests, and practical or emotional needs. Pure archaeology, if it exists, would mean the search for seals, coins,

108) *Lü shih ch'un ch'iu* 呂氏春秋, "Ch'iu jen" 求人 (*Ssu pu ts'ung k'an* ed.), 22, 9b.

109) T.F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward* (revised by L.C. Goodrich, 2nd ed., New York, 1955).

110) Yüan Chen 元稹, "Hua-yüan ch'ing" 華源磬, *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, *han* 6, *ts'e* 10, *ch.* 24, 5a.

111) *T'ang shu*, 184, 1b.

autograph texts and the like only as source materials for reliable history: "This is how it really was!" We may occasionally find a textual notice which could give the illusion of dispassionate search for truth, such as a note about the discovery of an ancient hoard of coins on the banks of the Yellow River in 806.¹¹² But to imagine that such finds were valued for abstract scientific reasons is to make too much of the argument from silence.

Still, many valuable discoveries were quite unmotivated. Chance finds loomed very large, and needed only the eye of the connoisseur to evaluate them:

Picking up faggots, you encounter an abandoned tripod;
Exploring a cave, you obtain an ancient document.¹¹³

The most likely spot was a newly plowed field:

Men at tillage obtain old utensils;
Rain overnight yields many abandoned arrowheads.¹¹⁴

(The reference here is to the site once occupied by a Ch'in expedition against the Man tribes near Wu-ling 武陵 in Hunan.) T'ang literature is full of similar tales. But there was also much purposeful searching, and battlefields were always good possibilities. Li Ho wrote a sorrowful song about the meaning of the corroded bronze arrowheads he found while "searching for antiquities" (*fang ku* 訪古) in such places.¹¹⁵

Graves might yield even better results. An example is the discovery of an ancient lute of the Juan Hsien 阮咸 type in a grave during the reign of the Empress Wu.¹¹⁶ But few were still intact: imperial tombs, and many lesser ones too, had been looted centuries ago. In any case, the T'ang penal statutes took a stern

112) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 14, 8b.

113) Yang Heng 楊衡 (fl. 766), "Yu Lu hsien sheng ku yen chü" 游陸先生故居, *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, *han* 7, *ts'e* 9, p. 1b.

114) Liu Yü-hsi 劉禹錫, "Teng Szu-ma Ts'o ku ch'eng" 登司馬錯古城, *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, *han* 6, *ts'e* 2, *ch.* 2, 1a.

115) Li Ho 李賀, "Ch'ang-p'ing chien t'ou ko" 長平箭頭歌, *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, *han* 6, *ts'e* 7, *ch.* 4, 8a.

116) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 29, 9b-10a.

view of grave robbery.¹¹⁷ Examples are laws sentencing the opener of a coffin to the garrotte,¹¹⁸ and the vandal who damaged a man's stone memorial to a year at hard labor.¹¹⁹

Neither have I found anything like organized displays or museums in T'ang times, except for private collections such as the one described by the poet Chang Chi 張藉, the possession of his friend, a curator of the imperial library: "He had gathered an abundance of ancient implements into his book-loft."¹²⁰

Library resources for antiquarians were not lacking. Among the 20,000 scrolls owned by the great eighth century bibliophile Wei Shu 韋述, for instance, "illustrated catalogues of ancient implements" (*ku ch'i t'u p'u* 古器圖譜) were fully represented.¹²¹ We cannot now surmise the character or quality of these loaded shelves, although the incomplete records of the imperial library preserved in the *T'ang shu* may give us a hint: Liang (sixth century) antiquarian books still extant in T'ang times included T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景, *Ku chin tao chien lu* 古今刀劍錄 "Register of Sabres and Swords, Ancient and Modern"; Yü Li 虞荔, *Ting lu* 鼎錄 "Register of Tripod-cauldrons"; Chiang Yen 江淹, *T'ung chien tsan* 銅劍讚 "Panegyrics on Bronze Swords." Of T'ang titles I notice only Ku Hsüan 顧烜, *Ch'ien p'u* 錢譜 "Catalogue of Coins."¹²² This is a meagre remainder; there were certainly a great many more whose names are now lost forever.

But connoisseurship was very old in China. It should not surprise us to learn that there were men in T'ang times who knew the criteria of identification and classification of ancient objects, since such persons existed already in Han times, as Wang Ch'ung 王充, writing in the first century A.D. attests: "When they see

117) See for instance *T'ang lü shu i* 唐律疏義, (*Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* ed.), ch. 13, p. 114; ch. 18, p. 55.

118) *Ibid.*, ch. 19, p. 62.

119) *Ibid.*, ch. 27, p. 53.

120) Chang Chi, "Tseng Wang pi shu" 贈王秘書, *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 6, ts'e 6, ch. 4, 1b.

121) *T'ang shu*, 132, 7a.

122) *T'ang shu*, 59, 10a.

an old sword or an ancient hook, most are able to name it."¹²³

The rulers of T'ang also showed their reverence for past dignities and glories by the restoration of important ruined buildings *in situ*. The great Hsüan Tsung was particularly devoted to the preservation of ancient sites.¹²⁴ The outstanding example of architectural reconstruction was the rebuilding of the Wei-yang Palace 未央宮 of Han, which still existed in some form in the T'ang hunting park north of Ch'ang-an. During an uprising in the winter of 816/817 it was fired by arsonists.¹²⁵ In 826 the young monarch Ching Tsung ordered a body of palace guards to set about its restoration; during their excavations they discovered a couch of "white jade" (marble?) six feet long.¹²⁶ It is not clear how much of this work was finished during Ching Tsung's short reign. When Wu Tsung visited the site during a hunt in 841, however, he found buildings to the extent of 249 *chien* (standard spaces) still standing, and was moved to command more reconstruction, including a main hall with two flanking pavilions and a gateway.¹²⁷

Rudolph lists, as evidence of the high level of Sung field archaeology, the existence of travellers' notes on local antiquities; trips specifically in search of antiquities; organized collecting; amateur collecting; the taking of rubbings.¹²⁸ All of these criteria, with the possible exception of organized collecting, can be detected in T'ang texts: I have not found conclusive evidence of joint systematic collection or study, except in connection with great libraries. The motivations he finds in Sung (archaeology as a check on history; salvage and conservation; a high level of connoisseurship and publication) were also present in T'ang, but apparently on a more restricted scale. Certainly many T'ang col-

123) Wang Ch'ung, *Lun Heng* 論衡, "Tao hsü p'ien" 道虛篇.

124) Florence Ayscough, *Tu Fu; The Autobiography of a Chinese Poet* (Boston, New York and London), I, 370.

125) E.H. Schafer, "The Last Years of Ch'ang-an," *Oriens Extremus*, 10 (1963), 159.

126) *Ibid.*, 162.

127) *Ibid.*, 165; *Ch'ang-an chih* 長安志, 6, 5b.

128) Rudolph, 1963, 169-175.

lectors cared for potsherds only as potential ink-slabs, and regarded neolithic adze-heads only as curiosities of supernatural origin. But some individuals were laying the foundations of the solid work which developed in Sung times. Other than the difference in degree, I would hazard that T'ang collecting and preservation partook more of the heart than of the head. Noble sentiment counted for more, on the whole, than abstract intellect.



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EDWARD H. SCHAFER

The Idea of Created Nature in T'ang Literature

IN A FAMOUS ESSAY written while he was in exile in Lingnan, the great T'ang^a (618-907) writer Liu Tsung-yüan^b describes a singular rock formation which resembled man-made fortifications. In his essay he asks the purpose of "The Fashioner of Creatures" (*tsao wu che*^c) in creating such a startling object in a remote part of the southern mountains, among savage tribes, rather than close to civilization, where it might be properly appreciated. Rejecting such popular explanations as "It is to comfort worthy gentlemen sent here in disgrace," he leaves us in doubt as to its true meaning.

Herbert Giles's translation¹ of this curious discourse makes it appear that the occurrence of natural ramparts far from urban centers caused the writer to doubt, finally and fatally, the existence of a creator. Giles interpreted this "creator" in Christian terms, as is apparent in the title of his translation, "Is There a God?" His interpretation assumes too much.

Plainly Liu Tsung-yüan was a little puzzled, or pretended to be puzzled, by the presence of this monumental pseudo-artifact in a remote wilderness, and wondered why a creative spirit did not always accommodate its best choices to current taste, but there is no evidence that he seriously doubted the Fashioner's existence. His explanation of the wonder is a rather ironic one, implicit in his rejection of the notion that a divine shaper would place his handiwork here merely for the solace of exiled politicians. Liu Tsung-yüan loved solitude in Nature. A natural stone masterpiece set on a far frontier was no more evidence of a flaw in the divine plan than was the presence of a rare flower or a secret waterfall in a similar place. Men of sensitive, serene, and contemplative temperament will find such divine gifts wherever they may be. The writer's doubts, then, were merely rhetorical, aimed against a trivial conception of the aims of creation. He was a teleologist, but not a superficial one.

¹ Liu Tsung-yüan, "Hsiao shih ch'eng shan chi"^{ab} (Record of the Mountain of the Little Stone Citadel), in *Liu hsien sheng chiac* (Collected Works of First-born Liu), 29, 5b-6a; translated in H. A. Giles, *Gems of Chinese Literature* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1923), pp. 141-142, as "Is There a God?"

The uneasiness which Liu Tsung-yüan professed to feel about the Fashioner's purpose was expressed again, but more mildly, in an essay written on February 15, 815, about a "forest of stones" in southern Hunan. This bizarre landscape, populated by the most suggestive rocky shapes "as if the Fashioner of Creatures, when he first separated the Clear from the Opaque, expended all of his marvels on this place—for it is not the work of man."²

What is this "Fashioner of Creatures"? The name goes back to Chou⁴ times (1111-249 B.C.), where it is conspicuous in the book *Chuang Tzu*^e—and even the philosopher Chuang Tzu himself was reported to "ramble above with the 'Fashioner of Creatures.'"³ This supernatural entity was the molder of the "myriad creatures" (*wan wu*^f), or source of the "myriad mutations" (*wan hua*^g), of which the human shape is only one, and not necessarily the most satisfying.⁴ The other important Taoist book of late Chou times, the *Lieh Tzu*,^h also alludes to this Fashioner, "whose skills are miraculous, whose works are profound."⁵ Sometimes this creative being is called "Fashioner of Mutations" (*tsao hua chei*ⁱ)—a *constructor mutans*. Both names enjoyed renewed popularity in T'ang times. Tuan Kung-lu^j (9th century), for instance, describing the marvels of the far south, wrote of the work of the Fashioner of Mutations,⁶ which he elsewhere styles "Divine Mutator," or *divinitas mutans*.⁷ In either case, the name stood for the agency which changed liquid into crystal, pupa into imago, plant into animal (such things happen!), and even Chuang Tzu into butterfly. Most often, however, the creator was mentioned with reference to a sport or *lusus naturae* (as it might appear)—not fitting an accepted and obvious role as did most natural creatures. So Li Po^k (701-762) wrote of a huge, supernatural bird as "something made by the Fashioner of Mutations."⁸

Since things are made for a purpose, the Fashioner must have purposes,

² Liu Tsung-yüan, "Yung-chou Wan shih t'ing chi"^{ad} (Record of the Pavilion of a Myriad Stones at Yung-chou), in *Liu hsien sheng chi*, 27, 4b.

³ *Chuang Tzu*, "T'ien hsia"^{ae} (All Under Heaven).

⁴ *Chuang Tzu*, "Ta tsung shih"^{af} (Great Reverend Master-principle). Cf. Joseph Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), p. 66.

⁵ *Lieh Tzu*, "Chou Mu Wang"^{ag} (Well-disposed King of Chou). Cf. Needham and Ling, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁶ Tuan Kung-lu, *Pei hu luah* (Register of North-facing Doors), 1, 14b.

⁷ Shen hua,^{ai} *Pei hu lu*, 1, 18a. In traditional Taoist thought "mutation" or "transformation" was at the very heart of the natural process. But outward changes of form do not necessarily represent inner changes of substance. See Yamada Keiji,^{aj} "Chūsei no shizen-kan"^{ak} (The Medieval View of Nature), in Kiyoshi Yabuuchi,^{al} ed., *Chūgoku chūsei kagaku gijutsu no kenkyū*^{am} (Studies of Medieval Science and Technology in China) (Tokyo: Kakugawa Shoten, 1963), p. 66, relying chiefly on the *Pao p'u tzu*^{an} (Master Who Embraces the Unhewn).

⁸ Li Po, "Ta p'eng fu"^{ao} (Rhapsody on the Great P'eng-bird^{ap}), in *Ch'üan T'ang wen* (Complete T'ang Prose), 347, 12a.

even when its (his?) intent (as in the case of Liu Tsung-yüan's stone citadel) is difficult to divine. A wise Taoist abbot was posthumously praised for having been privy to "the entire model of the Fashioner of Mutations";⁹ Wei Ying-wu¹ detected "the intent of the Fashioner of Mutations" in the resonance between the silken strings and paulownia wood sound box of a fine zither.¹⁰ Han Yü (768-824) guessed at the purpose of the Fashioner of Creatures in raising the noble mountains south of the inhabited lowlands—surely, they are storage places for supernatural protective powers.¹¹ And perhaps the divine purposes are sometimes aesthetic—and sometimes playful. Human beings also have their purposes, and fashion things to achieve them. Sometimes both human and superhuman aims attain the same end. So, the poet Lo Yin,^m watching a light flurry of snow outside a temple, wrote:

Sifted cold—sprinkled white—a confused, misty drizzle;
The work of prayer and entreaty, conjoined with the work
of the Fashioner of Mutations.¹²

And, above all, it was the traveler into distant places who had his eyes and mind opened to the works of the creator, as a stay-at-home never could. Looking at the mast of his boat outlined against the stars, Ku Fei-hsiungⁿ wrote:

Unless one is a long-wandering traveler
How will he know the holy power of the Fashioner of Mutations?¹³

How did this Fashioner work, and what was its place in relation to the other metaphysical entities? Po Chü-i's^o (772-846) encyclopedia gives a metaphorical formulation:

Heaven and Earth are the crucible;
The Fashioner of Mutations is the artisan;
Yin^p and *Yang*^q are the charcoal;
The Myriad Creatures are the bronze!¹⁴

Here Heaven and Earth are enclosing space, a physical envelope; *yin* and *yang* are merely sources of energy—negative and positive charges, if you

⁹ Lu Chao-lin^{aa} (ca. 641-ca. 680), "I-chou Chih chen kuan chu Li chün pei,"^{ar} (Stele to Master Li, Ruler of the Monastery of Utmost Truth in I-chou), in *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 167, 18a.

¹⁰ Wei Ying-wu (ca. 735-835), "Tseng Li Tan"^{as} (Presented to Li Tan), in *Ch'üan T'ang shih*^{at} (Complete T'ang Poetry), *han* 3, *ts'e* 7, *ch.* 2, 2a.

¹¹ Han Yü, "Nan shan"^{au} (Southern Mountains), in *Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan chi*,^{av} 1, 17b.

¹² Lo Yin (833-909), "Kan lu szu k'an hsüeh shang Chou hsiang kung"^{aw} (Submitted to Ministerial Lord Chou, on Watching the Snow at Sweet Dew Temple), *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, *han* 10, *ts'e* 4, *ch.* 8, 6b.

¹³ Ku Fei-hsiung (fl. 836), "Hsia yeh Han chu kuei chou chi shih"^{ax} (I Return to my Boat at Han Anchorage on a Summer Night to Attend to Affairs), *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, *han* 8, *ts'e* 4, 5a. "Holy Power" is *ling*,^{ay} which also connotes "mana" and "numinous."

¹⁴ *Po K'ung liu i'ieh*^{az} (The Six Labellings of Po and K'ung), 90, 23b.

please; and the lovely bronze vessels achieved by the smith are the many creatures of earth. This Fashioner is no creator of material objects *ex nihilo*—he is a shaper and molder of matter, like the Egyptian god Ptah and his Chinese counterpart, the potter Shun.* Moreover, unlike the Creator of the Judeo-Christian tradition, the primordial creator of the world, the Chinese Fashioner's supernatural skill acts continuously and timelessly. We may be reminded of the theory of the continuous production of the physical universe advocated by the astronomer Fred Hoyle and his adherents—but the world produced continuously by the Chinese creator is no abstract world of electrons and neutrons; it is a continuum of concrete, sensible, colored objects.

The power of this Fashioner might conceivably be borrowed by a man—such was the eternal hope of the Taoist magicians and alchemists: “so one might raise thunder in winter, fashion ice in summer; dead corpses could walk, withered trees could flower.”¹⁵ It was natural that the Taoist should be especially interested in the creative principle—in this way men could learn to control any natural process.¹⁶ The dyed-in-the-wool “Confucian” *ju*,^a on the other hand, was inclined to let the *Tao*^t take care of itself, although by T'ang times the pedants of the *ju* sect were feeling the need of a sophisticated metaphysics comparable to that of the Buddhists—indeed, the syncretic efforts of men like Li Ao^u (fl. 798) were already pointing ahead to the Sung^v (960-1279) ontologists.¹⁷ But, meanwhile, some T'ang Taoists had achieved a mature and reasonable metaphysics, whose nomenclature was selected from the rich verbal storehouse of traditional belief. Among these concepts the respectably ancient but only moderately popular idea of a Fashioner of Creatures loomed large. Why?

The ultimate, undifferentiated *Tao*, the base of everything, cannot of itself account for the multiplicity and particularity of the phenomenal world. To call on the random aid of specialized agencies such as *yin* and *yang*, or the Five Activities, leaves unanswered the question “Why are things what they are here and now, and not something else?” In particular, the appearance of aesthetic objects causes a difficulty—these are, it seems, final ends. How and why do they arise?

The men of T'ang interposed an infinite set of forms or matrices between the ultimate *Tao* and actual objects. These they called *ch'i*,^w “vapors” or “pneumas,” or sometimes *hsing*,^x “forms.” The *ch'i* are fluid, active, dynamic, form-giving molds,¹⁸ while the *hsing* are *ch'i* considered as forms-given rather than as form-giving:

¹⁵ *Kuan yin tsu*^{ba} (Kuan Yin Master) (late T'ang), 7, 20a. The Fashioner acts through *ch'i* “vapors” or “pneumas.” See below; also Needham and Ling, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

¹⁶ In Sung times, this idea was prominent in the writings of Su Shih.^{bb}

¹⁷ Needham and Ling, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

¹⁸ In *Kuan yin tsu*, the *ch'i* appear all-powerful, and are more prominent than the

The Great Lump is molded in forms—

The Vast Crucible is pregnant with images.¹⁹

But *ch'i* and *hsing* get us little further than *yin* and *yang*, or such abstract principles as "fire," "water," and the like—though with their inconceivable variety the molding *ch'i* fit well with the seeming vogue for phenomenism and nominalism in T'ang.²⁰

Joseph Needham has rightly observed parallels between some Chinese metaphysical conceptions and A. N. Whitehead's philosophy of process and organism. This comparison can be developed even further, in a rather different way, which will allow for the presence of Whitehead's notion of "God," crucial to his system but ignored by Needham. Whitehead's underlying "general activity" is very much like Spinoza's one infinite Substance (but not itself substantial),²¹ and also very much like the formless *Tao* of the Chinese. Whitehead's "eternal objects,"²² that is, Platonic forms, which might be compared to chromosomes, or even to punched I.B.M. cards, awaiting actualization in the womb of time, are similar to the *ch'i* and *hsing*. Resultant "organisms" or "actual occasions" (in Whitehead's language) are the objects of the world of experience—they are also the "Myriad Creatures" (*wan wu*) of the Chinese.

But the general activity—and its Chinese counterpart, the *Tao*—is inadequate to explain the phenomenal world. It is a characterless substratum, a dizzy abyss, a bewildering vortex, in which nothing specific can be discerned. It is necessary that there be an entity which chooses from the immense repertory of forms those which will shape the ultimate, featureless, and indeterminate flux to its particular ends—thus will the existence of specific individuals and experiences be explained. That some concrete experiences and beings occur and not others is the work of Whitehead's "God," the source of all limitations, the avoider of generalities and abstractions, the ultimate irrationality, the very "principle of concretion," whose choices are beyond ex-

Fashioner itself. See page 19b, and Needham and Ling, p. 449. In some usage (e.g., *Pao p'u tzu*), the idea of a multiplicity of *ch'i* seems to be lacking; *ch'i* is conceived rather as a universally circulating fluid, consumed by living things, and dispersed on their death. See Yamada, *op. cit.*, p. 66; and cf. Hellmut Wilhelm, with regard to "form" in the *I ching*: *be "Das Wort, das hier mit 'Form' wiedergegeben ist, ist ein chinesischer Doppelbegriff, der sowohl das Geformte bedeutet wie die Formende. Die Form ist also auch Matrix, aus der Nachbildungen geschaffen werden können." "Das schöpferische Prinzip im Buch der Wandlungen," Eranos-Jahrbuch, 25 (1956), 459.*

¹⁹ *Po K'ung liu tieh*, 90, 23b.

²⁰ See Needham and Ling, pp. 238 and 275. In ancient thought, the Five Activities and the *yin* and *yang* had their own *ch'i*, i.e., their separate active formative powers. Perhaps we should regard them as energies equipped with sets of designs.

²¹ A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*, chap. XI, "God," especially p. 177: "It is a general metaphysical character which underlies all occasions, in a particular mode for each occasion."

²² *Ibid.*: "... the realm of eternal objects which are variously synthesized in these modes."

planation. Such also is the Fashioner of Creatures (or Fashioner of Mutations) which we know from the *Chuang Tzu*.

Below is a rather idealized scheme of the interrelationships among these metaphysical agencies seemingly implied by the casual, unsystematic references to the Fashioner in T'ang literature—though perhaps no man of T'ang saw them this plainly and simply:

FASHIONER OF CREATURES
FASHIONER OF MUTATIONS
(selector and synthesizer)
applies
PNEUMAS/FORMS
(active matrices)
to
TAO
(underlying flux)
which yields
THE MYRIAD CREATURES
(world of experience)

The Fashioner was a "god" without a cult. It (or he) was a philosopher's god. It could be wondered at, and even admired, but it could not be appealed to. It dictated neither norms of conduct nor principles of justice. Its greater ends were inscrutable, even though the lesser ones might be surmised by the wise. (This is not to say that no deity worshipped in China was ever conceived as a creator of the world: there was the primordial serpent-goddess, Nü Kua,²³ who was identified, in the first century of the Christian era, as "... the one who transforms the myriad creatures."²³)

There was still another way of looking at the natural world, just as ancient as that of the Fashioner and even more popular. This was the competing notion of Nature as *tzu-jan*²⁴—*natura naturans*—a self-determining emergent from the background of the *Tao*. It appealed especially to the Confucians. Even Kuo Hsiang,²⁴ the early fourth-century author of a famous commentary on the *Chuang Tzu*, rejected the Master's enigmatic Fashioner in favor of a spontaneous world. Needham follows him in this. Indeed, many commentators have assumed that Chuang Tzu himself did not entertain the idea of a creator seriously, but Demiéville is probably right in believing that his questions were far from skeptical.²⁴

²³ *Shuo wen*,^{bd} ch. 12.

²⁴ P. Demiéville, "Enigmes taoïstes," *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun kagaku kenkyusyo*,^{de} Kyoto University (Kyoto University, 1954), 59-60.

In any case, the conception of a self-diversifying Nature came to be part of the mainstream of upper-class Chinese belief.²⁵ But there remained a minority party which was not content to accept the rich phenomenal world naively for what it happened to be, while hoping (like the majority) for occasional visions of the undifferentiated *Tao*-substratum beneath it. For it, rather, reason seemed to demand also a metaphysical principle of selection, limitation, determination, individuation, and realization. This principle was called the "Fashioner."

²⁵ James J. Y. Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 49, accepts the *tsu-jan* view as the only Chinese one: "... the Chinese mind seems content to accept Nature as a fact, without searching for a *primum mobile*," and "Man is advised to submerge his being in the infinite flux of things and to allow his own life and death to become part of the eternal cycle of birth, growth, decline, death, and re-birth that goes on in Nature." In short, merge with the formless *Tao*. However, the ever-active Fashioner is no mere *primum mobile*, and his advocates were neither deists nor mechanists.

^a 唐
^b 柳 宗 元
^c 造 物 者
^d 周
^e 莊 子
^f 萬 物
^g 萬 化
^h 列 子
ⁱ 造 化 者
^j 段 公 路
^k 李 白
^l 韋 應 物
^m 羅 隱
ⁿ 顧 非 熊

^o 白 居 易
^p 陰
^q 陽
^r 舜
^s 儒
^t 道
^u 李 翱
^v 宋
^w 氣
^x 形
^y 女 媧
^z 自 然
^{aa} 郭 象
^{ab} 小 石 城 山 記

^{ac}柳先生集
^{ad}永州萬石亭記
^{ae}天下
^{af}大宗師
^{ag}周穆王
^{ah}北戶錄
^{ai}神化
^{aj}山田慶兒
^{ak}中世の自然觀
^{al}藝文
^{am}中國中世科學
^{an}技術の研究
^{ao}抱朴子
^{ap}大鵬賦
^{aq}全唐文
^{ar}盧照鄰
 益至真觀
 主黎君碑

^{as}贈李儋
^{at}全唐詩
^{au}南山
^{av}韓昌黎全集
^{aw}甘露寺看雪上
^{ax}周相公
^{ay}夏夜漢渚歸
^{az}舟郎事
^{ba}靈
^{bb}白孔六帖
^{bc}關伊子
^{bd}蘇軾
^{be}易經
 說文
 人文科學研究所



The Origin of an Era

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CCXXVIII. Raghunātha (R. Sharma, Kalpadrukośa of Keśava, GOS no. 42, Introduction p. xvi, note 3):

*kośo divyadhane¹ 'pi syāt kuḍmalāśipidhānayoḥ/
panasādīphalasyāntaḥ kośaḥ śabdasya saṃgrahaḥ//
iti mūrdhanyānte śabdārṇavaḥ.*

1. Shall we read: *divye dhane?*

CCXXIX. Mallinātha on Meghadūta I. 60:

*viśeṣo 'vayave dravye draṣṭavyottamavastuni/
iti śabdārṇave.*

CCXXX. Bhānujīdikṣita on AK I. 6.15; V. D. Sharma on AK I. 6.15:

*nīcam ākṣāraṇaṃ yaḥ sa ākrośo maithunaṃ prati/
iti śabdārṇavaḥ.*

CCXXXI. Mallinātha on Meghadūta I. 29:

*śṛṅgārādau jāle vīrye suvarṇe viśaṣukrayoḥ/
tiktādāv amṛte caiva nīryāse pārade dhvanau//
āsvāde ca rasaṃ prāhuḥ . . .
iti śabdārṇave.*

CCXXXII. Sarvānanda on AK III. 5.15:

*tathāca śabdārṇavaḥ —
ākṣūṭṭhaśalabhotthādītat¹ tad utthānam advayoḥ/*

1. Shall we read: *ādīvat?*

CCXXXIII. Hemacandra on Abhidhānacintāmaṇi IV. 127:

*vācaspatī tu —
hīṅgulas tv astriyām/
iti . . .*

THE ORIGIN OF AN ERA

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A "Reign Title" or "Era Name" (or whatever popular equivalent of Chinese *nien hao*, literally "year designation," we may prefer to adopt) was chosen by a Chinese ruler to designate a new era and its calendar which he proposed to inaugurate, magically to ensure that the promise or omen suggested by the name would be realized. Hence such T'ang dynasty eras as "Divine Dragon," "Extensive Harmony," and "Utmost Virtue."

In many instances the extant documents are inadequate for the purpose of informing us why the name was chosen—that is, we can not learn what significance it had for the magnates who agreed to its adoption, what classical or religious overtones or what biographical or historical allusions lay behind it, and why these seemed appropriate to the current situation. The present paper presents the case of the era name "Treasure Response" (*Pao ying*), about which we are better informed than most. It consists of a literal translation of a "restored" composite text which I suppose to be closer to a hypothetical original of the eighth century than any particular version now extant; this is accompanied by a running commentary, and followed by a translation of a ninth century semi-legendary version of the story.¹

In the third year of "Superior Prime," Ts'ui Shen, the Inciting Notary of Ch'u-chou, offered up thirteen Nation-stabilizing Treasures.

The year was A. D. 762; the place was coastal Huainan, in modern Kiangsu. The "Inciting Notary" (*tz'u shih*) was the chief magistrate of a *chou* (about the size of one of our countries). "Treasure" translates *pao*, a word which means "an object of the utmost value." Applied to material things, as here, it usually referred to sanctified objects of metal or stone—above all to ancient bells, magic swords, and seals bearing holy or mysterious inscriptions. It was sometimes a synonym of *hsi*, the great seal of the Son of Heaven.

(as quoted by Hu San-hsing, commentary on *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*, 222, 10a-10b); *Yu-tang tsa tsu*, 1, 3-4. (T'ang history citations are from the *Szu pu pei yao* edition.) On the meanings of era names see A. F. Wright and Edward Fagan, "Era names and Zeitgeist," *Asiatische Studien*, 5 (1951), 113-121; E. H. Schafer, "Chinese Reign-names—Words or Nonsense Syllables?", *Wennti*, No. 3 (July, 1952), 33-40; E. H. Schafer, "Reply to Readers' Comments," *Wennti*, No. 5 (November, 1953), 75-77; Mary C. Wright, "What's in a Reign Name: The Uses of History and Philology," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 18 (November, 1958), 103-106; E. H. Schafer, "Communication to Editors," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 18 (May, 1959), 431-432.

¹ This composite version is based on *T'ang shu*, 35, 7a; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 10, 14a-14b; 37, 16a; *T'ang hui yao*

A "treasure," then, is a kind of numinous artifact which appears and reappears at critical moments of history, giving authority and power to the great ones of mankind. *The locus classicus* for "nation-stabilizing" is *Tso chuan*, Hsiang 10: "I wrote what I did for the settlement of the state." (Legge)

*The first was called "Murky and Yellow Heavenly Token." It was shaped like a ceremonial note-tablet, eight inches long and three inches broad, round above and square below; next to the rondure there was a hole. It was of yellow jade. It dispels arms and plagues from among men.*²

Murky and Yellow are the cosmic colors. *Hsüan* "murky" is a smoky indistinct black—the color of mysterious things, barely perceptible and hard to apprehend; hence the color of Heaven. *Huang* "yellow" is the symbolic color of Earth. The round part of the token symbolized Heaven and was presumably dark in color, the square part stood for Earth and must have been yellow stone. Murky and yellow were also colors of the utmost beauty: the great painted halls of antiquity displayed these ritual hues for the edification and delight of mankind. A "heavenly token" was a physical sign—a strange beast, an awful color in the sky, a weird stone shaped by other than human hands—signifying the approbation or displeasure of the supreme spirit.

The second was called "Jade Fowl." All of the patterns of its plumage were represented. It was of white jade. It is seen when the Subcelestial Realm is structured by filial piety.

It was said that a jade fowl gave a red bead to the mother of Han Kao Ti; she swallowed it and became pregnant.³ "Fowl" is the common barnyard fowl, descended from the jungle fowl of Indochina, an ancient and holy bird. "Filial piety" probably alludes to the reconciliation of Su Tsung with his father Hsüan Tsung.

² "Arms and plagues" appears in the versions of *T'ang shu*, *Yu-yang tsa tsu*, *Po K'ung liu tieh*, and *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*. *Chiu T'ang shu* has homophonous "service in arms," a much more common phrase.

³ *Sung shu*, 27, 1499a. (*K'ai ming* ed., as for other non-T'ang histories hereafter.)

The third was called "Granulated Disk." It was of white jade, about five or six inches in diameter. It was patterned with millet grains, without a trace of carving or chiseling. When obtained by a Princely One there is a plentiful ripening of the Five Cereals.

"Disk" is *pi*, an archaic ceremonial token of Heaven and emblem of a divine ruler, usually a flat stone disk with a hole through the center. In late antiquity each of several grades of suzerain, from the king down through the five grades of barons, carried a kind of scepter on formal occasions to designate his status. These were the "Six Auspicious Emblems" (*liu jui*). A "granulated disk" was the badge of a Thegn/Childe/Hidalgo (*tzu*). Some say that it was decorated with nourishing stalks of cereals in relief; others say that the surface was covered with simple granulation. Evidently it was a fertility talisman.

The fourth was called "The White Rings of Hsi Wang Mu." There were two of them, of white jade, six or seven inches in diameter. Outside nations turn in submission to whatever place they may be in.

These are the magic rings of power. It was said that Hsi Wang Mu came from her western mountain paradise to present a white ring to the mighty Shun.⁵

The fifth was called "Cyan-hued Treasure." It was round, with a light.

"Cyan" is for *pi* "dark blue or green (stone)" and sometimes "luminescent blue or green stone." This could be chlorophane, the green thermoluminescent variety of fluorite, or perhaps an artificial gem covered with paint, like the "emeralds" and "carbuncles" of the Hellenistic alchemical lapidaries.⁶ In any case, it was full of mana. (From this point on, the surviving texts have nothing to tell of the magic power of the treasures.)

The sixth was called "As-you-will Treasure-Bead." It was as large as a hen's egg, and as bright as the moon.

⁴ *Chou li*, Ch'un kuan, Ta tsung po.

⁵ Huang-fu Mi, *Ti wang shih chi* (3rd cent.), quoted in *Po K'ung liu tieh*, 7, 21b.

⁶ See E. H. Schaffer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), p. 238.

Possibly a moonstone, or even an organic luminescent gem, such as the eye of a cetacean. It was reported that the Japanese "... have As-you-will Beads, as large as hen's eggs, which give light at night. It is said that they are the pupils of fishes' eyes."⁷ In Buddhist tradition, the wish-fulfilling jewel was made from a relic of the Buddha, while the Taoist alchemists called their ultimate elixir the "As-you-will Bead." It was, in fact, a moon-pearl, the plaything of dragons, the *cintāmaṇi* of the nāgas of India, and also a sun-bead, an *agnimaṇi*, the fire-orb of the Chinese, which drew on the cosmic radiation.⁸

The seventh was called "Red Carbuncle." It was as large as a huge chestnut, and as red as a cherry.

Mo-ho (**mat-ghat*), here rendered "carbuncle," was also the name of a number of Tungusic peoples in Manchuria. Most prominent among them were the Black Water (Amur) Mat-ghat, who inhabited a land rich in martens, white rabbits, white hawks, and salt springs. These excellent hunters, whose elegant arrowheads had been greatly admired by the Chinese of classical times, wore hats decorated with boar tusks and pheasant tails on their plaited hair. Unfortunately they washed their faces in urine.⁹ Their kin, the *Su-mo mo-ho* (**Syok-mat Mat-ghat*) lived south of them on the Sungari River.¹⁰ In the sixth century their name had been sinicized as *Wu-chi* (**Mywët-kyit*); this name may be cognate to the *Moukri*[*t*] of Theophylactus Simocatta (7th century), and it has been proposed that they were the ancestors of the Goldi Tungus.¹¹ Finally, Chang Hung-chao makes the natural assumption that the gem was named for the people that mined it, and points out that the ancient inhabitants of Manchuria had been noted for their red "jade."¹²

Perhaps it is so. Red was the usual color of these *mat-ghat* jewels. Li Shih-chen, in the sixteenth century, wrote that the word was a Sung name for red "precious stones."¹³ In modern Chinese "precious stones" means "translucent gemstones," and particularly the ruby. The ninth century poet P'i Jih-hsiu wrote of wild fruit (a cherry or plum?) like "red *mat-ghat*."¹⁴ But there are instances of purple *mat-ghat*. A T'ang wonder tale tells of an itinerant Persian merchant carrying twelve priceless "purple *mat-ghat*" beads in a vase—they were protected by spirits, and their owner could pass unharmed through fire and water.¹⁵ Another story tells of a "*mat-ghat* treasure left by the Lady of the Jade Capital" (the residence of the supreme god of the Taoists). This was a piece of dark purplish-blue jade-like stone, in the shape of an oak-leaf.¹⁶ The word "purple" included dull reds. It may be that some of these stones were rubies, or fine red spinels, or pyrope garnets.¹⁷ In our context, "magical carbuncle" is about as close as one could get.

The eighth was called "The Lang-kan Beads." There were two them, one inch and two tenth-portions long.

Lang-kan was a fairy gem, the stuff or fruit of a tree of paradise, or of an axial world-tree.¹⁸ A *lang-kan* tree grew east of the nine-fold walls of the city of K'un-lun; in another tradition *lang-kan* fruit grew on a tree of minerals, many hundreds of feet high.¹⁹ *Lang-kan* was blue or green. Liu Yü-hsi wrote of the famous spotted bamboo of South China as "*lang-kan* colored."²⁰ In T'ang times, at least, some was a coral, red when fresh, but turning to green or blue; some was said

¹³ Li Shih-chen, *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 8, 36a.

¹⁴ P'i Jih-hsiu, "So hsia wen," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 9, ts'ê 9, ch. 3, 9a.

¹⁵ Tai Chün-fu, *Kuang i chi*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, 403, 6b-7a.

¹⁶ *I wen chi*, quoted in *Po K'ung liu tieh*, 7, 27a.

¹⁷ Chang Hung-chou, in "Shih ya," 92-93, examines theories that it was carnelian, ruby, garnet, or coral, and rejects them all.

¹⁸ See *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, p. 246.

¹⁹ *Huai-nan tzu*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 809, 1b; *Chuang tzu*, quoted in *Yü p'ien*, a, 9b, under *ch'ung*.

²⁰ Liu Yü-hsi, "Wu-hsing Ching lang chung chien hui pan chu chang . . ." in *Liu Meng-te wen chi*, wai chi, 6, 6b.

⁷ *Sui shu*, 81, 2633b.

⁸ See Kurakichi Shiratori, "The Mu-nan-chi of Ta-ch'in and the Cintāmaṇi of India," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* (The Oriental Library), No. 11 (1939), 1-54, and *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, p. 237.

⁹ *T'ang shu*, 219, 7a.

¹⁰ Rolf Stein, "Leao-tche," *T'oung Pao*, 35 (1939), 42-43.

¹¹ Wada Sei, "Kotsu-jaku-kō," *Tōyō gaku*, 38 (1955), 16.

¹² Chang Hung-chao, "Shih ya," *Ti-chih chuan-pao*, B, No. 2 (Peking, 1921).

to resemble green paste.²¹ Perhaps the non-coral-line varieties, imported from the far southwest and from Khotan, were turquoise, or chrysoprase, or demantoid garnet, or even emerald.²²

The ninth was called "Jade Thumb-ring." It had the form of a jade ring, but a fourth part of it was lacking.

This was a *chüeh*, an interrupted ring. In antiquity, it had sometimes been used as a bangle on the girdle, sometimes as an archer's thumb-ring. Though a jade thumb-ring was a fine possession, I have not seen an example of one with supernatural powers.

The tenth was called "Jade Seal." It was as large as a half fist, with patterning along its diagonal length, as if the figure of a deer were embedded within the seal. When used to seal some thing, the figure of the deer showed forth on it.

The eleventh was called "Mulberry Gathering Hook of the Illustrious Genetrix." It was five or six inches long, narrow like a chopstick, but bent at the end. It resembled true gold, while also resembling silver.

This was a gilded pruning or reaping hook, used by the chief consort of the Son of Heaven in the annual ritual of gathering mulberry leaves as food for the sacred silkworms—an ancient fertility rite. "Illustrious Genetrix" is *huang hou*, the resplendent mother of the true Heir. *Shuo wen* defines *hou* as "a prince[ss] who continues the body" (< *hou* "after; successor"), a title equally appropriate for the old totemic heroes and for the mothers of the Heirs Presumptive.

The twelfth was called "Stone Axe of the Thunder Lord." It was four inches long and two inches broad, without a hole, and textured as fine and close as blue-green jade.

Neolithic axe and adze blades, often perforated for binding to a haft, were commonly regarded as the tools of the porcine thunder gods, and were used by men to expel "demoniac dreams and inauspicious things." But some scholars, among

them the pharmacologist Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i, thought that they might be man-made.²³ Our text clearly takes the conservative, supernatural view.

The thirteenth is lacking.

Some versions lack others, especially the fifth, but all state that there were thirteen and omit the thirteenth. *Yu-yang tsa tsu* is unique in stating that there were only twelve.

When any of the thirteen treasures was set out in the sun, a white aura linked it with the sky.

Previously a person had appeared to a nun of Ch'u-chou named Chen-ju and taken her up into the sky with him. The Divine King of Heaven said to her, "There are disasters in the quarter below! Let my second-class treasures quell them!" With that he consigned thirteen treasures to Chen-ju. Now Su Tsung, who was indisposed at this time, took these to be Auspicious Tokens and accordingly amended the "Prime" [the era-name] to "Treasure Response," while handing on the See to the Illustrious Grand Heir.

The *Yu-yang tsa tsu* version of the story begins with the words "On the day when Tai Tsung took the See, a felicitous cloud was seen, and a yellow vapor embraced the sun," then goes back to the beginning of the tale. (Tai Tsung was the posthumous title of the monarch who was Illustrious Grand Heir when the treasures were found.) An Auspicious Token or Auspicious Emblem (*jui*) was the same as a "Heavenly Token," or rather it was a species of Heavenly Token, since the latter were both benign and baleful.²⁴ More particularly it symbolized the goodwill of Heaven towards the ruling dynasty. Therefore it was spoken of as a "Response" of Heaven. Such apparitions were commonly the occasions of changes of era-names in medieval China, as when the Kingdom of Wei declared the era "Divine Auspicious Token" (Shen *jui*) on 6 February, 414, after an abundance of such phenomena.²⁵ Trained augurs interpreted them with the aid of

²¹ See *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, p. 246.

²² *Yu-yang tsa tsu* has a few words ("exceeding usual beads by far") which occur in no other version.

²³ Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i, quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 10, 6a.

²⁴ *Chin shu*, 95, 1330b.

²⁵ *Wei shu*, 3, 1908c.

ancient books. In T'ang times they were classified in a hierarchy according to the degree of advantage they betokened. Thus "Great Auspicious Tokens" included *feng*- and *luan*-birds ("phoenixes"), miraculous stars, dragons, and red-maned white horses. Among the "Superior Auspicious Tokens" were red crows, blue crows, three-footed crows, white wolves and jade tortoises. "Middle Auspicious Tokens" included white pigeons, sparrows, crows, pheasants and rabbits; yellow swans, vermilion wild geese, red foxes, and long-lived plants. Lastly, among the "Inferior Auspicious Tokens" were crowned sparrows, black pheasants, lucky corn, ginseng, and trees with connected venation.²⁶ Often the Token was a "treasure," as in the present instance. The first reign to be named for a "treasure" was "Treasure Cauldron," a Wu era which began in A. D. 266. It was named, of course, for a rare old tripod-cauldron, presumably bearing an auspicious inscription.²⁷ All other "treasure" eras were medieval, ranging from the sixth to the thirteenth century; there were also several in eighth century Japan, and at least two in medieval Vietnam.

This comes close to being a White Augury.

Many divine tokens, especially those associated with vapors and auras, as this one was, were classified according to their color, which was in turn related to one of the elemental Activities. Thus a white aura signified the activity of "Metal," which was in turn associated with West, Autumn, and other stereotyped symbols. "White" was ambiguous: as the color of metal and autumn it was a sign of slaughter and death. The official augury on the appearance of a strange white cloud read, "There will be weapons in the Subcelestial Realm; 'White' is an augury of battle."²⁸ But Tuan Ch'eng-shih wrote, "When concubines and paramours are in possession of the regime, white swallows will come." So these white tokens stood for white-powdered, pampered, corrupting favorites; but more often albino birds and beasts were taken to be symbols of wise and good government.²⁹

* * * * *

²⁶ See E. H. Schafer, "The Auspices of T'ang," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 83 (1963), 197-225.

²⁷ *San kuo chih*, Wu 3, 1039a.

²⁸ *T'ang shu*, 35, 11b.

²⁹ See "The Auspices of T'ang," p. 199.

Perhaps some men saw that, despite Su Tsung's optimism, the treasures and the white vapor foreboded evil rather than good. These were cruel years. Su Tsung's reign had been plagued throughout by civil war and its attendant horrors. The year 761 was typical. The barbarous but successful warlord Shih Szu-ming had declared his own era ("Primal Response"), but was caught and hanged, to be succeeded by his son Shih Ch'ao-i, equally maleficent. War, famine, and cannibalism devastated the coastal and central provinces (Huai-Chiang). Su Tsung was reconciled with his father Hsüan Tsung only at the end of the year. Meanwhile he attempted to correct the cosmic disorders by humbly abolishing honorific titles (*tsun hao*) for the sovereign, and era names as well; months were named for the corresponding zodiacal signs; at mid-winter great sacrifices were offered in the imperial ancestral temples and at the Temple of Heaven.³⁰ These measures availed little in restoring the health of the land. But the discovery of the holy jades in the very heart of the desperate Huai region seemed to offer new hope for both the troubled nation and the sovereign's health. The treasures were formally presented to the throne on 1 May, 762.³¹ The text of Su Tsung's formal but grateful reply has been preserved:³¹

With these grand treasures and propitious tokens,

The season responds to a glorious destiny.

Illustrious Heaven is not secretive,

The Purple Residence sends down its mana.³²

They diffuse the splendid light of the High Cosmocrator,

They make us aware of the discernment of the uranian and chthonian spirits.

We bow beneath the weight of this most blessed grain³³

For the prodigious relief of troubles and hardships.

We hope that We, along with the mass of men,
May ascend together to the precinct of longevity.

³⁰ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 222, 1a-8a.

³¹ Su Tsung, "Ta chung shu men hsia piao ho Ts'ui Shen hsien ting kuo pao, yü chao," *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 43, 16b-17a.

³² The Purple Residence is the heavenly abode of the Transcendents (*hsien*).

³³ A metaphor for good fortune.

You, Our Thighs and Forearms, serve Us
humbly,³⁴
You Temple of our Clan, bring Us fortune.
Surely it was not
Our Person alone that brought these excellent
auspicious tokens:
You Our Stewards own identical virtue!
As We diffidently accept these favorable signs,
There shall be ascensions [of altars and
ritual] gestures
In just accord with the request of our Right-
eous Sustainers.³⁵
Let this be proclaimed and displayed—
Let it be enrolled in the tables of history—
Comply!

On 13 May the traditional calendar, which had been abandoned some years earlier, was restored, and a new era "Treasure Response" was proclaimed.³⁶ The name of An-i (*hsien*), the township in Ch'ü-chou where the holy objects had been discovered, was also changed to Pao-ying "Treasure Response."³⁷

All of this had little effect on the cosmos. Hsüan Tsung died in the Basilica of the Divine Dragon on 2 May, immediately after the presentation of the treasures, at the age of 78 (Chinese reckoning), and the miserable career of Su Tsung was terminated on 16 May, shortly after the promulgation of the era name, when the sovereign was only 52.³⁸ The first year of the "Treasure Response" era was also marked by a disastrous plague in the Chekiang region, which killed more than half of the population,³⁹ and other calamities to come were presaged by a ghastly red aura, an omen of blood, which spread over half the sky on the night of 16 September, 762—actually the aurora borealis.⁴⁰ Hoping, it seems, for better

things, Tai Tsung, the new sovereign, declared the beginning of another new era, "Widening Virtue," on 24 August, 763.⁴¹ Alas! The Tibetans drove him from Ch'ang-an on 16 November of that year, and set up a puppet Son of Heaven in his place.⁴²

The episode of the "Treasure Response" found its way into popular (if not vernacular) literature. A century after the event it appeared as a wonder tale in the collection *Tu-yang tsa pien*, the embroidered history of the romancer Su O.⁴³ Here the locus of the drama is moved from the court to the little town where the nun Chen-ju had her marvelous experience. Her character and career, as well as those of the local magistrates and the even of the gods who created the miracle, are filled out and enriched. The treasures are divided into two groups, an exoteric set of five, and an esoteric set of eight. But in fact the extant text of this tale is defective: only ten treasures are actually described. The thirteenth treasure is missing (as it is from all of the more historical versions also); the "Cyan-hued Treasure" is lacking (as it is in some of the other accounts); and a part of the description of the Jade Thumb-ring has been merged with the description of the *Lang-kan* Bead, making the bead appear ludicrously ring-shaped. But here is the story:

During "Opened Prime"⁴⁴ there was a certain clanswoman of the Lis who was given in marriage to a Ho-jo clansman. When the Ho-jo clansman passed away, she put aside the vulgar world and became a nun, calling herself "Chen-ju." She made her home by the Bridge of Piety and Duty in Kung-hsien. Her conduct was elevated and pure—both far and near she was held in honor and esteem. Suddenly, on the seventh day of the seventh month of the prime year of "Heavenly Treasure,"⁴⁵ while Chen-ju was washing and rinsing her hands outside the door of the House of the Vital Spirit⁴⁶ a cloudy vapor in five colors came out of the east. A hand was extended from within the cloud, but she could see no figure. Carefully it gave a bag to Chen-ju, saying, "Treasure this—but take care not to speak of it." Chen-ju kept it with prudence, not daring to allow even such a mishap as dropping it. At

³⁴ "Thighs and Forearms" is a metaphor for ministers and attendants.

³⁵ A metaphor for privy counsellors.

³⁶ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 222, 10b. The full text of the proclamation is preserved in *C'hsüan T'ang wen*, 45, 14b-15a, as "K'ai yüan pao ying she wen." It tells of the divine inspiration of the new era, the changes in the calendar, the details of an amnesty, and the rewards (increased rank) given to the officials of Ch'ü-chou and others involved in the discovery and transmission of the treasures.

³⁷ *T'ang shu*, 41, 1b.

³⁸ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 222, 10a-10b.

³⁹ *T'ang shu*, 36, 12b-13a.

⁴⁰ *T'ang shu*, 34, 10a-10b.

⁴¹ *Chiu T'ang shu*, 11, 4a.

⁴² *Chiu T'ang shu*, 11, 4b.

⁴³ For a study of this book, see *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, pp. 37-39.

⁴⁴ A. D. 713-741.

⁴⁵ A. D. 742.

⁴⁶ A Buddhist establishment.

the end of "Heavenly Treasure,"⁴⁷ when Lu-shan brought on disorders, and the Central Plain boiled like a cauldron, the gowned and hatted folk⁴⁸ fled into the south. Chen-ju, after drifting this way and that, took up lodgings in An-i township in Ch'u-chou. On the night of the eighteenth day of the month established in the Rat sign, in the prime year of Su Tsung,⁴⁹ two persons dressed in ink-black dresses appeared suddenly at the place where Chen-ju was staying. They led Chen-ju towards the southeast, walking about fifty or sixty paces, until they reached a walled city, severely furnished with high building and watch-towers, and armed guards orderly and awesome. The black-dressed ones pointed to it and said, "It is the Walled City of Metamorphosis."⁵⁰ Within the city was a great basilica, and a person dressed in a purple dress and wearing a jewelled hat, who was titled "Devarāja."⁵¹ There were also something over twenty persons in gowns and hats quite similar to his who were called "The Several Deva." The Several Deva took their seats, and commanded Chen-ju to come forward, after which the Several Deva spoke among themselves, saying, "In our marches below ruin and disorder are unseasonably protracted. Death and slaughter are far too common, so that rancid and filthy vapors have reached to us Several Devas—we do not know by what means they can be relieved." One Deva said, "Nothing can be compared to the use of the Divine Treasures in repressing these things." Then another Deva said "We must use the Treasures of the third rank." But another Deva said, "The infectuous vapors are now at their height, and foul poisons are clotting into solidity. The Treasures of the third rank are inadequate to overcome them. We must use the Treasures of the second rank—then arms will be laid to rest and this disorderly age may be cleansed." The Devarāja said, "So be it," and he himself brought forth the Treasures and gave them to Chen-ju, saying, "You must go and tell Ts'ui Shen, the Inciting Notary, to send them on to the Son of Heaven." Then he spoke to Chen-ju again, saying, "In the little bag I gave you previously there are five Treasures. Our human subjects may be permitted to see those. But as for these present eight Treasures, only a Princely One may fittingly see them. Chen-ju must not mix them up." Whereupon he gave Chen-ju the names of all the Treasures, together with the methods of their use. After this, he turned to the inky-robed ones and had them see her off. The following day Chen-ju called in at the Township. The Associate Commandant, Wang T'ao-chih, notified the County in a formal representation. When T'ao-chih's representation reached the County-seat, the Inciting Notary was just going on a

journey, so he showed it to his Business Attendant, Li Huan, saying, "There is this matter of the haunted nun in An-i Township—bizarre in the extreme. Go with all speed and interrogate her!" When Huan reached the Township, he summoned Chen-ju, intending to apply the royal law to her, but Chen-ju said, "This is the mandate of the High Cosmocrator—who will presume to set it aside? The Treasures could not have been brought by human strength—what reason is there to be suspicious of them?" Then she took the five Treasures from within the bag and showed them to Huan. The first was called "Murky and Yellow Heavenly Token." It was shaped like a ceremonial note-tablet, more than eight inches long and three inches broad, round above and square below. Next to the rondure there was a hole. It was of yellow jade. The color was like steamed chestnuts and as translucent (?) as clotted suet. It dispels arms, plagues, and perverse pests from among men. The second was called "Jade Fowl." All the patterns of its plumage were represented. It was of white jade. It is seen when a Princely One structures the Subcelestial Realm with filial piety. The third was called "Granulated Disk." It was of white jade, five or six inches in diameter. It was patterned with millet grains, self-grown, without any evidence of carving or chiseling at all. When obtained by a Princely One, there is plentiful ripening of the Five Cereals. The fourth was called "The Two Jade Rings of Wang Mu," also of white jade. They were six or seven inches in diameter, and pleasant to the flesh. When a Princely One obtains them he has the power to cause outside nations to turn in submission. The color of this jade shows forth bright and gay, far more noticeably than in the usual sort. [The text omits the fifth.] Lu Huan said, "I now believe that the 'jades' are jade. But how do I know that they are Treasures?" Chen-ju then brought forth the plate with all the Treasures, which shone up into the void, the light of all of them darting to the sun—gazing upwards, one could not tell the limit of the light. Huan and the officers of the Township looked up in company, and all marvelled at it. The following day Shen came back. Huan explained it to Shen in these words: "It may well be that these Treasures are gifts from Heaven—certainly they are not man-made things." Shen in his turn verified that they were not otherwise, and gasped in surprise. After a while he explained all of these matters in a report to the Measuring and Ruling Legate, Ts'ui Yüan. Yüan marvelled at them, and summoned Chen-ju to his headquarters, intending to inspect each in turn. But Chen-ju said, "It is not proper." Yüan put firm compulsion on her, and since Chen-ju could not help herself, she brought out the eight Treasures too. The first [sixth of the whole group] was called "As-you-will Treasure-Bead." Its shape was perfectly round; it was as large as a hen's egg, brightly colored and crystal clear. When she placed it in the hall it was as bright as the full moon. The second was called "Red Carbuncle." It was as large as a huge chestnut, red and refulgent like a vermilion cherry. A glance at it would shatter it as easily as a movement of the hand, but if you hit it, it was firm and tough, and could not be smashed. The third was called "*Lang-*

⁴⁷ A. D. 755-756.

⁴⁸ The gentry.

⁴⁹ This complicated designation of the date, equivalent to 19 December, 761, was required by the unorthodox calendrical "reforms" of Su Tsung.

⁵⁰ A kind of antechamber to Nirvana, mentioned in the *Lotus Sutra*.

⁵¹ *T'ien ti*. The "Several Deva," just below, are *chu t'ien*.

kan Bead." . . .⁵² It was shaped like a ring, a fourth part of it was lacking. It was about five or six inches in diameter. The fourth was called "Jade Seal." It was as large as a half first. Its pattern was like a deer embedded within the seal. When pressed on something, the figure could be seen. The fifth was called "The Two Mulberry Gathering Hooks of the Illustrious Gene-trix." They were five or six inches long, as narrow as chopsticks, but bent at the ends. They resembled gold while also resembling silver. They were also like refined copper. The sixth was "The Two Stones of the Thunder Lord." They were axe-shaped, and about four inches long and an inch or so broad. They had no holes, and were as smooth as blue-green jade. When the eight Treasures were placed in the sun, a white aura linked them with the sky. When set down in a dark room, they shed light around, as radiant as the moon. But the methods by which they gave apotropaic dominion were all the secrets of Chen-ju, nor was there any way in which these could be known. Yüan made a register, to report them to the throne in a formal Manifest, but Chen-ju said, "Heaven's Mandate was to Ts'ui Shen—what is this you are doing?" Yüan desisted in alarm. Shen then despatched Lu Huan in Chen-ju's company to offer them up. Now at this time Shih Ch'ao-i was besieging Sung-chou; he had also reduced Shen-chou in the south. The routes between the Huai and the Ho were cut off. Then he came up along

the Kiang road, which he had seized, and arriving at Shang-shan entered the Barrier. On the thirteenth day of the Serpent Moon he reached the Capital. At this time Su Tsung was abed with an illness which had become severe. On seeing the treasures, he hurriedly summoned Tai Tsung, and said to him, "As you are Prince of Ch'u you will become Illustrious Grand Heir. Highest Heaven has now bestowed these Treasures which were received in Ch'u-chou—thus Heaven has sanctioned you. You must preserve and cherish them." Tai Tsung made the double salute, accepting the bestowal. On that very day, because of the acquisition of the Treasures, [the era] was changed to "Primal Year of Treasure Response." After His Highness ascended to the See, Ch'u-chou was made a Superior County, and the Township a Respected Township; the Township, then named An-i, was re-named Pae-ying "Treasure Response." The Inciting Notary and the officials who had submitted the Treasures were all given extraordinary preferment. Chen-ju was titled "Great Mistress of the Treasure Accord," and favors and gifts were her portion. Thenceforth armed mutinies gradually declined, and each year the cereals shot up aplenty. Within [China's] sealed precincts it was virtually a [blessed era of] "Minor Vigor," in fulfillment of the tokens of the Treasure Response. The land where Chen-ju had resided and obtained the Treasures is high and spacious, in the vicinity of the Ho. All around everything blooms exuberantly. The remnants of the foundation [of her house] were later in the vicinity of the western hall of residence of Ts'ui Ch'eng, Pacificator of Liu-ho County. Tradition tells even now that when foreigners from the Western Precincts pass by its side, none fails to look up to that place, and do formal homage to it.

⁵² Part of the original is missing here, along with the first part of the description of the next treasure, the Jade Thumb-ring. The two remaining fragments have been unintelligibly coalesced. As a result, the numbers given the following treasures are incorrect.

GLOSSARY

Places

An-i

安宜

Ch'u-chou

楚州

Pao-ying

寶應

Persons

Chen-ju

真如

Huang-fu Mi

皇甫謐

Shih Ch'ao-i

史朝義

Shih Szu-ming

史思明

Su O

蘇鶚

Ts'ui Shen

崔旉

Words

chu t'ien

諸天

ch'ieh

缺

hou

后

hsi

靈

hsüan

玄

jui

瑞

lang-kan

琅玕

mo-ho (mat-ghat)

鞞鞞

nien hao

年號

pao

寶

pi ("disk")

璧

pi ("cyan")

碧

t'ien ti

天帝

tz'u shih

刺史

wu-chi (mywët-kyit)

勿吉



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THOUGHTS ABOUT A STUDENTS' DICTIONARY OF CLASSICAL CHINESE

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必也正名乎 (Confucius, 6th century B.C.)
學詩者多識草木之名 (Li Te-yü, 9th century A.D.)
Un peu plus de sobriété, et de précision.
(Paul Pelliot, 20th century A.D.)

Some translators much of the time and all translators (myself included) some of the time translate vaguely and imprecisely what should be translated with exactness and precision. This laxity was more acceptable, perhaps, in the primitive stages of Chinese studies, and may still be adequate in "popular" translations made for the despised layman, or in those done to provide raw data for the abstractions required by sociologists and economists. It is entirely inadequate for the humanist, who is concerned with concrete linguistic images, their shapes, colors and odors, and their application to specific and individual circumstances, whether natural or human. Much of the blame for this depressing situation can be attributed to the standard dictionaries of Chinese, in whatever language.

Let us imagine how a good student's dictionary — not necessarily an encyclopaedic one — might be written. First of all, some general principles:

1) Only texts from a single period should provide words and phrases (mine are from T'ang).

2) The texts should cover a wide variety of subjects and styles. The inclusion of a fair amount of poetry, for instance, would guarantee a liberal spectrum of words from nature and technology, badly treated in our standard dictionaries.

3) Simplicity is essential: the multiplication of English equivalents and examples without adequate explanation (as in Giles) yields only perplexity and bewilderment.

4) Archaizing usages, such as allusions to the classics, and other anachronistic meanings should be clearly distinguished, but not emphasized.

5) Appropriate philological, including phonological and syntactic, information should be noted, as below:*

a) Bisyllabic words ("binoms") should be listed independently. Thus *chen*¹ 真 "true" and *chen*¹-*t'an*² 真檀 "sandal-wood (Skt. *candana*)" should have separate and equal entries, though the semanticization into "true rosewood" should be noted. (To put it differently, "bound" and "free" usages must be carefully distinguished, thus: *lo*⁴ 駱 free as "white horse with black mane and tail," but bound in *lo*⁴-*t'o*² "camel," or *yao*¹ 妖 free as "weird, uncanny," but bound in *yao*¹-*jao*³ "dainty, pretty.")

b) On the other hand, doublets composed of versatile (or "free") monosyllabic forms, like *chen*¹ *jen*² 真人 "true man (a perfected superman in Taoism)" should not have separate entries, but might be listed, if desirable, as typical phrases under the head component [see d) below].

c) In particular, pleonastic pairs of free forms (coordinate pairs used as collectives, alternatives and intensives) such as the following, should not have separate entries, unless as phrases listed under one component. These are inexhaustible (consult *P'ei wen yün fu*!). Examples follow:

<i>ch'ai</i> ² <i>lang</i> ² 豺狼	"dholes and wolves"
<i>ying</i> ¹ <i>hu</i> ² 鷹鵠	"goshawks and falcons"
<i>ch'an</i> ³ <i>ning</i> ⁴ 諂佞	"flatterers and sycophants"

In contrast, separate entries *would* be given to true binoms (bisyllabic words composed of restricted or "bound" monosyllables) such as the following (note hyphenization):

* Most of the structural categories used here were explained in my article "Preliminary Remarks on the Structure and Imagery of the 'Classical Chinese' of the Medieval Period," *T'oung Pao*, 50 (1963), 257-264.

<i>chih¹-chu¹</i> 蜘蛛	"spider"
<i>ying¹-wu³</i> 鸚鵡	"parrot"
<i>kuang¹-lang²</i> 桄榔	"sagwire"

d) In an expanded dictionary it would be advisable to give actual examples of usage, e.g. "Po Chü-i, *Ch'ang hen ko*, has. . ."

The arrangement of the dictionary might be as follows:

1) Essential phonetic information would follow the character, thus: Middle (i.e. T'ang) Chinese [my simplification of Karlgren's spellings are used below]; Sino-Japanese (Kan-on and Go-on in Hepburn transcription); Mandarin (Wade-Giles); possible Cantonese and Sino-Vietnamese (not given below).

2) For each word a key translation, representing the basic image or core connotation, would be given in bold face for the student to memorize.

3) This would be followed by other ways of expressing the image in different contexts, along with essential information about usage (especially for particles) and antonyms if important, given in ordinary roman.

4) Important phrases, common pleonasms, and other constructions would come last.

Here are possible listings, rather abbreviated, illustrating the treatment of the five kinds of words that, according to one analysis, occur in Middle Chinese texts:

- a) monosyllabic free (versatile) forms ("full" words);
- b) monosyllabic free forms ("particles"; "empty" or "relational" words);
- c) polysyllabic free forms ("nouns," apparently indigenous);
- d) polysyllabic free forms ("nouns," apparently introduced);
- e) polysyllabic free forms ("gestalt" words; rhyming, alliterative binoms, usually expressing mood and atmosphere, some onomatopoeic; their connotation is synthetic and impressionistic, rather than analytic and limiting).

“**tortoiseshell turtle**, hawksbill (*Eretmochelys imbricata*).”

[Similarly *ch'iang²-wei²* 薔薇 “**Rosa multiflora**”; *ch'ih¹-mei⁴* 魑魅 “**troll**; forest goblin”; *ch'ü²-yü⁴* 鸚鵡 “**mynah**.”]

d) Polysyllabic nouns (introduced)

旃檀 *chen-dan* *sen-dan* *chan¹-t'an²*
“sandal(wood) (*Santalum album*) (Skt. *candana*).”

[Similarly *pin¹-lang²* 檳榔 “**areca** (Jav. *pinang*)”; *chieh²-ku³* 結骨 “**Kirghiz**”; *mo⁴-li⁴* 茉莉 “Indian **jasmine** (*Jasminum sambac*) (Skt. *malli* [ka]).”]

e) Polysyllabic “gestalt” words (echoic binoms)

斑剝 *pān-pauk* *han-haku* *pan¹-po¹*
“**dappled**; maculated; spotted.”

[Similarly *p'ai²-huai²* 徘徊 “**shilly-shally**”; *wan³-chuan³* 宛轉 “**flexuous**, sinuous, fluent, pliant, adaptable”; *p'eng²-heng¹* 膨脹 “**distended**.”]

Here are some other possible listings, intended to illustrate basic principles:

a) Translate common phrases, explaining usage: avoid barren paraphrase

刺 *ts'ie* *shi* *tz'u⁴*
“**prick**, pierce, stab, probe; thorn, spine, goad; incite, stimulate.” 刺史 *tz'u⁴ shih³* “Inciting Notary; Scribe of the Goad” (title of chief magistrate of a “county” *chou* 州, lit. “island”); hence *tz'u⁴ Kuang³-chou¹* (verb-object) “to incite (i.e. be magistrate [moral leader] of) Kuang County.”

梟 *keu* *kyō* *hsiao¹*
“**owl**.”

梟雄 *hsiao¹ hsiung²* metaphor for spirited, aggressive (young)

warrior; a fighting cock, a regular bucko, a gamecock of a fellow (“owl” as a fierce bird of prey; “cockerel” as the male of a barnyard or wild fowl).

b) Improve on vague, conventional equivalents
given in most dictionaries

瓊 *gyweng* *kei* *ch'iuung*²

“**rose-gem** (cf. rhodonite; rose quartz); carbuncle (possibly an archaic word for “garnet” or “spinel”; overtones of classic, divine and fairy beauty.)” [Contrast Mathews: “A red stone. Excellent, beautiful.”]

嬌嬌 *kyeu-nheu* *kyō-jō* *chiao¹-jao³*

“**dainty and delicate**; tender and dear (of pretty children and girls).” Cf. *chiao¹-hsiao³* 嬌小; *yao¹-jao³* 妖嬌; *jao³-jao³* 嬌嬌; *niao³-niao³* 嫋嫋. [Contrast Mathews: “beautiful; graceful.”]

c) Give striking and illuminating antonyms

雅 *ngă* *ga* *ya³*

“**classical**; polite, courtly, polished, cultured; in the best taste.”

雅樂 *ya³ yüeh⁴* “classical music; formal court music.”

[Contrast 燕樂 *yen⁴ yüeh⁴* “informal, popular music”].

凶 *hyong* *kyō* *hsiung¹*

“**baneful**, deadly, baleful, fell, pernicious, malignant, maleficent, mortal; death-connected.” (Ant. 吉 *chi²* “benign, propitious, favorable, beneficent, life-giving.”)

凶禮 *hsiung¹ li³* “mortal rites; death ceremonies.”

d) Make connections between basic and
metaphoric meanings plain

理 *li* *ri* *li³*

1) “**venation**, streaking, grain; texture, figuration” (metaphorical for system, structure, inner organization).

機 *kēi* *ki* *chi¹*

“fundamental machine, esp. loom; **trigger** mechanism (as of cross-bow)” ; hence “source of energy, motive power, stimulus, basic and secret faculty or device; special skill or dexterity; crux, key to a situation.”

e) Fusion forms explained

弗 *pywět* *futsu* *fu²*

Pre-verb fusion of *pu⁴ chih¹* 不之 “not... it/him/her/ them” (未之見 is possible, but not 不之見, only 弗見).

諸 *cho* *sho* *chu¹*

1) Collective (all members of a set or class), always attributive: “the several...”

2) Fusion

a) of 之於 (after verb, before noun) “it/him/her/ them plus in/at/by.”

b) of 之與/之乎 (sentence final) “it/him/her/ them plus ? .”

諸侯 *chu¹ hou²* possibly “the Several Marksmen” (i.e. “the feudal baronry”) (archaic). [For meaning of *hou*, see Ch'en P'an 陳槃, “*Hou yü She-hou*” 「侯」與「射侯」, 國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊, 22 (1950), 121-128.]

f) Different usages clearly and simply explained

自 *dzi* *ji* *tzu⁴*

1) before nouns: “**from**.”

2) before verbs: a) “to, of, for, **by oneself**; b) **freely**, naturally, spontaneously, instinctively, automatically.”

自然 *tzu⁴ jan²* “the world conceived as a spontaneous emergent; self-determined nature (contrast *tsao⁴ hua⁴* 造化 “fashioned mutations.”)

焉 1) *ien* *en* *yen¹*

Post-subject “**how?**”

2) *yen* *en* *yen²*

Sentence-final: “to/by/with/at plus it/him/her/them.”

g) Give Chinese cognates

微 *měi* *bi, mi* *wei*²

“**imperceptible**, impalpable, infinitesimal, microscopic; barely perceptible, subtle, slight.” (Cf. *pěi* 非 “annul”; *měi* 未 “not yet.”)

微行 *wei*² *hsing*² “go incognito” (move about inconspicuously).

仙(僊) *syen* *sen* *hsien*¹

“**transcendent**, sylph (a being who, through alchemical, gymnastic and other disciplines, has achieved a refined and perhaps immortal body, able to fly like a bird beyond the trammels of the base material world into the realms of aether, and nourish himself on air and dew.) (Cogn. to *hsien*¹ 蹻 “soar up”; *ch'ien*¹ 遷 “remove”; *hsien*¹-*hsien*¹ 蹻蹻 “a flapping dance movement.”) (Cf. Pers. *pari* [Engl. “peri”] from *par* “feather: wing,” and Chin. *yü*³ *jen*² 羽人 “feathered man,” i.e. *hsien*.)

遊仙 *yu*² *hsien*¹ “saunter in sylphdom” (journey of the soul to a Taoist paradise).

h) Give comparable metaphors in another language

御 *ngyo* *go, gyo* *yü*⁴

1) “**hold the carriage reins.**”

2) (Metaphor) pertaining to the actions or possessions of the unique and omnipotent Son of Heaven, lit. elater, (of the) driver of the car (cf. Engl. governor, gubernatorial, ult. fr. Gk. *kybernētēs* “helmsman”), hence “**of the autocrat.**”

后(後) *ghou* *kō, go* *hou*⁴

1) **after**; following.

2) posterity; **successor**.

3) title of the chief wife of the Son of Heaven, considered as provider of the legitimate heir; **genetrix** (successor-giver). (Cf. Arabic *khalīfah* “Successor”; archaic Chinese names of totemic ancestors, as *Hou chi* 后稷.)

i) Give authority for etymologies

珊瑚 *san-ghu* *san-go* *shan¹-hu²*

“**coral.**” (Cogn. to Mod. Pers. *sāng*, fr. Iranian **(ā)sanga* “stone,” i.e. “the stone par excellence” [Chmielewski].)

箜篌 *k'ung-ghou* *kū-kō* *k'ung¹-hou²*

“**harp.**” (Cogn. to Uighur *qunqqau* [Kishibe].)

于闐 *yu-den* *u-ten* *yü²-t'ien²*

“**Khotan,**” city-state in Serindia, on southern route, famous for jade mines. (Cf. Gaustana [infl. by Buddhist Skt.]; Yüttina [infl. by Chinese]; cogn. to pre-T'ang *Khotana*, *Hvatāna*, *Hvaṃna* [Bailey].)

扶南 *byu-nam* *fu-nan* *fu²-nan²*

Pre-Angkor kingdom in Cambodia; fr. Old Khmer **bnam** “mountain,” modern Khmer *phnom*; presumed short for *kurung* (Ch. *ku³-lung²* 古龍, and assimilating *k'un¹-lun²* 崑崙) *bnam* “King of the [Sacred] Mountain.” Cf. Skt. Śailarāja (Coedès). Rationalized in Chinese as “Supporter of the South.”

j) Give exact scientific equivalents

鶯 *äng* *ō* *ying¹*

“**bush-warbler** (Jap. *uguisu*; *Cettia* sp.),” an inconspicuous brownish bird with a sweet voice, beloved of poets and sentimentalists.

黃鶯 *huang² ying¹* (for 黃鸝, and dial. *huang² li²* 黃鸝) “yellow *ying*; oriole (*Oriolus* sp.),” a flamboyant yellow and black bird.

芝 *chi* *shi* *chih¹*

“**polypore**” (one of the *Polyporaceae*, including the bracket fungi).

紫芝 *tzu³ chih¹* “purple polypore, esp. *Ganoderma lucidum*, the lacquer fungus,” a shiny chestnut-red polypore which grows under conifers. Esteemed as a token of Heaven's favor and as a Taoist drug.

k) Treat onomatopoetic words as such

潑刺 *p'at-lat* *hatsu-ratsu* *p'o¹-la²*

“**splish-splash**, flip-flop, swish-swash, spitter-spatter”
(sound of leaping fish, app. derived from *p'o¹* 潑 “splash”).

蕭索 *seu-sak* *shō-saku* *hsiao¹-so³*

“**whistling wail**” (sadly sighing, drearily and dolefully,
of the wind in desolate places, app. derived from the common root
of *hsiao⁴* 嘯 “whistle,” *hsiao¹* 簫 “syrinx”).



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HUNTING PARKS AND ANIMAL ENCLOSURES IN ANCIENT CHINA

BY

EDWARD H. SCHAFER

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Many persons augment their enjoyment in watching wild birds and harmless mammals—such creatures as robins, nuthatches and chipmunks—by setting out crumbs, suet and other food to attract them closer to their houses. The chances of seeing wild animals at close quarters can also be improved by fencing an area of uncleared land and keeping it in a condition attractive to its natural inhabitants, whose numbers can be maintained, if necessary, by bringing their cousins in from elsewhere. This is the basis of the hunting park everywhere in the world. If to this are added exotic and bizarre animals—kept, perhaps, under greater restrictions—we have a zoo or aviary, where the inhabitants can be observed for pleasure or study almost at will. In the best modern zoos, the captive animals are kept in miniature replicas of their native habitats, supplied with an approximation of their natural food, and encouraged to breed. Beyond this, when wild animals can be taught to accept nurture and shelter in close association with men, without harm to either, we speak of the animals as “tame”. Finally, if the whole life cycle of the animal, especially its breeding, becomes subject to human control in an artificial environment, we have “domesticated” it.

The Chinese, for as far back in time as we can identify them, had both tamed and domesticated animals. Among the former were parrots and elephants. Among the latter were ducks and horses. Their history is fairly well known, and is not under consideration here. It is the purpose of this paper, rather, to investigate the simpler stages of animal control in China—specifically, the condition and significance of hunting parks and other animal enclosures down to the T'ang period.

In early antiquity the Chinese—if we can depend on fragmentary records of their attitudes—were unfriendly towards wild animals. They regarded them as the enemies of civilization—hateful predators that ravaged crops, despoiled barnyards, and attacked human beings. They saw them as allied to the powers of darkness, akin to the savage tribes that surrounded the old Middle Kingdom. Indeed, the infidels and aliens that inhabited the miserable lands beyond the Chinese frontiers were freely characterized as bird people, dog people, snake people, and worse. Just as the heroes of ancient legend compelled the barbarians to bring tribute to the court of the Son of Heaven, so also they prevailed over the malicious monsters of the primeval waters, and drove dangerous beasts from the lands destined to be farmed by the Chinese. This feeling of the complete alienation of the non-human races has not entirely disappeared in modern times: “harmful” animals—and the word “harmful” can be interpreted very broadly—not subject to man ought to be ruthlessly exterminated.

There were exceptions. Some animals were regarded as heaven-sent messengers or as prodigies symbolic of heaven’s attitude towards the spiritual condition of the Chinese realm. Malformed mammals, albino birds, hairy turtles, and many other wonders, were treated with circumspection and awe as visible evidence of divine appraisal.

But generally, live creatures that could serve the purposes of men, however trivial these might be, were treated in the same way as domestic animals—they could be maimed and slaughtered at will. Kings and barons killed leopards and deer, under carefully controlled conditions, to demonstrate their power and glory. Martens and sables by the thousand provided rich hats and capes for the privileged classes. Pheasants, orioles and kingfishers were ruthlessly deprived of their plumage to furnish ornaments for the bodies of dancers and courtesans. Finally, every living creature was regarded by someone as edible.

Captive animals served other ends. Caged monkeys provoked laughter; sage heads nodded at the linguistic abilities of parrots and mynahs; aristocratic gardens were made more ostentatious by the

introduction of peafowl; bears tempted the prowess of exceptional athletes.

Few wild creatures were treated with humanity or regarded as friends. Hardly any were regarded as the allies of men in maintaining and balance of nature and a livable environment—this seems to be a purely modern conception. The exceptions were pets. Most pets—dogs, cats and the like—were domesticated, but young animals come upon by chance in the wild were occasionally brought up like human children, with an attentive care that led naturally to mutual affection. Occasionally, with great patience, mature animals could be taught to accept the company of a human being—such were the gulls that followed the coast-dweller in the parable of *Lieh tzu*.¹⁾

The old Chinese word for a large park was *yüan*. The *Shuo wen* dictionary says that a fenced *yüan* is called a *yu*, while giving the alternate definition: “with birds and beasts it is called a *yu*.” This ambiguous statement seems to mean that a *yu* had, as its primary purpose, the maintenance of animals, while in a *yüan* other activities had importance. This interpretation is confirmed by the definition in *Feng su t’ung*, which states: “A *yu* is a place where fish and turtles are stocked; *yu* is like *yu* “possess”.²⁾ But some texts are vague about this distinction. So Chang Heng wrote: “One feeds and tames beasts in *yu* and *yüan*”.³⁾ Careful usage, at least from Han times on, seems to have required the meaning of “royal park; forest reserve” for *yüan*, and “wildlife enclosure; fenced animal preserve” for *yu*. In this study, I shall translated *yüan* as “[hunting]park”, *yu* as “[animal] preserve”. Both words were also used metaphorically, as were *yüan* “garden” and *lin* “forest”, for the refuges, retreats and congregations of scholars, scribes and literati, and for collections of their valued products, in such phrases as “preserve of writings” (*shu yu*), “preserve of [Confucian] pedagogues” (*ju yu*), and “preserve of poetry” (*shih yu*). Paradises were also called “preserves of the gods” (*ti yu*).

1) *Lieh tzu*, 2, 10a (ed. of *Hu hai lou ts’ung shu*).

2) *Feng su t’ung*, quoted in *T’ai p’ing yü lan*, 196, 1a.

3) Chang Heng, “Ta hsiang fu”, 1, 11b (ed. of *Yü ting li tai fu hui*).

Classical tradition claimed that the divine rulers of earliest antiquity had built animal preserves. These were, of course, intended for noble and beneficent purposes. "The Yellow God (Huang Ti)", says a source of the fourth century A.D., "made a preserve for raising dragons", ¹⁾ and dragons were numinous, beneficial creatures. The book of *Huai nan tzu* ascribed the invention of animal preserves to T'ang, the divine founder of the Shang dynasty, giving the needs of ritual as his motive—the animals supplied meat offerings to the ancestral temples. The same text says that during the latter-day decline of the venerable institution, royal preserves were given over to indiscriminate hunting, to the detriment of the welfare of the people. ²⁾ Yang Hsiung of Han Stated that the purpose of hunting parks and preserves was the maintenance of the nation: firstly, they served the altars of the gods; secondly, they provisioned important guests of the state. In the grand old days of Yao and Shun, he wrote, these honorable practices were rewarded by sublime evidence of the approval of Heaven:

Phoenixes nested in their trees,
Yellow dragons roamed their ponds,
Unicorns came to their preserves,
Divine birds roosted in their woods. ³⁾

Another purpose of the holy kings of the distant past in restricting the movements of wild animals to reservations was to protect mankind from these competitors and enemies which swarmed over potential farmlands and attacked innocent persons. Yao and Shun and their sage successors drove them away to make room for the virtuous pursuits of the Chinese. But when the degenerate nimrods who succeeded to the throne of these good rulers took over the people's land for their own selfish purposes, wild beasts flourished again: "They set aside the cultivated fields, and made gardens and animal preserves of them, so that the common folk could not obtain clothing and food . . . With

1) Wang Chia, *Shih i chi*, in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 196, 7a.

2) *Huai nan tzu*, 20, 3b (*Szu pu ts'ung k'an*).

3) Yang Hsiung, "Yü lieh fu" (*Wen hsüan*, ed. of *Szu pu ts'ung k'an*, 8, 20a).

an abundance of gardens and preserves, of puddles and pools, of fens and lakes—the birds and beasts came!”¹⁾ These are the words of Mencius, who believed in the righteousness of man’s domination of nature and in the elimination of competitive species.

The never-to-be-forgotten founder of a model game preserve was Wen Wang of Chou. His supposed example, surviving in an ode of the *Shih ching*, was the basis of Chinese opinion in the classical age about ideal royal parks:

The king is in the holy preserve,
Where doe and hart are cowering.
Doe and hart are sleek and spruce;
White birds shimmer and shine.
The king is at the holy pond:
At its brim the fish are leaping.²⁾

Mencius had his own interpretation of this passage. He announced that the king’s preserve here celebrated was seventy *li* in diameter—much larger than the forty *li* preserve of his own patron, King Hsüan of Ch’i. But, he added, popular resentment against the modern king’s preserve was greater than that against the larger preserve of the archaic king. This seeming paradox was, he believed, due to the fact that in antiquity common folk had the right to enter a royal park to gather fuel and to catch hares and pheasants, whereas the smaller modern park of King Hsüan loomed larger and more offensive in their minds because it was restricted, and poaching in it a capital offense.³⁾ To Mencius, the rightly used preserve had been and should be again a place where wild life was protected for noble and sacred purposes. Highest among these aims was the conservation of the raw materials of shelter, warmth and food to the advantage of the people. It is not clear how old this

1) *Meng tzu*, “T’eng wen kung”, B.

2) *Shih ching*, “Ta ya, Ling t’ai”.

3) *Meng tzu*, “Liang Hui Wang”, B. For the doctrine that the fencing of hunting lands abrogated ancient popular rights in late Chou times, see Walter Böttger, “War die Jagd der Chou-Zeit ein soziales Vorrecht”, *Eduard Erkes in Memoriam* 1891-1958 (Leipzig, 1963), pp. 23-27.

conception was. Certainly it was during the Chou period that the idea of a wildlife preserve as a natural area, whose prototypes were the divine parks the golden age, was formed. Its uses, aside from its meaning as a symbol of the perfection of Chinese control of nature, were the production and carefully controlled cropping, of live creatures for high ends—sacrifices to the gods and the nurture of mankind. They were practical, earthly paradises. These ideal views persisted in much later tradition.

As for the actuality of the ancient preserves—firm historical evidence appears only in late Chou times. The baronial ones seem at that time to have been primarily hunting parks for the recreation of the privileged classes, but the royal ones had important ceremonial functions.

Soon after the Chou king posthumously styled Hui Wang took the throne in 675 B.C., he seized a private orchard (*pu*) and made it into an animal preserve for his own use.¹⁾ We have no information about the legality of this expropriation, if expropriation it was, nor about how common such seizures were, if outright seizure it was. Indeed we have no reliable information at all about how the royal parks of Chou were created, although the *Chou li* (if we can trust its Han-edited text) provides some idea of the administration of the royal parks of late Chou times. A considerable staff of officers and underlings headed by four "Preserve Men" was chiefly responsible for the overall management of the animals in the king's preserve. It was obliged to supply appropriate beasts, alive and dead, for religious sacrifices, memorial services for the dead, and for the entertainment of state guests.²⁾ A separate department of the royal administration, chiefly concerned with tax levies, supplied fodder for the animals in the preserve,³⁾ just as we must augment the natural food supplies for the deer and other large mammals in our national parks. The public executioner provided mutilated criminals—foot-amputees are particularly mentioned—to guard the preserve.⁴⁾ Evidently the royal preserves were not pure

1) *Tso chuan*, Chuang 19.

2) *Chou li*, "Ti kuan, Yu jen".

3) *Chou li*, "Ti kuan, Wei jen".

4) *Chou li*, "Ch'iu kuan, Chang lu".

enclaves of wilderness, although they were carefully protected from the intrusions of unauthorized persons.

The feudal states of Chou had their own parks and preserves, independent of the royal ones. The *Cb'un ch'iu* mentions two by name, the entry in each case stating that "[we] walled such-and-such a preserve".¹⁾ My "walled" corresponds to Legge's "enclosed"—the word is *chu* "tamp earth [for walls, foundations, etc.]." Evidently a baronial preserve (*yu*) was a wildlife reserve carefully walled off against intruders.

As we have noted, an important use of the Chou royal preserves was the service of religion. Not only did they furnish animals for sacrifice, but sacrifices took place in them²⁾. The baronial preserves were apparently less ritualized, but the evidence is meager. They were, at any rate, places where the guests of the great lord could recreate themselves by hunting geese³⁾; they supplied venison in emergency situations, and probably also in ordinary ones⁴⁾; they were also put to more frivolous purposes—we have a report about a favorite lady of the Lord of Ch'i playfully rocking his boat as they floated on a lake in his preserve⁵⁾. The recreational possibilities of hunting parks were already being exploited. It also appears that the status and prestige of a feudal lord were enhanced by the size and contents of his preserve.

In late Chou times, the feeling was already arising that the great animal enclosures were somehow harmful to common people, not only as Mencius suggested, because ancient hunting rights were being abrogated, but also because men were required to take part in the corvée assigned to build walls around them. The conflict between baronial privilege and popular rights was put in the mouth of a personage in the *Tso chuan* in these words: "We are all right without the preserve—but would we be all right without the people?"⁶⁾

1) *Cb'un ch'iu*, Ch'eng 18; Chao, 9; Ting, 13.

2) *Ta Tai li chi*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 196, 1b: "In the justified [i.e. first] month they sacrificed in the Leek Preserve".

3) *Tso chuan*, Hsiang 14.

4) *Tso chuan*, Hsi 33. The *mi* deer, *Elaphurus davidianus*, is specifically mentioned.

5) *Tso chuan*, Hsi 3.

6) *Tso chuan*, Chao 9.

In this same period, some men thought that wild animals could be interesting or pleasant to watch or to have about them, and some even thought that they should be allowed to run free in the wilds rather than be shut up in cages and preserves, however large. We find the former idea expressed in a tale in the *Tso chuan* which tells of the folly (from the point of view of his contemporaries) of a great lord who was so fond of cranes that he had them ride about in his carriage with him.¹⁾ The art of taming wild creatures was already well-developed. An illustration may be taken from the apparently apocryphal book of *Lieh tzu*, one of whose parables praises the servant of an ancient Chou king. This man was responsible for tending the animals in the royal zoo: "Whether tigers or wolves, eagles or ospreys or their kin—not one of them was not made gentle by him".²⁾ This is of course a Taoist fable, and it may well be that Taoist beliefs had some limited effect in softening the attitudes and behavior of men towards wild animals already in late Chou times. To some Taoists the idea of a cage, a symbol of the confinement of the human spirit, was totally repugnant. So *Chuang tzu* says, "If we should make a cage of all under heaven, there would be no place of refuge for the sparrow".³⁾ Such ideas never prevailed. The custom of confining and slaughtering wild creatures for sport was on the increase, soon to be carried out on an unprecedented scale.

The mega-park appears in the third century B.C., with the advent of the mega-king, the founder of Ch'in. His great hunting preserve, which he called *shang lin* "Supreme Forest"—probably with the connotation "Forest of the High One"—extended through the countryside south of the Wei River, across from Hsien-yang, the Ch'in capital.⁴⁾ Its dimensions, manner of construction, and management practices are all unknown, but it was certainly comparable to the extensive Han park which succeeded it and about which we are much better informed.

1) *Tso chuan*, Min 2.

2) *Lieh tzu*, 2, 7b.

3) *Chuang tzu*, "Keng-sang Ch'u". For this and other anti-cage ideas in Taoism, see Eduard Erkes, "Vogelzucht im alten China", *T'oung Pao*, 37 (1942), 15-34.

4) *Shih chi*, 6, 0024c (*K'ai ming* ed.).

We do know that the founder of Ch'in once proposed to expand his park to enormous size, so that it would extend all the way from the Han-ku barrier in the east to Ch'en-ts'ang far up the Wei River alley—a distance of about two hundred English miles. It is reported that he abandoned this grandiose scheme when his dwarfish jester commented: "Excellent! Loose an abundance of birds and beasts within it—then when marauders come from the eastern quarter it will be sufficient to have the beasts butt them".¹⁾ Such dimensions seem more appropriate to legend than to history. But men whose power and ambition were much more limited than those of Ch'in shih Huang ti have boasted private demesnes of similar size:

Emerson, visiting Britain in 1856, described how the Marquess of Breadalbane could ride a hundred miles in a straight line, on his own property, and the Duke of Sutherland owned the whole of Sutherland, from sea to sea".²⁾

The Ch'in hunting park must have fallen into disuse and disorder during the troubles which brought the dynasty to an end. A decree issued in the second year of the succeeding Han regime gave the grounds over to the common people: "As to all of the former parks and preserves, gardens and ponds of the Ch'in, it was ordered that people be allowed to cultivate them".³⁾ If this was in fact a generous restoration to the people of their ancient rights, these same rights were soon to be abrogated.

Just when the Han imperial park was enclosed is uncertain. It was certainly given new grandeur by Han Wu Ti in 138 B.C.⁴⁾ when, over the protests of his adviser Tung-fang Shuo, he expanded it so that it extended westward to Chou-chih and eastward to the I-ch'un Park,

1) *Shih chi*, 126, 0271a.

2) Anthony Sampson, *Anatomy of Britain* (New York and Evanston, 1962), p. 4.

3) *Shih chi*, 8, 0035c. The word I have here translated "cultivate" is *tien*, really "to use a field, or, take to the field", and is applied both of farming and hunting. The implication seems to be that the folk generally could convert these extensive lands to their own purposes.

4) *Tzu chih i'ung chien*, 17, 9a ff.

both of them fifty *li* or so from Ch'ang-an. ¹⁾ Pan Ku's poetic description of the park tells us much about this immense enterprise: "The western suburbs held the Supreme Reserve, the Tabooed Park, with its wooded piedmonts, swamps and meres, slopes and ponds, which adjoined both Shu and Han. It was bounded by an encircling wall of more than 400 *li*". ²⁾ If this wall had been in the shape of a perfect circle, it would have been a little over 125 *li* in diameter. But the park was certainly much longer than it was broad. Probably it had the form of an irregular rectangle south of the Wei, something over 100 *li* long east and west, say, and over 50 *li* deep, north and south. It was well watered country. Among its rivers were the Pa, the Ch'an, ³⁾ the Feng and the Chüeh, ⁴⁾ all of which ultimately gave their waters to the Wei in the north.

The extensive forests and fields which made up the park were no more unmodified wilderness than were their Chou predecessors. Elaborate constructions were provided within the precincts of the Han Supreme Forest for the comfort and safety of the Son of Heaven and those he chose to honor. Pan Ku's reminiscent rhapsody about

1) *Han shu*, 65, 0522a.

2) Pan Ku, "Hsi tu fu" (*Wen Hsüan*, 1, 10b). Wei Heng, *Han chin i*, as quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 196, 4b, states, rather confusingly, that the length and breadth of the park were 300 *li*. The poetic essay of Chang Heng agrees with that of Pan Ku as to the circumference, and also adds the names of a number of places touched or embraced by the park. Unfortunately most of these cannot be located with precision. See Chang Heng, "Hsi tu fu" (*Wen hsüan*, 2, 19a-b), and the translations and descriptions based on the two accounts in E. R. Hughes, *Two Chinese Poets; Vignettes of Han Life and Thought* (Princeton, 1960). In early Han times, the park was administered by a Pacificator (*wei*). A passage in *Shih chi*, 102, 0233a, tells that the emperor asked the Pacificator of the Supreme Forest for a register of its birds and beasts. *Han shu*, 19a, 0353c states that the park was in charge of the "Pacificator of the Administrator of Water Equity" (*shui beng tu wei*), established in 115 B.C. (Wu Ti's reign). In Later Han times the administrator of the new imperial park at Lo-yang was called a "Commander" (*ling*), with "Pacificators of Left and Right" under him. See *Hsü Han shu*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 196, 4b-5a. The relationship between this office and the "Commander of the Office of Orchards and Preserves" (*pu yü shu ling*), established in 183 A.D. with a eunuch as its Commander is not clear. See *Hou Han shu*, 8, 0668c. The whole story of the administration is much more complicated than is indicated here, and the sources are not wholly consistent. For a survey of the period from Han to T'ang see, for example, *T'ang liu tien*, 19; 14b-15b.

3) *Shih chi*, 117, 0255d, where the rhapsody of Szu-ma Hsiang-ju is given.

4) *Han shu*, 28a, 0421b.

the park tells that it contained thirty six "detached palaces and separate hostels", and that "divine ponds and numinous pools" (the language suggests water gardens, not natural lakes) were scattered everywhere,¹⁾ but it is hard to estimate the accuracy of the numbers given in this poem. A different source²⁾ states that there were seventy detached palaces, each accomodating a thousand vehicles and ten thousand horsemen. Perhaps this refers to the western hunting park only as it developed after Wu Ti's time. In any case, we are informed that these fine buildings had not existed during the earlier reign of Wen Ti.³⁾ Wu Ti was the true creator of the divine preserve and its furnishings.

The significant part of the holy park was its rich and varied supply of natural objects and wild life. All three kingdoms of nature were represented—among them many specimens brought from far beyond the Wei River valley. Among the cliffs and boulders of the local streams one could find luxurious arrangements of exotic but now only partly identifiable gems and minerals—even precious coral was represented there.⁴⁾ Similarly, the plant life in the park was not entirely endemic. We are surprised to note the presence of such a recent introduction to China as Iranian grapes.⁵⁾ Still, grapes were well adapted to this northerly climate—it is more odd to note the presence in the divine park of such tropical and subtropical plants as sweetpeel tangerines, various kinds of oranges, lichees, and camphor trees.⁶⁾ These could hardly have borne fruit or even survived in the north unless elaborate arrangements had been made for their protection. One thinks of the orangeries of seventeenth century England, and of modern hot houses and conservatories. But we can hardly guess the methods employed to preserve living things from every part of the known world in the imperial park. That vast preserve had indeed become a

1) Pan Ku, "Hsi tu fu", I, 10b.

2) *Han chiu i*, quoted in T'ai p'ing yü lan, 196, 4b.

3) *Han shu*, 75, 0548c.

4) Szu-ma Hsiang-ju, "Shang lin fu", in *Shih chi*, 117.

5) Chang Ch'ien returned from Sogdiana in 125 B.C. Szu-ma Hsiang-ju died in 117 B.C.

6) "Shang lin fu".

cosmic mandala—a replica of “Under Heaven”, the holy domain of the Son of Heaven.

The animal life in the park was, if anything, even more representative of Asia's creatures. The most extensive listing is in Szu-ma Hsiang-ju's contemporary rhapsody, but there are supplementary data in Chang Heng's later one. Among the birds were swans and swangeese, great bustards, and all sorts of water- and shorebirds, especially ducks, herons and cormorants.¹⁾ The rivers were well stocked with edible turtles, including the giant softshell, and with alligators, sturgeons, and many lesser water creatures.²⁾ Mammals are distinguished in the poems by their places of origin, especially as to whether they represented the north or the south, and seem to have been placed symbolically in the corresponding parts of the park. In the north were camels, asses, mules, and many kinds of horses, both domestic and wild, including, probably, tarpans, kiangs, and bloodsweating Medians.³⁾ There were also such oddities as a “piglike horned” animal,⁴⁾ otherwise known to the Chinese only from the useful product of its horn, which the northern nomads used in bowmaking—possibly it was a walrus or a narwhal. Many of these animals were quite new to the Chinese, some brought to their attention as a result of the explorations of Chang Ch'ien in the far west and the subsequent activities of the Han armies there. Among these,

pu-shao, dragon-patterned, fish-eyed, and blood-sweating horses filled the Yellow Gate; hordes of immense elephants, lions, fierce dogs and great birds were fed in the outer preserves.⁵⁾

In the southern part of the park were such southern animals as yaks,

1) *Ibid.*

2) Chang Heng. Szu-ma Hsiang-ju gives a similar list.

3) For the identification of the many kinds of horses from nomadic steppe tribes, see Egami Namio, “The k'uai-t'i, the t'ao-yu, and the tan-hsi, the strange domestic animals of the Hsiung-nu,” *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 13 (1951), 87-123; cf. E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), p. 295 n. 23; p. 297, n. 95; p. 299, n. 204.

4) *Chüeh tuan*.

5) *Han shu*, 96b, 0160c (“Hsi yü chuan tsan”).

carabaos, sambars, elephants and rhinoceroses. There was also something that could have been a giant panda.¹⁾

Chang Heng tells us that "there was neither fence nor barrier" in the "Numinous Preserve". But we must assume that if the exotic animals were restricted to their appropriate quarters of the park—north or south—their movements must have been controlled somehow. Moreover some animals, presumably the most dangerous, the most holy, or the most costly, could not have been allowed to roam free. Indeed there are occasional references to cages—such as the "tiger cage" in Wu Ti's park.²⁾ Still, we have no clear and comprehensive image of the physical arrangements for restraint.

Some of the animals in the park were very rare indeed. Although we cannot now make reliable guesses about the identity of the *chiaodragons* and the "red *ch'ib*" that lurked in the cataracts and deep pools of its rivers,³⁾ few men of Han doubted that such strange water-monsters existed. Similarly, we may have difficulty assigning a scientific name to the "phoenixes" (*feng-huang*) that roosted in the divine trees of the park, but their presence there was not doubted by sober historians.⁴⁾ We feel less uneasy with "the birds of T'iao-chih",⁵⁾ which are known to have been Arabian ostriches sent from somewhere in the Mesopotamian region, with the rhinoceros of Kanchi,⁶⁾ no doubt an article of "tribute" sent from India to the Chinese emperor, or even with the "unicorn" of Chiu-chen (in northern Vietnam), probably a different species of rhinoceros.⁷⁾ With such wonders at hand, we can readily believe that "... overleaping K'un-lun, overpassing immense seas, the strange species of alien quarters came from as far as thirty

1) *Mo*: bearlike, black and white, bamboo-eater.

2) *Shih chi*, 102, 0233a.

3) "Shang lin fu."

4) *Han shu*, 8, 0311a. Five-colored "divine sparrows" roosted there, and in Ch'ang-an city; in honor of the event the era of the "Divine Bird" was proclaimed in the following year (61 B.C.). *Han shu*, 8, 0319d.

5) Pan Ku, "Hsi tu fu," I, 10b.

6) Pan Ku, *loc. cit.* For Huang-chih = Kanchi, see L. C. Goodrich in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 74 (1954), 278.

7) Pan Ku, *loc. cit.*

thousand *li*".¹⁾ As the monsters of the deep had yielded to Yü, the archetypal hero of the primordial flood, so the prodigious creatures of alien, ghostly, and almost unthinkable lands yielded themselves to the majesty of the Han Son of Heaven.

The removal of the Han capital to Loyang in the east required that a new hunting park be built:

They made use of the plain country to build a park;
 They followed the flowing springs and made pools.
 These produced duckweed and pondweed for the submerged fish;
 Those luxuriated with orchards and herbs to nurture the beasts.
 Its regulation was the same as in Liang Tsou;
 Its rightness fit for a Numinous Preserve.²⁾

(Liang Tsou was, in tradition, "the field of the Son of Heaven"; the "Numinous Preserve" was the holy park of Wen Wang.) Although this was a comparatively modest undertaking, which did not attempt to duplicate the vast parks of Ch'in and early Han,³⁾ it certainly contained many kinds of wild creature. But the surviving evidence suggests that it could not boast anything like the splendid and exotic wonders of the great preserve at Ch'ang-an.

There were great Han parks other than these, but little is known of them, or of the animals that inhabited them. An example is a *Kuang ch'eng yüan* ("Broadly Perfected Park"), where Ling Ti of Later Han hunted.⁴⁾ The *Chao hsiang yüan* ("Shining Auspicious Park"), west of the Sweet Springs Palace of Wu Ti—story told that it was a thousand *li* in circumference and that "the strange creatures presented by the myriad nations were all gathered in its midst"—⁵⁾ was probably apocryphal. Some of the hunting areas we read about may have been segments of the Supreme Forest park; others may have been independent of it.

1) *Ibid.*

2) Pan Ku, "Tung tu fu", I, 30b.

3) Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

4) *Hou Han shu*, 8, 0668c.

5) Kuo Hsien, *Tung ming chi*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 196, 7a.

The hunting parks, however named, were not the only places where the Han emperors kept animals. A Later Han text tells that "nowadays there are birds and beasts at the annex-courts [private apartments of the palace]. From bears, tigers and peafowl to foxes, raccoon-dogs, ducks and cranes—all are provided there".¹⁾ This seems to describe a kind of private palace zoo; it contained only animals native to China.

The ground of the Supreme Forest was prepared for the great winter hunt by the royal foresters. They burned clear a large open space, and cut away brambles.²⁾ Beaters, hunters and athletes readied themselves for the onslaughts of wild beasts and forest demons with spells and periapts. When the royal party arrived, the birds and beasts were driven into the cleared areas,³⁾ and the slaughter began:

A wind of feathers, a rain of blood,
Sprinkled the countryside, covered the sky.⁴⁾

Frenzied animals lunged and clawed at each other—tigers fought with buffaloes. Part of the display was no hunt at all. There were combats between man and beast, wrestlers against wild creatures, tests of strength. Strong men even grappled with lions, leopards, bears, rhinoceroes, yaks and elephants—and some stranger beasts. Some of these animals at least were killed.⁵⁾ The scene was not dissimilar from the exhibitions of the emperor Commodus in the Roman arena:

Neither the huge bulk of the elephant nor the scaly hide of the rhinoceros, could defend them from his stroke. Ethiopia and India yielded their most extraordinary productions; and several animals were slain in the amphitheatre, which had been seen only in the representations of art, perhaps of fancy.⁶⁾

1) *Chou li cheng i*, 3, 11a (ed. of *Szu pu pei yao*).

2) Chang Heng, "Hsi tu fu", 2, 22a-22b.

3) The essentials of the accounts of the hunt in both capitals given in the four *fu* of Pan Ku and Chang Heng are outlined in Hughes, *op. cit.*, 33, 41-42, 52, 71-72.

4) Pan Ku, "Hsi tu fu", 1, 20b.

5) Pan Ku, "Hsi tu fu", 21b. Not all of the animals mentioned can now be identified.

6) Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Modern Library), 82-83.

There were two important differences between the killing orgies of the Roman and those of the Chinese. The Roman arena was in the city, the Chinese arena was in the country. Moreover, Commodus killed the rarities of the Orient with sharp and powerful weapons; many of the great beasts of Asia, at least, were brought down by the bare hands of the athletes of Han.

After the blood and battle, the court relaxed with good food and entertainment. Lovely ladies sang in boats on K'un-ming Lake; acrobats, jugglers and actors displayed their arts in the imperial presence.

Sometimes the court enjoyed lesser spectacles in the great park, as when the Han emperor Yüan Ti was entertained by the sight of a tiger fighting with other beasts—a sport seemingly not unlike our bear-baiting.¹⁾ Sometimes the feats of strength and daring displayed during the great out-of-doors entertainments which we oversimplify by calling “hunts” were repeated for the diversion of ordinary men, as when, in 105 B.C., the populace of the capital city was admitted to the Supreme Forest to witness a wrestling match.²⁾ But the purposes of all of these combats went beyond mere entertainment. They also formed part of the training of warriors for hand-to-hand combat: “they exert themselves at the Grand War-dance in the Supreme Preserve”.³⁾

The great Han hunting park was exploited on a “multiple use” basis, much like our American national forests—that is, it was put to such economic uses as agriculture and pasturage.⁴⁾ A great labor force was required to maintain these multifarious operations, and this in turn could be manipulated to produce significant revenue for the state:

In the time of Wu Ti, 500,000 forced laborers were placed within the park—official slaves, male and female, employed in the Supreme Forest, as well as poor folk from [everywhere] under Heaven who

1) *Han shu*, 97b, 0616c.

2) *Han shu*, 6, 0306d.

3) Pan Ku, “Hsi tu fu”, I, 19b.

4) Murakami Yoshimi, “Tōto Chōan no ōshitsu teien”, *Kansai gakuin shigaku*, 3 (June, 1955), 47.

could not buy exemption. At five coins per man daily, by Yüan Ti's time [48-32 B.C.] seventy billions were obtained to supply the armies striking at the Western Precincts. ¹⁾

In short, the imperialistic adventures of Han in Central Asia were financed in part by fees paid for exemption from the park corvée.

The imperial park was used for some purposes that had little to do with the wild creatures kept there. When the great ruler of the Hsiung-nu came to present his respects in 1 B.C., he was housed in the Palace of Grapes in the Supreme Forest Park. ²⁾ Religious functions were carried out there regularly, as Yang Hsiung wrote: "They gather in the preserve, where the gods are revered". ³⁾ The emperor Ch'eng Ti, said to have been a superstitious man, kept a corps of magicians and soothsayers there to attend to special rites and offerings on his behalf. ⁴⁾ During the height of the scandals connected with the love-potion (or poison) called *ku* during Wu Ti's reign, an ancient ceremony was revived: "They roasted a foreign shaman within the Supreme Forest". ⁵⁾ The execution, as often, was at once a punishment and a religious sacrifice.

In Han times, the Supreme Forest had come to be regarded as a microcosm. It was a model of "Under Heaven", the boundless sub-celestial realm of the Son of Heaven. Probably the idea goes back to Ch'in times, if not earlier. Szu-ma Hsiang-ju made the conception explicit:

On its left is Ts'ang-wu,
On its right is the Western Pole. ⁶⁾

Now Ts'ang-wu was a Han province in the remote, newly conquered

1) *Han chiu i*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 196, 4b.

2) *Han shu*, 94b, 0601b.

3) Yang Hsiung, "Kan ch'üan fu" (*Wen hsüan*, 7, 111a).

4) *Han shu*, 25b, 0398c.

5) *Han shu*, 63, 0514a. "Foreign" translates *hu*; at this time he must have been a man from among the northern nomads. For the ceremony of burning shamans, see E. H. Schafer, "Ritual Exposure in Ancient China." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 14 (1951), 130-184.

6) "Shang lin fu."

south, where the god-king Shun once walked, and the Western Pole appears in the book of *Chuang tzu* as the place of the setting of the sun. The idealized park extended indefinitely in all directions. Or again, according to Szu-ma Hsiang-ju, the rivers of the park

Cut through the midst of Cinnamon Forest,
Pass through the wilds of the fenlands.

Both Cinnamon Forest (*kuai lin*) and the swampy wilderness are mentioned in the *Shan hai ching*, that handbook of cosmic geography and ethnology. "Cinnamon Forest" was also the name of one of the great tropical provinces established by the Ch'in armies. Here again the Supreme Forest is shown as infinitely extensive. This image is reinforced by the frequent mention of fabulous creatures within its confines. Accordingly, it could suggest or symbolize an earthly paradise—a reflection of the true paradises of the gods. Yang Hsiung advised his sovereign to

Approach the preserve of the unicorns,
Favor the forest of divine birds. ¹⁾

In short, rather than waste his substance in extravagant hunts, the good ruler should look for the creatures of paradise in his divine garden.

The mere fact that men ruled the world of animals and brought them into subjection provided a wealth of maxims and lessons. Men have been able to "pen leopards and cage tigers—that is because, having gotten numinous power from Heaven, they are nobler than these creatures". ²⁾ Even intelligent animals are inadequately endowed:

When we put a monkey in a cage, it is the same as with a pig. It is not that it is not artful and clever—but it lacks means to exploit its abilities. ³⁾

The men of Han had the heritage of Adam. They were godlike masters of all living creatures, except, perhaps, the truly numinous ones—

1) "Yü lich fu," 8, 32a.

2) *Han shu*, 56, 0497b.

3) *Huai nan tzu*, 2, 13b.

dragons and the like, though the Son of Heaven was akin even to these.

Above all, the moralizing writers of Han liked to use the idea of the imperial park and the activities characteristic of it as symbols of folly and frivolity, metaphors of extravagance and waste. Arguments against the irresponsible behavior of the imperial court could also be reinforced by hints that the peasantry was being deprived of its natural rights in these now exclusive reserves, and even that scenes of slaughter were not fitting for the eyes of a gentleman—Mencius himself had said that princely men stay away from slaughter-houses.¹⁾ Szu-ma Hsiang-ju envisaged a nobler pursuit for his imperial patron: after giving up the extravagances of the great hunt, the Son of Heaven “will stroll in the preserve of the Six Arts”—in short, he would search for morality and wisdom instead of for fierce animals.²⁾

The size and wealth of the Han imperial parks were not unrivalled. Szu-ma Hsiang-ju wrote also of the great park of the state of Ch'u, where the nobility netted halcyon kingfishers and shot golden pheasants.³⁾ Although certainly well stocked, such baronial parks as this could hardly have had the same access to the exotic animals of far nations as had the park of the Son of Heaven. Still, in Han times the claim could sometimes be made that the preserve of a provincial prince was better supplied than that of his sovereign. So Mei Sheng told the King of Wu, his master, that the Supreme Forest, with all its palaces, entertainments, birds and beasts, was still not the equal of Long Island Park (*Ch'ang chou chih yüan*) in Wu.⁴⁾ Such statements may be dismissed as flattery, but they may well have been close to the truth. The same may be said of the park of another Han prince, Liu Wu, son of Wen Ti. This gentleman was a notorious park-builder.⁵⁾ It was reported in a later, rather romanticized source that one of his creations contained a “Hare Garden”, a “Cliff of Dropping Monkeys”, a “Cavern of Roosting Dragons”, and a “Wild Goose Pond”—this last contained “Crane Isle”

1) *Meng tzu*, “Liang Hui Wang”, VII.

2) “Shang lin fu”.

3) “Tzu hsü fu” (*Wen hsüan*, 7, 30a).

4) *Han shu*, 5, 0484d.

5) Biography in *Han shu*, 47.

and "Wild Duck Eyot". The same text says that the park was stocked with every sort of rare bird and beast, and that the prince took his guests there daily for fowling and fishing.¹⁾ Whether the details are reported accurately or not, this was clearly regarded in early post-Han times as a believable picture of a great man's private preserve.

After the disintegration of the Han empire, the evidence for royal parks becomes fragmentary and difficult to interpret, but it seems probable that huge, diversified, well-stocked estates were no longer possible again until the establishment of the T'ang empire. Here are a few examples of royal parks noted during the age of division. The first, according to a fourth century text, was created in A.D. 228. There is an element of fantasy in the description, but it may well be close to the truth:

In the second year of [Wei] Ming Ti's accession to the See, he erected a Garden for Numinous Fowl. All of the strange birds and unusual beasts presented by nations in far quarters were kept in this garden. The country of K'un-ming [in Yunnan] sent a "Gold-sifting Bird" as tribute. Men said that its land was nine thousand *li* distant from the Burning Island. This bird is shaped like a sparrow, but its color is yellow. Feathers and plumage are soft and fine. It usually swoops and soars above the sea. When a netter obtains one he takes it to be most auspicious. Hearing that the virtue of Great Wei had spread far over the wildernesses, they accordingly traversed mountains and navigated seas to bring one as a present to the theocrat of the great nation. On obtaining this bird, he kept it in the Garden for Numinous Fowl, where he gave it true pearl for sweetmeat and turtle brain for drink. The bird regularly spits up gold powder like [millet] grain, which may be cast to make utensils.²⁾

That eccentric barbarian Shih Hu had a park near his capital of Yeh whose palatial mansions held nothing but women. On its grounds he raised pheasants, rabbits, and small species of deer. He held great

1) *Hsi ching tsa chi*, 1, 13a (ed. of *Kuan-chung ts'ung-shu*).

2) *Shih i chi*, 7, 4b (ed. of *Pi shu nien i chung*).

banquets there.¹⁾ This was evidently more of a pleasance than a cosmic model or a preserve for magical and holy creatures. In 412, the ruler of Later Wei is reported to have "ascended his beast pen and shot fierce beasts".²⁾ Seven years later, no doubt dissatisfied with these restricted conditions for hunting, he employed six thousand men to build a new park at Po-teng Mountain near Ta-t'ung in Shansi, "eastward from the old park". It was something more than forty *li* in circumference—nowhere near as large as the classic parks of Han.³⁾ Sui Yang Ti began his reign with extensive park construction at Lo-yang. In the spring of 605 he built the Hsien-jen ["Illuminating Humanity"] Palace, and stocked its parks and gardens with rare and strange birds, beasts and plants.⁴⁾ In the early summer of the same year he constructed his "Western Park", two hundred *li* in circumference, and enriched it with models of the holy islands of the immortals, fish ponds, and every sort of garden and orchard.⁵⁾ Though not up to the Han standard, it was large and lavish enough.

During these confused centuries, the idea of a small garden, chiefly for the gratification of esthetic interests, was developing, and this same period was the womb of both the "natural" garden, where writers and scholars could feel at home, and of the artificial garden, furnished with bridges, kiosks and even prettily painted rocks, where aristocrats could disport themselves.⁶⁾ Size and ostentation were less important than quiet reticence in the first instance and than tasteful elegance in the second. An early example of a private park is the one described by the poet P'an Yüeh in the Chin period. This practical, pleasant, well-kept park formed part of the villa of the writer's friend:

In its numinous preserve is an abundance of pomegranates,
In its thriving woodland are rows of fragrant pears⁷⁾.

1) *Yeh chung chi*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 196, 6b.

2) *Pei shih*, 1, 2745d.

3) *Wei shu*, 3, 1909b.

4) *Sui shu*, 3, 2351c.

5) *Ta Yeh tsa chi*, 8a-8b (in *Wu ch'ao hsiao shuo*, ts'e 3).

6) Murakami, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

7) P'an Yüeh, "Chin ku chi" (*Wen hsüan*, ch. 20).

Relaxed appreciation of the living inhabitants of the park took the place of wild chases, as shown by this couplet written about the Supreme Forest in the sixth century:

Among the "floating hearts," the fish take pleasure together;
Up in the peach trees, the birds peer out at me.¹⁾

During this same period, visionary writers were more and more seeings in parks and gardens intimations of the glittering, silvery edens of the Taoists and the infinite flowering paradises of the Buddhists. A late example is in a poem of Liu Yü-hsi (ninth century):

Milord's hospice is like a sylphman's home,
where

Mountain fowl spring up in sudden alarm.²⁾

The wild birds are not ready to accept the overcivilized visitor to his friend's earthly paradise. Some men saw in such gardens models of utopian worlds which might come to exist in some imagined time, when the whole empire—indeed the world—would acknowledge the supremacy of a sage monarch, as it had in the misty past. Here is a sixth century couplet, meant to illustrate this dream:

Numinous fowl will rejoice in his preserve!
Decorous phoenixes will roost on his halls!³⁾

The early T'ang emperors attempted to restore something of the size and quality of the antique parks of Han. The T'ang royal parks contained wheat fields, orchards, flower gardens, mews and kennels, and even tiger pens. Military exercises were held there.⁴⁾ The Son of Heaven hunted there with his dragon-horses.⁵⁾

The greatest of the T'ang imperial parks, analogous to the Supreme

1) Liang Chien wen ti, "Ch'un jih hsiang Shang Lin," *Liang chien wen ti chi* (in *Han Wei liu ch'ao po san chia chi*), 2, 36b.

2) Liu Yü-hsi, "T'i Shou-an kan-t'ang kuan," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 6, ts'e 3, ch. 11, p. 3a.

3) Liang Chao ming t'ai tzu, "Ch'i ch'i," (*Han Wei liu ch'ao po san chia chi*), p. 12b.

4) Murakami, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-58.

5) Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, p. 66.

Forest was the "Tabooed Park" (*chin yüan*). It lay north of the beautiful T'ang capital, extending to the banks of the Wei River, and stretched from the Ch'an River on the east across the abandoned site of the Han capital on the west. Although furnished with every sort of plant and animal, including the rare exotics which the prestige and power of the empire had once more made available, it was not nearly as large as the old Supreme Forest. It measured only 120 *li* in circumference.¹⁾ But much was the same. As in ancient times, a great function of the park was to supply meats and fruits for the altars of the gods and for state banquets.²⁾ Animals were killed for pleasure and for need. But there is evidence that the indiscriminate slaughters of the classical age were no longer considered normal. Moderating influences were at work on the old conceptions of the proper relationships between man and beast. By T'ang times, the ancient "Confucian" concept of *jen* "humanity", in former times applicable only to relations between human beings, was being extended to animals.³⁾ Support for the extension could be found in ancient and honoured rules that called for the protection of animals during the breeding season.⁴⁾ This respectable tradition had, since Han times, assimilated the specifically Taoist idea of non-interference in natural processes. The application of such ideas to the relations between men and animals are foreshadowed in *Chuang tzu*—one such is the parable of the sea-bird, which illustrates the principle that no creature can fulfil itself outside of its natural habitat.⁵⁾ *Huai nan tzu* extends this concept to caged and penned animals, which need at least a relative freedom:

Now shepherding the people is like keeping birds and beasts. If you do not shut them up in preserves and walls, you allow them to retain their wild hearts. But if you tie them and hobble their feet,

1) The extant edition of *T'ang liu tien* (7, 13a-13b) notes that the *Ts'e fu yüan kuei* gives its dimensions as 27 *li* east and west and 33 *li* north and south.

2) *T'ang liu tien*, *loc. cit.*

3) E. H. Schafer, "The Conservation of Nature under the T'ang Dynasty," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 5 (1962), 279-308, esp. p. 282.

4) Especially in the *Yüeh ling*; see Schafer, *Conservation*, pp. 289-290.

5) *Chuang tzu*, "Chih le." Cf. Schafer, *Conservation*, pp. 282-283.

in order to inhibit their movements, desiring them to cultivate their lives—in the end longevity can not possibly be obtained by them.¹⁾

In short, living creatures can not nurture their souls if they are tied down.

The life-preserving virtues advocated by the Buddhists—animals must not be killed—had also proved congenial to the older views. By T'ang times all of these separate attitudes had merged. An edict of T'ang Te Tsung illuminates the amalgamation: "the two doctrines of Shakya and the Tao give fortune and profit to the host of living things".²⁾

The awakening of a sense of responsibility for the lives of animals sometimes even reached into official policy. Occasional T'ang edicts put limitations on the killing of animals, established hunting seasons, and defined game refuges, especially around imperial tombs, great mountains, and other sacred places.³⁾ Even the T'ang hunting parks and preserves were not immune from the infection of these advanced ideas, in which men were no longer the lords of creation. The best moral ideas were now applicable to despised subhuman creatures. This noble view, of mixed origins, is expressed plainly in an undistinguished rhapsody (*fu*) written early in the eighth century by Hsü Yüan-pi. The author entitled his effusion "Rhapsody on the Numinous Preserve". Its rhyme scheme is based on the words "humanity/extended to/birds/beasts//kindness/allotted to/woodcutters/shepherds". It tells, in noble clichés, how the sacrosanct precincts of the Son of Heaven's woodlands could be made free of death-related influences—the great example being the legendary preserve of Chou Wen Wang. The principle of humanity (*jen*) should be applied to plants and animals as well as to men, even within the park where the unconditioned majesty and ruthless domination of the Son of Heaven had always been displayed. Here is a fragment of Hsü Yüan-pi's poetic statement of this new morality:

1) *Huai nan tzu*, 7, 11a.

2) As translated in Schafer, *Conservation*, p. 284.

3) Schafer, *Conservation*, pp. 304-305.

Nowadays our country and home ¹⁾
 Makes reverence of antiquity its heart,
 And veneration of Chou its continuity.
 Further, desiring

To save up felicitous godsend
 To bring down excellent good will [from Heaven],

Our gardens and parks have their source in the layout of the
Numinous Preserve,
 Our palaces and buildings are comparable in design to the Numinous
Platform.

With this

The sincerity of our love for living creatures is all-pervading,
 The virtue of our feeling for life is equally balanced.

Humane administration is latently disbursed in the Supreme Park,
 Numinous virtue is already broadcast to the verge of the entire
earth. ²⁾

But in the long run this noble synthesis of ideas probably had little effect on imperial policy. The forests continued to be ravaged; their wildlife continued to be slaughtered. The T'ang ideal sickened and died.

GLOSSARY

WORDS

chiao "dragon" 蛟
 ch'ih 螭
 chin yüan 禁苑
 chüeh tuan 角端
 lin 林
 mo 獼
 pu "orchard" 圃
 pu-shao 蒲梢
 pu yu shu ling 園囿署令
 shang lin 上林
 shui heng tu wei 水衡都尉

wei "Pacificator" 尉
 yu 園
 yüan "park" 苑
 yüan "garden" 園

PERSONS

Chang Heng 張衡
 Hsü Yüan-pi 徐元弼
 Mei Sheng 枚乘
 P'an Yüeh 潘岳
 Shih Hu 石虎
 Liu Wu 劉武

1) I do not wish to imply any theory of the "state" by this rendering of the term *kuo chia*. The reference is to the (then) modern, cultured T'ang nation.

2) Hsü Yüan-pi, "Ling yu fu", *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 622, 9b-10b.

BOOKS

Chou li cheng i 周禮正義
 Han chiu i 漢舊儀
 Hsi ching tsa chi 西京雜記
 Shih i chi 拾遺記
 Ta Yeh tsa chi 大業雜記
 Tung ming chi 洞冥記
 Yeh chung chi 鄭中記
 Yü lich fu 羽獵賦

PLACES

Ch'an (river) 湓

Ch'ang chou chih yüan 長洲之苑
 Chao hsiang yüan 昭祥苑
 Chou-chih 敎屋
 Chüeh (river) 潏
 Feng (river) 酈
 Hsien jen (palace) 顯仁
 Huang-chih 黃支
 I-ch'un 宜春
 Kuang ch'eng yüan 廣成苑
 Pa (river) 霸
 Po-teng 白登

NOTES ON T'ANG CULTURE, III

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NOTES ON T'ANG CULTURE, III*

EDWARD H. SCHAFER
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1. Images of Hsüan Tsung

Some years ago I published a short article about the vogue for the worship of images of the Chinese monarch which persisted from about the seventh to the eleventh century.¹ My composite picture, made up of random instances, failed in a very important respect. It overlooked entirely the most significant example of royal iconolatry in the T'ang period, despite the fact that this example had been pointed out long before by Paul Demiéville.² Professor Demiéville had provided excellent documentation, including some obscure Buddhist sources, to illustrate a gigantic project, midway through the reign of Hsüan Tsung, aimed at the construction or modification of Buddhist monasteries throughout the empire, and simultaneously of Taoist friaries (the latter is a term I have transiently adopted as a paraphrase of *kuan* 觀). These establishments were called *K'ai-yüan szu* and *K'ai-yüan kuan* respectively — named for the flourishing reign of Hsüan Tsung, during whose last year they were erected or renamed. The weight of the evidence indicates that the decree establishing these institutions went forth in 741, but it is unclear how soon thereafter they could be identified, as decreed, in each county (*chou* 州 or *chiün* 郡) of the realm.³ It is suggestive of the great interest that Hsüan Tsung

* Two earlier sets of "Notes on T'ang Culture" appeared in *Monumenta Serica* 21 (1962): 194-221 and 24 (1965): 130-154.

1) E. H. Schafer, "The T'ang Imperial Icon," *Sinologica* 7 (1963): 156-160. See especially p. 158 for a Taoist image of Hsüan Tsung. — Since composing this article I have found a reference to images of a Taoist trinity in a palace in the eastern capital. They were made in 846, during the reign of Wu Tsung, and consisted of Lao tzu, Hsüan Tsung and Su Tsung. See *Chiu T'ang shu*, 18a, 16a.

2) Paul Demiéville, "Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 24 (1924): 183-184; *Le concile de Lhasa; une controverse sur le quétisme entre bouddhistes de l'Inde et de la Chine au viii^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, I (Paris, 1952), p. 213.

3) Demiéville, 1924, p. 183 cites a Buddhist source saying that this order was promulgated in 738.

was now taking in the promotion of Taoism that it was also in 741 that the sovereign ordered every county in the realm to establish a Lao-tzu temple, styled *Hsüan yüan huang ti miao* 玄元皇帝廟.⁴ In the late spring or early summer of 744, a further mandate came down from the throne ordering the casting of images of the highest Taoist deity ("Heaven-Honored" one 天尊) and of the Buddha, and thirdly of Hsüan Tsung himself, these to be gilded, and both the bronze and the gold to be supplied by the government.⁵ A Buddhist source⁶ adds the curious information that the emperor was shown wearing a composite costume combining Taoist, Buddhist and Confucian elements. These statues were to be placed in K'ai-yüan monasteries and friaries throughout the nation. Although some of the available texts use ambiguous language, it appears that each religious establishment, whether Taoist or Buddhist, was required to install one of each kind of image. In other words, a kind of syncretism was being forced on the two religions, with Hsüan Tsung representing the third "teaching," that of the "Confucian" sages, to bind them together.⁷ The great monarch seems to have been obsessed with the name of his reign, K'ai yüan, which means approximately "A new era is opened!" It is reported that he desired to have the two characters carved on a mountain peak in gigantic form, and inset with white stone so that it would be visible from afar. This precursor of Mt. Rushmore, glorifying a prosperous and religious epoch was, at least, not personal aggrandizement like the tombs and statues of the pharaohs, but a slogan embodying the vision of an era of spiritual regeneration, rather like "Jesus saves!" In any event, Hsüan Tsung was dissuaded by his advisors from carrying out this ambitious project.⁸

4) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 9, 4a. In the following year these shrines were renamed *Tai shang hsüan yüan huang ti kung* 太上玄元皇帝宮.

5) *Chiu T'ang shu*, 9, 6a. This source mentions only the Buddhist and Taoist images; but *T'ang hui yao*, 50, 880 (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* ed.) adds the figure of the monarch. There is also a discrepancy in the dates.

6) The same one mentioned by Demiéville in note 3 above.

7) Pan-chou 潘州 in Lingnan was unique in having two statues of Hsüan Tsung, because Kao Li-shih 高力士 had an extra one cast to give special honor to his native place. *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi* 太平寰宇記, 161, 11b.

The great ministers Li Lin-fu 李林甫 and Ch'en Hsi-lieh 陳希烈 were singularly honored in A.D. 746, when their images were carved in stone and placed next that of Hsüan Tsung in the T'ai-ch'ing Palace 太清宮. *Chiu T'ang shu*, 9, 7a.

8) *K'ai yüan ch'uan hsin chi* 開元傳信記 quoted in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi* 太平廣記, 397, 3a.

Many of these royal simulacra vanished soon after the deposition of Hsüan Tsung, but Professor Demiéville has noted that a bronze image of the sovereign still fascinated sight-seers at Shachou 沙州 (Tun-huang) in A. D. 880, although its counterparts had already disappeared from the other counties of Ho-hsi 河西 (named Kan-chou 甘州, Liang-chou 涼州, Kua-chou 瓜州 and Su-chou 肅州) because of barbarian depredations.⁹ It is the chief purpose of the present note to list some other instances of the survival of other images of the divine king. I have gleaned these from the pages of the *Yü ti chi sheng* 輿地紀勝. Since the latter is a Southern Sung work, it does not cover the northern provinces held by the Jurchens:

<i>County</i>	<i>Modern Province</i>	<i>Comment</i>	<i>Page ref.</i>
Hung-chou 洪州	Kiangsi	In <i>K'ai-yüan szu</i>	26, 19b
Yüan-chou 袁州	Hunan	Cast and gilded in the T'ien-pao 天寶 era; not moved to its present location in a Taoist friary until A. D. 1074	71, 6a
Yüan-chou	Hunan	Another, at Ch'ien-yang 黔陽 <i>hsien</i> , in a Buddhist monastery	71, 6a
Ch'en-chou 辰州	Hunan	In a Taoist friary	75, 7a
T'ing-chou 汀州	Fukien	Said to have been originally in a Taoist friary	132, 7a
Ho-chou 合州	Szechwan	In a Taoist friary said not to have been founded until 931	159, 9a
Wan-chou 萬州	Szechwan	In a Taoist friary	177, 6b
Lang-chou 閬州	Szechwan	In a Taoist friary	185, 10a
Lang-chou	Szechwan	Another in <i>K'ai-yüan szu</i>	185, 10a

It is possible that in some instances the traditional identification of these bronze statues as old representations of T'ang Hsüan Tsung is false. In other cases it is certain the image had been moved from its original site. But it is highly probable that a

9) Demiéville, 1952, pp. 213-214.

majority of the images in this list were authentic eighth-century portraits of the monarch, piously preserved in remote parts of south China for half a millenium.

2. Sources of Tin

The technological revolution that marked the beginning of the "Bronze Age" depended upon a simple but not obvious discovery: "... As pure copper can only be cast in an open mould, additions were made which increase the fluidity, and of these additions tin proved to be the most useful, so that in course of time bronze superseded copper and its alloys with arsenic and antimony."¹⁰ The possibilities of this process became evident to the proto-Chinese at a reasonably early date, although not so early as elsewhere in Asia. They experimented successfully with various alloys of copper, and in time settled upon a functional allotment of them — more lead in "bronze" for making mirrors, more tin in "bronze" for making weapons. The question as to whether arsenic was added to the melt purposely or was an accidental ingredient of the ore is disputed.¹¹

Not much is known about the tin mines of ancient China. The *Chou li* (*Chih fang shih* 職方氏) states that both copper and tin came from the southeast (*Yang-chou* 揚州), but this information is even more imprecise than references to mysterious mountains given as sources for the metal by the *Shan hai ching*.¹²

The first clear reference to the location of tin deposits occurs in a text of the early sixth century A. D., when the Taoist doctor T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景 places them squarely in Kwangsi, near the Ho 賀 River.¹³ This region was soon to become the center of

10) Cecil H. Desch, "The Origin of Bronze," *Transactions of the Newcomen Society* 14 (1933-34): 95-102.

11) Tinfoil was also used in appliqué decoration on Chou ceramics. See, for instance, Isaac Newton, "Tinfoil as a decoration on Chou pottery," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 25 (1949/50): 65-69. After long burial this material has been transformed into hydrous tin oxide.

12) Four mountains in the *Chung shan ching* 中山經; three of these refer to "red tin," an expression whose meaning is unclear.

13) *Ming i pieh lu* 明醫別錄, et al., quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu* 本草綱目, 8, 33a.

Chinese production.

That indefatigable collector of rare information in the ninth century, Tuan Ch'eng-shih 段成式, learned that tin and copper deposits could be found underneath growths of the ginger plant.¹⁴ This observation is a crude anticipation of modern geochemical prospecting, based on the presence of trace elements in the soil favorable to the growth of specific plants. (The dependence of ginger upon the presence of copper and tin ions has yet to be demonstrated. It is worth noting, however, that copper and tin do occur together in stannite $[\text{Cu}_2\text{FeSnS}_4]$, a secondary ore of tin.)

The chief mineral of tin is cassiterite (SnO_2), popularly called "tinstone." It is virtually certain that this was the prime source of T'ang tin, and it was all, or almost all, derived from small pebbles and grains in alluvial deposits at Lin-ho 臨賀, the very place mentioned long before by T'ao Hung-ching. Conveniently close to these mines in mid-T'ang times were two smelters (*yeh* 冶), named Tung-yu 東遊 and Lung-chung 龍中.¹⁵

It is curious that these deposits are not mentioned in the *T'ang shu* among the lists of regularly demanded "local tribute," which included many valued metals, nor are they named among the officially supervised mines, among which were sources of copper, lead and gold.¹⁷ But in view of the statement in a contemporary text that the natives of Ho-chou 賀州 made much profit from these excavations,¹⁸ it appears likely that the failure of the *T'ang shu* to list tin mines and smelters means simply that, unlike those for other useful metals, they were not held under government monopoly. At any rate, this one small region provided all the tin used by the T'ang empire.¹⁹ The reason for the exemption is as yet unknown.

14) *Yu yang tsa tsu* 酉陽雜俎, 16, 126-7 (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* ed.).

15) See, for instance, D. Carlisle and G. B. Cleveland, *Plants as a Guide to Mineralization* (State of California Division of Mines, Special Report 50, San Francisco, 1958).

16) Li Chi-fu 李吉甫, *Yüan-ho chiün hsien chih* 元和郡縣志, 34, 1006; 37, 1042 (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* ed.); cf. *T'ang shu*, 54, 4a.

17) E. H. Schafer and B. E. Wallacker, "Local Tribute Products of the T'ang Dynasty," *Journal of Oriental Studies* 4 (1957/58): 213-248.

18) *Yüan ho chih*, 37, 1042; E. H. Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), p. 164.

19) So says Su Kung 蘇恭 et al., *T'ang pen ts'ao* 唐本草, quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 8, 33a.

The men of T'ang knew that there were tin deposits in the central highlands of Hainan island; the pious pilgrim Chien-chen 鑑真 reported that the wild Li people wore hair ornaments made from that metal. But these potential resources — cassiterite crystals weathered out of mica schists — were in hostile territory inaccessible to the medieval Chinese.²⁰

Production figures for T'ang tin, unlike those for other metals, are not plentiful. The official annual take was 50,000 catties in 806; this decreased to 17,000 catties by 836. In the same interval production of silver, copper and iron all showed large increases.²¹ It is not easy to guess the reason for this decline, although it may be related to the depletion of ancient tin resources in central or north China, before the systematic development of the still remote Ho-chou deposits, or to the massive aboriginal uprisings in Lingnan during this period,²² which could have led to the temporary abandonment of the mines.

The technology of producing metallic tin from the native ore was the relatively simple one of reduction by heating with charcoal to remove the oxygen.²³ Once recovered, the metal found its way into the several areas of T'ang culture that had a need for it. We cannot surmise the amount employed in everyday household artifacts — lamps and ewers, for instance. The Taoist alchemists employed tin in their mysterious amalgams, such as “silver tallow,” apparently an amalgam of silver, tin and mercury, which was prescribed as a general tonic and source of vitality for the credulous.²⁴ Much more significant was the vast amount of metal, particularly copper, tin, gold and iron, tied up in the innumerable holy images and gigantic bells and bronze chimes in the great Buddhist monasteries. Incredible quantities of these massive artifacts were melted down during the great persecution of foreign religions in and around 845, but no precise figures are available. The yield from this source

20) E. H. Schafer, *Shore of Pearls* (Berkeley and London, 1970), 37, 65.

21) *T'ang shu*, 54, 4a-4b.

22) See Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 64-66.

23) Li Ch'iao-p'ing, *The Chemical Arts of Old China* (Easton, Pa., 1948), pp. 47-48.

24) E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), p. 256, based on *T'ang pen ts'ao*.

seems to have been chiefly converted into coinage, which was more and more in demand after the conversion to a money economy in the eighth century.²⁵

The standard coins of the T'ang period, the *K'ai-yüan t'ung-pao* 開元通寶, circulated both before and after the K'ai-yüan reign of Hsüan Tsung, consisted mainly of copper, with an admixture of 15% lead and 2% tin. These were supplemented by local issues of varying composition.²⁶ Debased metal currencies appeared here and there from time to time, both as government issues and as informal ("forged") issues. Among these were iron coins, lead coins, and tin coins, and all manner of combinations of these metals.²⁷ Zinc seems to have been only an accidental ingredient before Sung times.²⁸ In these mintings tin seems to have played an increasingly minor part, while lead, originally added to the melt to help its fluidity, gradually replaced it as an important element in bronze, possibly because of the tin shortage.

In the twentieth century almost all Chinese tin comes from the great cassiterite mines of Ko-chiu 箇舊, west of Meng-tzu 蒙自 in southern Yunnan. These are ancient alluvial deposits consolidated on a limestone bedrock, not live placers.²⁹ The T'ang histories do not mention these lodes, which were then controlled (but perhaps not discovered) by the Tibeto-Burman peoples of the foreign state of Nan-chao. Tin was scarce in T'ang times, and its best source was Ho-chou.

25) There is a great literature on this subject. See, for instance, *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 248, 8b; *T'ang hui yao*, 49, 861, 864; Kenneth Ch'en, "The Economic Background of the Hui-ch'ang Suppression of Buddhism," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 19 (1956): 67-105, esp. p. 88; Jacques Gernet, *Les aspects économiques du Bouddhisme dans la société chinoise du v^e au x^e siècles* (Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient 39, Saigon, 1956).

26) Robert Hartwell, "The Evolution of the Early Northern Sung Monetary System, A. D. 960-1025," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87 (1967): 280-289.

27) *T'ang shu*, 54, 4b-8b; *Chiu T'ang shu*, 48, *passim*.

28) Wang Chin 王璠, "Wu-chu-ch'ien hua-hsüeh ch'eng-fen chi ku-tai ying-yung ch'ien hsi hsin la k'ao" 五銖錢化學成分及古代應用鉛錫鋅鐵考, *K'o-hsüeh* 科學 8 (1923): 839.

29) Ch'en To 陳鐸, *Chung-kuo k'uang-wu fen-pu t'u* 中國礦物分布圖 (Shanghai, 1935); Sydney Fawns, *Tin Deposits of the World* (3rd ed., London, [n.d.]), pp. 182-3; Charles L. Mantell, *Tin: Its Mining, Production, Technology and Applications* (New York, 1929), p. 69.

3. The Redbud in Horticulture

The name *ching* 荊 stands for a number of similar but botanically unrelated shrubs, among them one or more species of *Vitex* ("yellow *ching*"), and probably a *Bauhinia* ("golden *ching*").³⁰ Above all the name was applied to a *Cercis* ("purple *ching*").³¹ This plant is sometimes known in English as "Judas Tree," but it also familiar as the "redbud." In America as in Asia the shrubby tree is admired for its heart-shaped leaves and its handsome show of purplish pea-like flowers. It is described in the T'ang pharmacopoeia of Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i 陳藏器: "When mature they are true purple; the round seeds are like beads, hence the name 'purple bead.' Among the forests and marshlands of Chiang-tung 江東 [from Chekiang northward to the Yangtze] they are particularly abundant."³²

Many new plants were introduced to cultivation in the T'ang period. Conspicuous among them are the tree-peony and the azalea.³³ I have wondered for some time whether the beautiful redbud was also a T'ang introduction. The evidence for Northern Sung is overwhelming; several encyclopaedic sources state that it was then commonly planted in gardens and courtyards.³⁴

The evidence for T'ang is not so readily accessible, but it is conclusive. In a poem entitled "Seeing the Flowers of the Purple *ching*," Wei Ying-wu 韋應物 (A. D. 735-835) wrote of the flowering redbuds in his garden lasting through the spring.³⁵ Yüan Chen 元稹 (A. D. 779-831) has left a quatrain about a redbud (he calls it "red *ching*" — presumably the same plant or one of the same genus)

30) See the discussion in Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, p. 172.

31) Besides *tzu ching* 紫荊, the Chinese redbud was known in T'ang times as *T'ien shih chih ching* 田氏之荊 "ching of the T'ien Clansman."

32) Quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 36, 50b.

33) See E. H. Schafer, "Li Te-yü and the Azalea," *Asiatische Studien* 18/19 (1965): 105-114, for these and other examples.

34) *T'ung chih*, 76, 877a; K'ou Tsung-shih 寇宗奭, *Pen ts'ao yen i* 本草衍義 (A. D. 1116), quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 36, 50b; *Cheng ho cheng lei pen ts'ao* 政和證類本草, 14, 38a.

35) Wei Ying-wu, "Chien tzu ching hua," *Ch'üan T'ang shih, han* 3, *ts'e* 7, *chüan* 8, 8a.

that he had cultivated himself.³⁶ Finally, the garden of the Ch'ang-an residence of Tuan Ch'eng-shih (A. D. ?-863) was planted with redbuds.³⁷ The domestication of the redbud seems to have taken place in the late eighth century. In this, as in so many other things, the late T'ang was a period of innovation and creativity in gardening.

4. "Prince T'eng's Gallery": A New Interpretation

In reassessing the meaning of Wang Po's 王勃 (A. D. 650-676) famous poem, *T'eng wang ko* 滕王閣, both in detail and in the overall, I have rejected the traditional view of it, well represented in a variety of "translations" into European languages. I have presumed to attempt this perilous feat in the belief that it could be brought off only by relying on close attention to the structure of the poem, great care for syntactical relationships (which reveal the poet's ingenuity in the use of language), reliance on the importance of parallelism, and analysis of the poet's intent in introducing a number of allusions to the poetry of classical antiquity. In short, form and meaning must be treated as interrelated; syntax and style as interfused. The poet, it seems, was more sensitive and clever than his latter-day interpreters have suspected.

A representative but conventional version is the early one of the Marquis d'Hervey-Saint-Denys, to which most later translations conform:

Le roi de Teng avait, près des îles du grand fleuve, un pavillon élevé.
A la ceinture du roi dansaient de belles pièces de jade, et des clochettes
d'or chantaient de son char.

Le jade a cessé de danser, les clochettes ne se font plus entendre,
Le palais n'est plus visité que, le matin, par les vapeurs du rivage et,
le soir, par la pluie qui ronge les stores en lambeaux.

Des nuages paresseux se promènent lentement, en se mirant dans les
eaux limpides.

Tout marche, rien n'est immuable; les astres eux-mêmes ont un cours.

36) Yüan Chen, "Hung ching," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 6, ts'e 10, chüan 21, 3b.

37) E. H. Schafer, "The Last Years of Ch'ang-an," *Oriens Extremus* 10 (1963): 133-179, p. 152, citing *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao* 唐兩京城坊考, 3, 76.

Combien d'automnes a-t-il passé sur ce palais ? Le jeune roi l'habitait
jadis, où donc est-il ?
Il a contemplé comme nous ce grand fleuve, qui roule toujours ses flots
muets et profonds."³⁸

Before getting on to the heart of the problem, the reader may also be interested in a more popular version — my favorite — which can only be classified as fantasy inspired by shadowy translations of the original.

A KING OF TANG

By L. Cranmer-Byng

There looms a lordly pleasure-tower o'er yon dim shore,
Raised by some King of Tang.
Jade pendants at his girdle clashed, and golden bells
Around his chariot rang.

Strange guests through sounding halls at dawn go trailing by,
Grey mists and mocking winds;
And sullen brooding twilights break in rain on rain,
To lash the ragged blinds.

The slow, sun-dappled clouds lean down o'er waters blue,
Clear mirrored one by one;
Then drift as all the world shall drift. The very stars
Their timeless courses run.

How many autumn moons have steeped those palace walls!
And paled the shattered beams!
What is their royal builder now ? A Lord of dust ?
An Emperor of dreams ?³⁹

38) Le Marquis d'Hervey-Saint-Denys, *Poésies de l'époque des Thang (vii^e, viii^e et ix^e siècles de notre ère)*; traduites du chinois pour la première fois avec une étude sur l'art poétique en chinois et des notes explicatives (Paris, 1857).

39) L. Cranmer-Byng, *A Feast of Lanterns* (1st ed., London, 1916). Other well-known translations are those of Judith Gauthier, *Le livre de jade: poésies traduites du chinois* (enlarged ed., Paris, preface of 1901); Hans Bethge, *Pfersichblüten aus China* (Berlin, 1922); Henry H. Hart, *A Garden of Peonies: Translations of Chinese Poems into English Verse* (Stanford, 1938). Bethge's versions of T'ang poetry were employed by Gustav Mahler in the text for his *Das Lied von der Erde*. His "Der Pavillon des jungen Königs," is particularly interesting, in that it faithfully follows the French paraphrase of Mlle Gauthier.

Cheered by this confection, it is hoped, the reader may now try to find Wang Po's poem as it really was.

Each verse will be explicated separately, as follows:

- 1) Chinese text
- 2) translation
- 3) commentary
- 4) paraphrase

1) 滕王高閣臨江渚

2) The Prince of T'eng's high gallery overlooked the Kiang and its holms (or, a holm in the Kiang).

3) The Prince of T'eng was Li Yüan-ying 李元嬰, the twenty-second son of T'ang Kao Tsu. In the third decade of the seventh century he was stationed at Hung-chou 洪州 (Nan-ch'ang 南昌) in Kiangsi as its "Metropolitan Inspector" (都督). Here he had a "gallery" erected looking out on Lake P'o-yang 鄱陽湖, apparently for intimate gatherings and fetes. In 671, his successor Yen Po-yü 閻伯璵, having restored the building, gave a great banquet in it. The young Wang Po was invited to the rededication, and wrote this poem on that occasion.⁴⁰ Immediately after the caesura a supernatural element appears on the scene, in the form of references to two ancient poems. The word *chu* 渚 "holm; small island in a river" might not in itself remind one of the line 帝子降兮北渚 from "Hsiang fu jen" 湘夫人 (one of the "Nine Songs" in the *Ch'u tz'u*), were it not the phrase *ti tzu* 帝子 also occurs in the seventh line of Wang Po's poem. The domain of the Hsiang goddess was the great Kiang River, its attached lakes (but Tung-t'ing more than P'o-yang), and the islands in them. The original "north holm" was the site of a temple (湘山祠) on the north shore of Lake Tung-t'ing 洞庭湖.⁴¹ The last three words in this line are a quotation from an old *Yüeh fu* (in the category "Songs for Divine

40) *Wang Tzu-an chi chu* 王子安集注, 3, 9a. Commentary of Chiang Ch'ing-i, based on *Chiu T'ang shu*; Wong Man, "Prologue to 'Prince T'eng's Pavilion,'" *Eastern Horizon* 2/8 (August, 1962): 21-28. Han Yü 韓愈 wrote that it was restored in 819. See Han Yü, "Hsin hsiu T'eng wang ko chi" (新修滕王閣記), *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 557, 5a-6a.

41) See Fujino Iwatomo 藤野岩友, *Fukei bungaku-ron—Soji o chūshin to shite* 巫系文學論—楚辭を中心として (Tokyo, 1951), p. 144.

Strings," *Shen hsien ko* 神弦歌): "The Young Gentleman of White Rock dwells looking out on the Kiang" (白石郎臨江居).⁴² This last is a poem with shamanistic elements, reminiscent of "The Sire of the Ho" (*Ho po* 河伯) in the "Nine Songs" of the *Ch'u tz'u*. In the *Yüeh fu* poem this great deity of the Yellow River is transformed into "The Sire of the Kiang" (*Chiang po* 江伯). Taken altogether these allusions indicate that Wang Po was suggesting an identification of the lordly builder of the rich pavilion with the great deity of the Kiang, whether male or female. (Note also the appearance of the mysterious "Young Gentleman of White Rock," seemingly a water spirit, in Li Ho's 李賀 poem "Ti tzu ko" 帝子歌 "Song on God's Child," i.e. in a poem on the same theme as this of Wang Po's.) In summation, in this first verse, the poet has already suggested spiritual and poetic connections among "Sire of the Ho," "Sire of the Kiang," "God's child," "Young Gentleman of White Rock," and, presumably, "The Prince of T'eng." The gallery is a replica of the underwater palace of the river deity.

4) Once a splendid pavilion, built by the Prince of T'eng, stood looking out over a holy island in a lake draining into the Kiang, the domain of a great water deity sometimes imagined as male, more often as female.

1) 珮玉鳴鸞罷歌舞

2) Belt-hung jades and sounding bird-bells concluded the songs and dances.

3) All of the translators have misconstrued the syntax here. The construction 罷歌舞 is plainly parallel to 臨江渚. Chinese does not permit anastrophe. 罷 "discontinue; bring to an end; mark the end of," matches 臨 "approach; come (be) close to; look down on." Both verbs are transitive, with a double object. 鸞 = 鸞. "Jades and bird-bells" are also synecdoches for "rich lords and ladies."

4) As they departed at the conclusion of the entertainment, the tinkling of the aristocrats' girdle ornaments and carriage bells was heard. It is as if one were to say: "The swish of satin gowns and the roar of Cadillacs ended their parties."

42) See *Yüeh fu shih chi* 樂府詩集 (Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an ed.). 47, 6a.

1) 畫棟朝飛南浦雲

2) Painted beams flew out in the morning against the clouds of South Reach.

3) The distich of which this is the first line shows strict parallelism throughout: "painted beams"/"beaded screens"; "morning"/"evening"; "fly"/"roll"; "south"/"west"; "reach" (i.e. straight portion of river of estuary, as "the reach of the Thames")/"hill"; "clouds"/"rain." Here too the translators have regularly and wrongly assumed an anastrophic construction — but it is the beams that fly, not the clouds! The scene is of painted beams projecting against a background of drifting clouds, whose movement makes the beams seem to fly in the opposite direction — an illusion everyone must have experienced. "South Reach" is a quotation from the "Sire of the Ho" ode in the "Nine Songs" (cf. comment on line 1 above), reviving and reinforcing the allusion to a water deity (送美人兮南浦). The sense of supernatural presences is further enhanced by the matched pair "clouds"/"rain," alluding to the visible attributes of the rain and fertility goddess in the *Kao t'ang fu* 高唐賦 and *Shen nü fu* 神女賦 attributed to Sung Yü 宋玉. She was also intimate with kings.

4) The lordly guests enjoyed the illusion of colored roofbeams flying against the drifting clouds that patterned the sky over the holy lake.

1) 朱簾暮捲西山雨

2) Beaded curtains rolled up in the evening toward the rain on West Hills.

3) 朱 "vermilion" is probably, as often, for 珠 "bead." The screens are of the loose, hanging variety, and are rolled up to allow the pleasure of viewing the scenery.

4) They enjoyed the sight of gentle rain falling on distant hills.

1) 閒雲潭影日悠悠

2) Idle clouds are reflections in pools — those days remote and hazy.

3) Here begins the second quatrain, with a shift from description of the past to the passage of time and the changes wrought by it. 日悠悠 is both "the life-giving sun remote and pale in the

distance," and also "the days have slipped by into the remote, irrecoverable past."

4) But those days of lazy clouds and the contemplation of reflections in the water by idle people are now far gone.

1) 物換星移度幾秋

2) Everything altered, stars shifted — many autumns meted out.

3) (No mysteries here.)

4) All things are different — even the positions of the stars and planets; much time has passed.

1) 閣中帝子今何在

2) Inside the gallery, the god-king's child(ren) — where do they (he, she) now abide?

3) The expression 帝子 in this magic octet is crucial. All of the translators have made the bland assumption that it is merely an obvious way of referring to the Prince of T'eng. Hence Hervey-Saint-Denys has "le jeune roi," Bethge has "der junge König," Cranmer-Byng has "royal builder," and Hart has "emperor's son." But the phrase can be properly understood only in the total context of the poem, which is studded with allusions to the *Ch'u tz'u* and the Sung Yü fu. Wang Po was obviously familiar with both. However, the only comment on the phrase in the standard nineteenth century commentary of Chiang Ch'ing-i 蔣清翊 refers us to his gloss on another poem of Wang Po, "Rhapsody on the Seventh Evening" (七夕賦), where the term also appears. The gloss consists merely of a quotation from the biography of K'ung Kuang 孔光 in the *Han shu* which tells of a prince who was versed in "the conduct of a *ti tz'u*."⁴³ But this is an obscure reference. To T'ang writers the *locus classicus* of the familiar phrase was the "Hsiang fu jen" of the "Nine Songs": God's child descends, ho! to North Holm (帝子降兮北渚).⁴⁴ "God's child" is a reference to the goddess of the Hsiang River; in some old texts she is styled the daughter of Yao; elsewhere she is the daughter of "God in Heaven"

43) Wang Tzu-an *chi chu*, 1, 13b; *Han shu*, 81, 0563a.

44) Cf. Waley's translation in his *The Nine Songs: A Study of Shamanism in Ancient China* (2nd impression; London, 1956): "God's child has come down to the northern shore."

(天帝).⁴⁵ Literate men of T'ang were thoroughly familiar with all of these traditions about the goddess, including the one that "God's child" was the *second* daughter of Yao.⁴⁶ The epithet *t'i tzu* echoes through T'ang poetry. Ma Huai-su 馬懷素, writing in the first half of the eighth century, begins a tribute to the Chin-ch'eng Princess 金城公主, sent to marry a Tibetan king, with the line "Where now is God's child?" (帝子今何在), a direct borrowing from Wang Po's celebrated poem.⁴⁷ Here (as in other poems) the princess is presented under the metaphor of a Chinese goddess sent into exile among the benighted and undeserving Tibetans. Elsewhere in the poem she is compared with the famous Han beauty married to a chieftain of the Wu-sun. The poet's meaning is clear: the T'ang princess and the Han princess alike were married off to kings in remote parts of the world — just as the Lady of the Hsiang was married by Yao to the divine king Shun, to spend her years in the forested wilderness of southernmost Hunan. The Chin-ch'eng princess is "god's child" in two senses. She was descended from the divine rulers (*t'i*) of T'ang, and she was destined to play a role analogous to that of the daughter of the primordial god-king Yao. Liu Ch'ang-ch'ing 劉長卿 refers to "god's child" in at least two poems. Both of them allude unambiguously to the Hsiang goddess of the "Nine Songs."⁴⁸ In one of them, called the "Consort of the Hsiang," the first verse paraphrases the famous line of Wang Po thus: "God's child may not be seen." (帝子不可見). Another important instance in T'ang poetry is Li Ho's 李賀 "Song on God's Child,"⁴⁹ which begins "God's child in Tung-t'ing, a thousand *li* away," and has as its fourth verse, "The deity of the Hsiang strums his zither, inviting god's child." Here Li Ho follows the minority view of the scholiast Wang I 王逸 that takes "Hsiang

45) Commentary of Kuo P'u on *Shan hai ching*, "Chung shan ching; Tung-t'ing chih shan."

46) They are enumerated, for instance, in Liu Ch'ang-ch'ing, "Preface to Hsiang fei shih" (湘妃詩序), in *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文, 346, 10a-10b.

47) Ma Huai-su, "Feng ho sung Chin-ch'eng kung-chu shih Hsi Fan ying chih" 奉和送金城公主適西蕃應制, *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 2, ts'e 5, 7b. Another version of the text has *ch'ü* 去 for *tsai* 在.

48) Liu Ch'ang-ch'ing, "Hsiang fei," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 3, ts'e 1, *chüan* 1, 1b; and "Hsün ch'ü yüeh yang...che chü tz'u chou" 巡去岳陽...謫居此州, *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 3, ts'e 1, *chüan* 1, 10a.

49) Li Ho, "Ti tzu ko" 帝子歌, *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 6, ts'e 7, *chüan* 1, 8b.

chün" in the "Nine Songs" to be a male deity, while "Hsiang fu jen" is a female known as "god's child."⁵⁰ In short the conservative and churlish gloss of Chiang Ch'ing-i degrades our text by referring only to a little known Han passage about the son of a divine king, i.e., a Chinese monarch, and fails strangely to mention the obvious fact that *ti tzu* would for any educated reader instantly evoke images of the goddess of the Hsiang River, the daughter of the divine king Yao. He has tried to eliminate all of the traditional and popular supernatural overtones of the phrase. For him, "god's child" in Wang Po's classic can only be the Prince of T'eng, nothing more. But a poet like Wang Po, steeped in literary tradition, as his poem shows us, would not use the expression unwittingly. Beyond all question he knew and intended it to be a quotation from "The Lady of the Hsiang." It can refer to the late T'ang prince only as a pretext and a metaphor, if at all. As a classic image for the radiant Princess of Chin-ch'eng it is not bad: she was an exiled goddess. As a simple reference to a modern lordling, it is overdone. It is silly to imagine Wang Po casting him in the role of a water goddess.

4) Where could the princesses, like antique goddesses, who accompanied the vanished prince, have gone?

1) 檻外長江空自流

2) Outside the railing, the Long Kiang — vacantly, indifferently flowing!

3) The Kiang River is the natural domain of God's Child.

4) The divine originals of the late prince and his fairy companions still survive, mysterious and remote, under the eternal waters of the Kiang.

Two remarks need to be made in conclusion. One has to do with structure, the other with interpretation. As for the first, this octet — or double quatrain — is arranged in two equal parts. The first quatrain displays the princely gallery as it was in the past, when the glamorous friends of the Prince of T'eng frequented it. The second quatrain reveals the gallery as it became: the human

50) Waley, *op. cit.*, p. 35, takes it that 湘夫人 and 湘君 are identical — there is only one child of god. The most popular Chinese tradition, however, makes them a pair — identified with the daughters of Yao.

beauties have disappeared, but their divine prototypes, the daughters of Yao, remain invisible in their mansion under the Kiang. But certainly this poem, written on a festive occasion celebrating the restoration of the building, cannot refer to its condition when Wang Po wrote the poem — shining with new paint, and thronged with a gay crowd. It is a romantic and nostalgic reflection. Finally, it is necessary to make an effort to strip off the Ozymandias motif, now almost permanently welded to the poem. Translators and commentators must begin to see its many levels of meaning, especially those accumulated around the expression *ti tzu* — conveying primarily the image “daughters of the god” (i.e. of 天帝 or of 帝堯); secondarily, divinely beautiful court ladies; and perhaps thirdly (and faintly) an unusual image for an imperial prince. Now a free rendering:

The high gallery of the Prince of T'eng looked out on that holy isle
in the Kiang;
There the ring of girdle gems and carriage bells marked the end of
brilliant musical soirées;
Colorful roofbeams seemed to fly against the clouds over South Reach;
Beaded curtains were rolled up to show the evening rain on West Hills.

The lazy clouds, still reflected in these pools, are — like those bygone
days — remote and hazy;
Everything is changed; the planets have shifted, taking any number
of seasons away with them;
Where now are the divine maidens who once ornamented this gallery?
Out there, beyond the railing, where the Kiang flows — indifferent to
all of us.



The Sky River

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THE SKY RIVER

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The familiar Western tradition that the visible edge of our galaxy was created by the over-vigorous sucking at Juno's breast by the infant Hercules has a long tradition in European literature and art, reaching its literary climax in seventeenth century England. It was quite unknown to the Chinese. To them the galaxy was not a "way" or "road" but always a river in the sky — a quintessential emanation of a great Chinese river, either the Ho (Yellow River) or the Han (a tributary of the Yangtze), characterized in literature as "heavenly," "cloudy," "starry," "silver," and so on. The epithet "silver" was most commonly applied to it by poets for its appearance in the autumn season, when it sparked handsomely out of the normally clear skies that follow the summer monsoon. The versions of the popular legend of the divine lovers (represented by the stars Vega and Altair) separated by the river during most of the year, is one of many popular tales which are founded on the notion that stellar apparitions are not only matched with but are actually derived from terrestrial events and conditions. Another example is the idea that the Sky River is connected with the source of the Ho in the west and with the deep springs of the ocean in the east, which make it possible for an occasional lucky human to travel up into the sky by one of these routes. Similarly, the Sky River could be a source of rain, and there are many examples of this in literature, especially the notion that the region near the Hyades tended to overflow rather easily. The Sky River also moved earthwards at times as a sign of approval of particularly holy persons and places.

JOHN HEYWOOD, who played the virginals and sang for Henry VIII and Queen Mary, refers to the notion that the moon is made of green cheese.¹ In modern times we owe to Albert the Alligator, Pogo's friend, the probably unverifiable "discovery" that the sun is made of strawberry ice cream.² But these are not the only alleged products of the Great Dairy in the Sky. A long splash of milk stretches above us from horizon to horizon. The Romans styled this pretty stripe "*via lactea*," and the name passed into Middle English as "milky way." The Greek word for "milk" gave us our word "galaxy."

Classical authors often refer to it as a milky road, but mythographers are strangely mute about how it got there. Ovid, for instance, a seemingly obvious authority, writes, "There is a lofty road, plain to see in a clear sky; it has the name 'milky', and is famous for its brilliance. This is the way taken by Those Above to the roofs and royal house

of the great Thunderer."³ Clearly it is a divine road, but the learned poet says nothing of its origin. Other standard authorities are equally silent on this point. However the astronomer Eratosthenes, who served in Alexandria as librarian to Ptolemy Euergetes in the third century, B.C., wrote down the true tale in his *Katasterismoi*, a catalogue of constellations.⁴ There we learn that Alkmene, fearing the jealous wrath of Hera, exposed her son Herakles—whom Zeus had fathered on her—in a field near Thebes. But Athena, in the company of Hera, came across the lusty infant, and persuaded the divine queen to suckle him. The child gave her such a mighty nip on the teat that she jerked him away, and her milk spurted across the sky, where it can be seen to this day. Other classical writers, such as Diodorus Siculus,⁵ while they know of the painful encounter in the fields, are unaware of its connection with the Milky Way. Sometimes the guilty brat is not

¹ *Proverbs*, part II, ch. 7.

² Walt Kelly, *The Pogo Sunday Parade* (New York, 1958), p. 19.

³ *Metamorphoses*, Book I, lines 168-171.

⁴ I owe thanks to my colleague, Joseph Fontenrose, for guiding me to this source.

⁵ *Διοδώρου βιβλιοθήκη ιστορικη*, Book IV, 9.

Herakles, but Hermes—but Hermes never attained a permanent place in the composite myth.

The story was well known to the men of the Renaissance. Rabelais, in his account of the fantastic Pantagruel,⁶ observes that the poets of panache—"les plus huppés poètes"—of his day claimed that the Milky Way "... is that place where the milk of Juno fell when she suckled Hercules." Soon after, in the sixteenth century, Vincenzo Cartari⁷ tells the tale in some detail to explain these events as they were illustrated in well-known pictures. To the classic account he adds that Juno's milk fell on certain lilies and whitened them, so that they came to be called "le rose di Giunone"—"Juno's roses." His contemporary, the painter Tintoretto, did a spectacular depiction of the celebrated scene at Thebes, furnished with smiling gesticulating deities, and illuminated by a tasty chowder of star-spangled milk.

But soon the poets began to neglect the classic myth for more up-to-date and fleshly comparisons. The seventeenth century was a particularly good time for the Milky Way in English literature. Some grip on the starry original is retained by Sir John Suckling in a fine line in "The Tragedy of Brennoralt":

Her face is like the milky way i' the sky —
A meeting of gentle lights without name.⁸

Indeed this usage can hardly be called sensual. An intermediate case is provided by Richard Crashaw in his poem on the penitent Magdalene, entitled "The Weeper." First, the saint's eyes—"Heavens of ever-falling stars"—are pictured as founts replenishing the Milky Way. Then,

Upwards thou dost weep,
Heaven's bosom drinks the gentle stream.
Where th' milky rivers meet,
Thine Crawls above and is the Cream.
Heaven, of such fair floods as this,
Heaven the Crystal Ocean is.

Crashaw has delicately avoided any direct reference to the Magdalen's saintly bosom but there is no avoiding the creamy substance, which adds a new and richer dimension to the lacteal products that decorate the sky. Inevitably all pretense of

direct connection with a real heaven was abandoned. In the seventeenth century Thomas Brown, renowned as the contriver of "I do not love thee, Dr. Fell," wrote of the "white enchanting breast" of a certain Serena:

But oh! two snowy Mounts, so near her Heart,
Still keep it cold, and quench Love's hottest Dart;
Between those Hills, a milky Way there leads,
Not to the Skies, or the *Elizian-Meads*;
For which the Gods have oft forsook their own.⁹

The milky character of the sky road survived into modern times, and is well illustrated in Benjamin Disraeli's novel *Tancred or the New Crusade*.¹⁰ Lady Constance bubbles to Tancred her estimation of the pseudo-science expounded in a new book entitled *The Revelations of Chaos*:

It shows you exactly how a star is formed; nothing can be so pretty! A cluster of vapour, the cream of the milky way, a sort of celestial cheese, churned into light, you must read it, 'tis charming.

Without a direct carnal reference, Disraeli has coagulated the whole Milky Way into a curdy substance, where Crashaw had carefully separated the superior layer of Mary Magdalene's tearful cream from the common milk beneath.

Such is our tradition. But for multitudes of men in many centuries the "milky way" was not a road at all, but a river. Many ancient Semitic peoples, it appears, conceived it to be a river flowing from the throne of god.¹¹ We encounter the notion of a celestial river also among some American Indian tribes.¹² But let us skip blindly over the Near East, where rustic ideas of dripped trails of celestial chaff were seriously entertained,

⁹ "The Beauties, to Armida." The transfer of the "milky" or "curdy" epithet to the breasts themselves, as opposed to their natural product, offers (at least) an alternative to the familiar "snowy." An early example appears in canto XI, 68, of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, where we may profitably contemplate the pectoral attributes of the fair Olimpia: "le poppe ritondette parean latte/che fuor dei giunchi allora allora tolli." But some confusion always remained. When Robert Herrick, in his *Fresh Cheese and Cream*, wrote "Wo'd yee have fresh Cheese and Cream? / Julia's breast can give you them." the ambiguity was surely deliberate.

¹⁰ New edition of London, 1887 (?), p. 109.

¹¹ James Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1962), Vol. X, 371.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, 886.

⁶ Book II, ch. 2.

⁷ Edition of Venice, 1647, p. 104. Another colleague, Stephen D. Orgel, led me to this reference.

⁸ Act III, scene 1.

and make our way to the Far East, where the shining nocturnal band was never demeaned by association with lactating femininity. The Chinese, unlike their nomadic neighbors the Mongols and Tibetans, have always regarded milk and milk products with loathing. What right-minded Cathayan could imagine the great deities who govern the world from the high blue vault above wading ankle-deep in a stream of the nauseous fluid? For them it was a river, and almost always a barrier—hardly ever a means of passage.

It was not that the Chinese rejected the idea of roads in the sky. Their astronomers, at least, were familiar with several. These, however, were abstract, imaginary paths visible only to the inner eyes of men learned in scientific matters. They corresponded to the imaginary lines which we have set in the sky, such as the equinoctial colure and the azimuth circle. For them, as for us, the most important ones were the "Red Road" (our celestial equator) and the "Yellow Road" (our ecliptic). But although the expression "road of stars" occurs very rarely in early Chinese literature, it is an anomaly and an exception. For almost everyone the pale streak in the sky was a river.

The sky river had no single name in China. The Chinese were more fortunate than we who are restricted to the single phrase "Milky Way." They named it after two of their major rivers, the Ho in the north (our "Yellow River") and the Han, the famous tributary of the Yangtze Kiang south of it. These names, combined with a set of adjectival stereotypes—"heavenly," "cloudy," "starry," "silver," and occasionally "luminous"—yielded a considerable variety of combinations, such as "Heavenly Ho" or "Sky Ho," "Cloudy Ho," "Starry Han," "Silver Han" and the like. The use of the first of these epithets might be styled the "locative" group, the second the "nebular" group, the third the "stellar" group, and the fourth the "esthetic" group of names.

The oldest literary references to the sky river occur in two passages in the *Shih ching*. In both of them it is called "Han"; once it is "cloudy"¹³ and once "in the sky."¹⁴ Possibly this priority was given to the Han River because the earthly Han was markedly more clear and sparkling than the normally sluggish and muddy Ho. (Indeed, so rarely was the water of the Ho clear that in medieval times such a remarkable phenomenon was of-

ficially declared to be a "Great Auspicious Token," indicative of the special favor of Heaven, on a par with the apparition of a phoenix or dragon.)¹⁵

By Han times, at least, the sky river was regarded as a mysterious emanation from the great rivers of China, congealed on the celestial dome. Fragments of a book that survive from that period contain such statements as "When the virtue of a river spreads its quintessence, it creates a mass of stars above."¹⁶ Hence, "the quintessence of the Ho becomes the Sky Han above."¹⁷ Some sources attempt more explicit explanations of the presence of this strange stellar water. The stars are formed, they say, out of a primordial breath, which is mystically related to the water of earthly rivers. One such source—a very respectable one—states: "Now the Han is also a dispersed pneuma of Metal, and its source is called the Han of water. When its stars are abundant, water is abundant, and when they are few, we have drought."¹⁸ "Metal" here is purely metaphysical. It is the "Element" whose color is white—revealed also in snow, tigers, and death. A couple of centuries later the great poet-astronomer Chang Heng wrote, "The quintessence of water makes the Heavenly Han,"¹⁹ while a minor philosopher of the third century, A.D. wrote, "The stars are of the essence of the primordial pneuma—and the quintessence of water." This subtle, nebulous vapor drifts upward from terrestrial rivers to form the great river in the sky, and "the host of stars emerge from it."²⁰ To summarize, the glittering stream above is composed of a subtle substance allied to earthly water but transcending it. It is related to all watery and crystalline substances, including rain, frost and snow (I have also read of a "great Snow Drift of the Skies" in Zuñi legend).²¹ The imagery applied to it in literature is exactly the same as that applied to distinct stars and also to the sparkling and twinkly surfaces of waters on earth. The metaphysical correspondence of the waters of

¹⁵ *Ta T'ang liu tien*, 4, 18b.

¹⁶ *Ho t'u kua ti hsiang* (*Han hsüeh t'ang ts'ung shu* ed.), p. 1b.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Shih chi* (K'ai ming ed.), 27, 0111b.

¹⁹ Chang Heng, *Ling hsien* (quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 8, 10b).

²⁰ Yang Ch'üan, *Wu li lun* (quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 8, 11a).

²¹ Hastings, *Encyclopaedia*, Vol. VI, 886.

¹³ *Shih, Ta ya*, "Tang."

¹⁴ *Shih, Hsiao ya*, "Ta tung."

earth and of heaven is exact, although the upper streams are the more pure and perfect.

As to the epithet "silver" applied occasionally to the sky river, a medieval commentator²² on a poem by Tu Fu entitled "The Sky Ho" writes: "When autumn comes the sky Ho becomes the 'silver Ho'." The reference is to the language of the first of the two quatrains that make up Tu Fu's poem, which goes something like this:

In usual season it allows itself either light or dark:
When autumn comes it is dependably distinct and bright.

Then, even covered by faint clouds,
It can keep its clarity all through the night.²³

In short, the sky river, divinely autonomous, permits itself to be bright or dim during most of the year, but at the end of summer it chooses to put on a constantly brilliant show. This is because at that season it must provide a properly lighted stage and steady flow for a great annual event. In crass, material terms it means that the season of clouds and rain—the summer monsoon—is finished in north China, and the sky is mostly clear and clean.

The second quatrain of Tu Fu's poem continues like this:

It contains stars which move the Double Towers;
As moon's companion it lights up frontier towns.
Cowboy and Girl ford it year after year —
Whenever has it bred windy waves?

This allusion-heavy passage requires at least a few comments. To begin with, stars are the abodes of powerful spirits who control the destiny of the nation. They brood over the watch-towers at the gate of palace of the Son of Heaven. Doubtless Tu Fu was predicting—as he did frequently—better days for the Chinese monarchy. The lovely moon sheds its light simultaneously on all parts of the empire, binding parted friends and lovers together—and so does the endless glittering band of the Heavenly Han which, windless and waveless, permits the divine pair (Cowboy = Altair; Girl = Vega) an annual autumnal reunion. This is the season when the constancy of the starry flow—which puts it beyond the interest of dithering diviners and anxious astrologers concerned only with such ominous irregularities as comets and supernovae—is most marked.

²² Kuo Chih-ta.

²³ Tu Fu, "T'ien Ho," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 4, t'se 3, ch. 10, 15b.

The familiar bridge of heavenly magpies which, in the popular myth, affords transit to the stellar lovers on the seventh night of the seventh moon is in fact not necessary, since Chinese astronomers recognized a permanent ford of the sky river. Its stars are mostly in our constellation Cygnus—the great swan that flies forever down the Milky Way. This ford, we are told, "... is the master of the fords and bridges of the Four Conduits; it is the means whereby the deities communicate with the Four Quarters."²⁴ The "Four Conduits" are the four great rivers of classical China, and just as the Sky Han is the ethereal prototype of these rivers so is the celestial ford the unearthly and refined equivalent of the crossings of the Ho, the Kiang, the Chi and the Huai.

It was believed that the Sky Han passed below both horizons to connect with inferior waters that also fed the deep springs of the oceans. Moreover, the tumult engendered by the diurnal rotation of the sky in the region where the down-pouring stream is divided below Vega and Altair produces a surplus of water which we call the tides.²⁵ This connection of heavenly river with earthly seas allowed an occasional fantastic voyage up into the sky:

An old saying tells that the Ho in the sky is connected with the sea. In recent times a certain man lived on a sea isle. Year after year, in the eighth month, a raft would float in, coming and departing without ever missing the date. The man had a strange ambition: he installed a flying gallery on the raft, and provided it with an abundance of provisions. Then he boarded the raft and departed. During some ten or so days he could still observe the stars, moon, sun and planets. But after that they became obscure and indistinct, and he was unaware of either day or night. He went on for some ten days until he reached a place where there were what seemed to be city walls and fortifications, and houses and other buildings, all very imposing. Far off he could see a woman in a palace much engaged in weaving, and he saw a male person leading a cow, who stopped to water it. The man leading the cow was startled and asked him: "From what place have you come here?" This person told him of his wish to make the trip, and asked in return what place this might be. "Go back to the county of Shu, milord," was the reply, "and inquire of Yen Chün-p'ing — then you will understand." So in the end he never went ashore, but returned on schedule. Later he went to

²⁴ *Chin shu* (K'ai ming ed.), 11, 1103a.

²⁵ *Pao p'u tzu* (quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 68, 5b).

Shu and inquired of Chün-p'ing, who said, "On a certain day of the month of that year there was a stranger star that trespassed on the constellation 'Ox-puller'." He calculated the year and the month — it was precisely the time when this person had arrived on the Sky Ho!²⁶

This tale is a medieval version of an old story which purports to go back to the third century—as it well may. The Cowboy and Weaving Girl are immediately identifiable. Yen Chün-p'ing was a celebrated diviner and astrologer of the first century, B.C. The expression "stranger star" or "visitor star" is applied to a brilliant star that appears in the sky where none had been before and then fades. We call such an apparition a supernova. This particular visiting luminary had been the adventurous stranger from earth.

Not surprisingly, there is a similar old story which demonstrates that the sky river was connected at the opposite, western end with one of its earthly counterparts, the Ho River:

Long ago there was a man who sought the source of the Ho. He saw a woman washing silk gauze. When he asked her about it she said, "This is the Sky Ho." Then she gave him a stone, which he took back with him. He inquired of Yen Chün-p'ing, who said, "This is a stone that propped the loom of the Weaving Woman."²⁷

This little anecdote, evidently a folktale put into the literary language, has respectable analogues. Tu Fu, for instance, imagined, as he was ferrying the Kiang in Szechwan, that he saw that river's further extremity in the hazy distance, flowing into the Cloudy Han.²⁸ Merely a poetic fancy, perhaps. But his equally eminent contemporary Li Po wrote more positively: "Han Water has from the first communicated with the flow of Starry Han."²⁹ This is not *just* poetry—it is accepted belief expressed in poetic language.

Many poems of the T'ang dynasty celebrate the advent of a yellow dragon over a pool at the residence of the talented young prince Li Lung-

chi, who was later to become a benign and beneficent monarch, usually known to posterity under his posthumous title of Hsüan Tsung, and popularly as Ming Huang.³⁰ The official diviners of Ch'ang-an naturally interpreted this surprising event as a premonition that the prince would become the next Son of Heaven (there were a number of other hopefuls). The pool came to be known as "Dragon Pool" and the verses that proclaimed its premonitory fame treated it regularly as linked with the glowing sky river. One of these poems describes how the royal dragon leaped from anonymous seclusion in the blessed pool into the highest heavens:

The pool is open to the Sky Han where it bisects the
Yellow Road;

The dragon heads for the Gate of the Sky and enters
the Purple Tenuity.³¹

To put it plainly, the divine reptile makes for the intersection of the Milky Way with the ecliptic, and then heads by way of the "Gate of Heaven" (in our constellation Virgo) to the palace of the greatest of the celestial deities, the Palace of Purple Tenuity. This high god had chosen Li Lung-chi as his earthly representative, and the dragon, having performed his duty as emissary and intermediary below, had returned to that seat of magic power, which flashes with purple light. (The purple walls of the palace were situated in two circumpolar constellations, in the form of a pair of lunettes largely composed of stars in our constellation Draco, with a few from such asterisms as Cepheus and Camelopardus).

This poem also describes, rather fancifully, an elaborate court ballet performed in honor of the draconic revelation. Evidently the dance showed a colorful replica of the dragon leaping up towards the Heavenly Han.³² Much later, when Li Lung-chi was well established on the throne, surrounded by a court appropriately enriched by human stars and luminaries representing all the arts, he him-

²⁶ Chang Hua, *Po wu chih* (reconstructed version in *Ts'ung shu chi ch'neg*), p. 19.

²⁷ *Chi lin* (quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 8, 11a).

²⁸ Tu Fu, "Po sha tu," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 4, *ts'e* 1, ch. 3, 15a.

²⁹ Li Po, "Shang huang hsi hsün nan ching ko, shih shou," No. 8, *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 3, *ts'e* 4, ch. 7, 4a-4b.

³⁰ For a reasonably sober account of the incident, see *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao*, 3, 28b, and *Ch'ang-an chih*, 9, 2b (both in Hiraoka Takeo, ed., *Chōan to Rakuyō* [Kyoto, 1956]).

³¹ Shen Ch'üan-ch'i, "Lung ch'ih p'ien," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 2, *ts'e* 5, ch. 2, 10b.

³² Cf. the "Dragon Pool Music," the only one of the special orchestras among Hsüan Tsung's "seated sections" which did not use the music of Kucha (*T'ang shu* [Szu pu pei yao ed.], 22, 2b).

self wrote a poem reminiscent of the auspicious poolside event. At his request, his noble and gifted minister Chang Chiu-ling composed a matching poem in which he observed, perhaps more prudently than poetically, that "Its heaped-up waters still join the Heavenly Han."³³

Between the sky waters and the ground waters is the more spotty factor in the great water cycle—precipitation. It was known from the earliest times that the Sky Han had something important to do with rainfall. In 100 B.C. the emperor of Han declared the initiation of a new era, to be called "Sky Han." The title had a double significance, since the Han empire had been named after its founder's fief on the Han River. But more significantly the proclamation was a magical act intended to alleviate a long period of severe drought. It was expected that the heavenly river would respond to the honor by sending down some of its excess.

Near Aldebaran, the red eye of Taurus, and the nearby rainy Hyades, there was a kind of focus of intensity in the sky river. This was close to the intersection of the Starry Han with the ecliptic. Since early antiquity it had been believed that when the moon approached this part of the sky, heavy rains would ensue. It was also thought that this region of heaven controlled weird apparitions in mountain forests.³⁴ Here was a kind of divine spout or spigot from which the surplus of divine water poured into the void. The poets of T'ang frequently took notice of this immediate source of rain. One of them, Wang Chien, who lived in the eighth and ninth centuries, on contemplating the weather at night, conceived the decreasing rain as retreating to its source above:

A summer night, newly clear—but stars rather few.

Rain gathers in—the remnants of water gone into the
Sky Ho.³⁵

This was a constant theme—the mild but dazzling leakage from the sky river. Ma Tai, a ninth century writer, provides a typical example:

³³ Chang Chiu-ling, "Feng ho sheng chih lung ch'ih p'ien," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 1, ts'e 9, ch. 2, 12b.

³⁴ *Chin shu*, 11, 1103b. Cf. *Shih ching* as interpreted by Joseph Needham in *Science and Civilisation in China*, III (Cambridge, 1959), 468.

³⁵ Wang Chien, "Hsin ching," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 5, ts'e 5, ch. 5, 15a.

Diamond-sparkling the Starry Ho falls,
Drenching the moss and sprinkling the pines!³⁶

Another kind of liquid sometimes dripped from a different part of the sky. This was the precious substance known as "sweet dew." An authority of the Han period, the sceptical Wang Ch'ung—although presumably he never tasted it—tells us that it had a flavor like honey. This rare heavenly manna was a sure token of universal peace, and its coming was the occasion of rejoicing throughout the realm. It constitutes our sole example of milk-connected astronomy in China—and a remote one at that. The star which exudes this welcome juice was named "Nipple of Heaven."³⁷ This divine mamma is in our constellation Serpens, which is handsome in the summer sky. But it had nothing to do with the Milky Way.

Learned writers of the T'ang period were often inspired to embody the sky river in appreciative poems written during or after a stay in a Taoist or Buddhist monastery. In part this must have been the outcome of empty evenings spent under exceptionally clear skies. But it was also the poet's wish to please his monkish hosts by attributing the special holiness of their establishment to celestial influences. Ch'i Mu-ch'ien, a poet of the mid-eighth century, wrote some verses in this vein after an overnight sojourn in a Taoist monastery. His lines are appropriately sprinkled with images from the world of ethereal beings—inhabitants of outer space. He pictures the monastery as a sky palace—a suitable residence for supernatural creatures. Its numinous power even pulls the sky river closer:

This evening I reached a resting place in a jade palace,
Where, mysterious and remote, the Cloudy Han
descends.³⁸

In a magical poem written by a visitor to a Taoist monastery in the ninth century, we behold such a pious establishment transformed into a kind of earthly paradise—a replica of a Taoist palace in the sky. Appropriately the poem is laden with the imagery of air and sky: clouds, snow, wind, thunder, and a "chip of moon." Of particular interest is the earthly appearance of the divine

³⁶ Ma Tai, "T'ung Chuang hsiu ts'ai su Chen-hsing kuan," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 9, ts'e 2, ch. 1, 8a.

³⁷ See Needham, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

³⁸ Ch'i Mu-ch'ien, "Su T'ai-p'ing kuan," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 2, ts'e 9, 3a.

river itself: "In the heart of its pool the Starry Han is doubled."³⁹ Mystically, this reflection transmutes the monastery into a true paradise set among the stars.

The idea of the descent of the celestial Han towards a place of particular holiness on earth is common in poetry. Consider the case of Fang Kan, who visited a Buddhist monastery named "Dragon Spring" in the ninth century. Dragons, as masters of the waters of heaven, despite their occasional hibernation in terrestrial pools, have ready access to the sky river, as observed above. Fang Kan commemorated his visit with a poetic description of the close approach of the starry river after an early spring storm. The storm's purpose, apparently, was to allow the easy passage of the rain-breeding dragon to the sky: "In mid-sky the vapors clear—the Starry Ho comes close."⁴⁰

Appropriately, the divine palace of the Son of Heaven was also frequently blessed by the lowering of the sky river. But when a court poet used this image he was not merely employing flattery: it was truly believed that the actions of the Son of Heaven produced automatic reactions in Heaven. So Tu Shen-yen, writing on command at a court banquet in the seventh century, observed:

At the Palace Gate—the Starry Ho lowers to brush the
trees;

From the Basilica Court—the lamp candles send up
perfume to Heaven.⁴¹

Other royal persons might be honored in the same way. So Su T'ing, a poet contemporary with Tu Shen-yen, did a command performance at a party in honor of a royal princess. In his verses he displays the water of the Sky Han falling on the trees of the palace garden, probably as actual dew or rain.⁴² Celestial entities will condescend to honor any sacred person.

To sum up: the essential qualities of the Chinese sky river are its aqueous natures; its linkage with earthly rivers; its founts of rain and dew; its affinities with dragons, holy persons, and sacred places. These qualities were constantly in the mind and language of any medieval Chinese poet when he looked up at the glowing band in the night sky. He fancied that he saw a sparkling, crystalline, numinous emanation from the great rivers of earth. Unlike us, he was not compelled to remember (for instance) the "heaving milky way" of Alan Ramsay's décolleté Scottish maid,⁴³ or indeed any kind of lacteal image.

³⁹ Hsüeh Ying, "Su Hsien-tu kuan yin wang erh chün hsiu tao ch'u," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 8, ts'e 10, 7a.

⁴⁰ Fang Kan, "T'i Lung-ch'üan szu chüeh ting," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 10, ts'e 3, ch. 5, 2a.

⁴¹ Tu Shen-yen, "Shou sui shih yen ying chih," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 2, ts'e 1, 5b.

⁴² Su T'ing, "Shih yen An-le kung-chu shan chuang ying chih," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 2, ts'e 2, ch. 1, 9b.

⁴³ "Tartan; or the Plaid."



Supposed "Inversions" in T' ang Poetry

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The most remarkable circumstances of the Jain Temples is a subterranean apartment, this is called a Bhoira⁵⁵ (a Cavern) corresponding with the one above, and furnished with similar Idols, situated directly underneath.

The cause of this I could not ascertain, the freedom with which they permit Strangers to descend is a Proof, that this apartment [*sic*] could not have been intended as a sanctuary to enable the Shravacas to practice their religions Worship during a period of persecution.

Subterranean Chapels are found in different parts of Europe and are very common in Italy where a Church seldom wants one for the preservation of the body of the tutelary Saint, or some other highly venerated relic. . . .⁵⁶

Another Establishment peculiar to the Shravacas is the Pingerepols⁵⁷ or Hospitals for animals and reptiles however vile; there are many of these in Guzerat; the name signifies an enclosure of protection. There is also another extraordinary establishment called a Jeeveotee;⁵⁸ this is a Dome with a door large enough at the top for a Man to creep in. In these repositories, weevils and other Insects, that the Shravacas may find in their grain, are provided with food by their Charity, and extraordinary protection to every thing containing Life.

⁵⁵ Cf. G. *bhōy* (Skt. *bhūmi*) "ground, floor" and G. *bhōyṛā* "cellar, vault."

⁵⁶ Several lines referring to European subterranean chapels are omitted.

⁵⁷ Cf. G. *piñjar*, *pājrā* "a cage" and G. *pāñjrapōl* "asylum for animals"; Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 296 and fn.; and Hobson-Jobson, PINJRAPOLE.

⁵⁸ A gloss at the bottom of the page reads "jemiti." Cf. Hindi *jimit* "feeding, food."; and see R. Turner, *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (London, 1966), 5267 *jēmati* "eats," and 5126 *jāmati* "eats."

Among the Jainas, of Guzerat at least, there is not the least appearance of any distinction of classes similar to those among the Hindoos. The Idea of carrying Arms is contrary to their principles and Faith, the great object of which is the preservation of life.

It would appear that any of the Hindoo sects may become proselytes to the Jaina faith; but by this they forfeit every claim to the character of Hindoo.

I have been assured by a learned Braman that were any Braman to go to a Jaina Temple to Worship, that he would lose his Caste, and others would not eat or drink in his Company. In Bengal I understand from the prevalence of the Jaina system many Bramans observe the exterior rites of their Caste, and conform to the Jaina persuasion, but these must be considered as interested temporisers, the abuse being connived at by the prevalence of the practice, and the necessity of cultivating the good graces of their Patrons, who may be Jainas. These Men however would be considered by the Bramans of Poona and the Deccan⁵⁹ as Outcasts, and to them they would not return the salute of the Namazcar.⁶⁰

These sentiments do not prevent the Shrimala Bramans from performing the Marriage rites, and the ceremonies of Shrad for the Shravacas who employ them. This is permitted as a lawful employment by the Bramans, and it has no connexion with the Jaina religion. The Yatis and Shravacas consider Marriage and Shradha as Civil rites, which have nothing to do with the Tenets of their Faith. These remarks are only to be considered as applicable to Guzerat, the conformity with Jaina Principles may be more marked in other places.

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⁵⁹ Deccan.

⁶⁰ G., Skt. *namaskār(a)*.

Supposed "Inversions" in T'ang Poetry

A few years ago I tried to correct various solecisms and artless misconceptions imposed by a series of translators on the proper sense of a famous poem of the early T'ang period. The poem was Wang Po's "The Gallery of the Prince of T'eng" (*T'eng wang ko*). One of these monstrous evasions of the plain intent of the poet, perpetrated by every one of the translators, was a supposed case of "inversion," one among many traps provided by the poem to catch the innocent translator who—as is too

often the case—adheres in practice, if not in lip-service, to the belief of members of the Old-China Hand school of criticism, who hold that Chinese has no grammar, or if it does it can safely be ignored. My horrid example is the third verse:

*ghwāāi tung tyeu pēi nam p'u ywēn*³

Translators have unanimously taken *nam p'u ywēn* to be the postpositive subject of *pēi*: the clouds fly past/over/against the beams. My comment on this was: "... the

translators have regularly and wrongly assumed an anastrophic construction—but it is the beams that fly, not the clouds! The scene is of painted beams projecting against a background of drifting clouds, whose movement makes the beams seem to fly in the opposite direction—an illusion everyone must have experienced.”¹ *Vox clamantis in deserto*. Most translators of and commentators on T’ang poetry continue to give their uncritical adherence to the doctrine that transpositions of this kind, loosely called “inversions” and comprising various species of anastrophe and hyperbaton, actually exist. In fact they are illusions.

All the world knows that highly inflected languages permit a certain amount of syntactic flexibility casually exploited by poets who write in those languages, without causing problems of ambiguity. *Puer amat puellam* clearly does not mean the same thing as *puerum amat puella*. It is exactly this kind of hyperbaton, which is not ambiguous in Latin, that some English poets of the pre-modern period tried to imitate in unidiomatic English. But they were always obliged to provide clues to the identity of the misplaced subject, since English lacks the inflection proper to the nominative case in Latin. In its place they had perforce to supply articles, prepositions or adverbial constructions—otherwise the transposition led inevitably to a different meaning. “Dog bites boy” is not interchangeable with “boy bites dog.” Classical Chinese poetry does not provide—nor is it equipped to provide—the clues available to the English writer who wishes to affect a latinate style. If, therefore, the Chinese writer puts the noun after the verb, it is invariably its object—there is no “inversion.”

The late Peter A. Boodberg made the case against “inversion” in Chinese poetry succinctly and elegantly in two terse publications which, unfortunately, did not enjoy wide circulation. In one of these he commented on a celebrated quatrain of Tu Fu which shows the vehement activity inspired in nesting swallows by the melting of frozen mud in the early spring, when natural plaster is needed to build cosy homes under the eaves of houses:²

nei yung p’ei en tsi

sra nwan zhwǐē iwǎn-ang.^b

The couplet means:

“Mud’s thaw sets swallows flying;

Sand’s warmth puts ducks to sleep.”

We would be saying the same thing if we substituted “Mud’s thaw flies swallows,” intending an analogy with “Muddy boy flies kite”—which can never mean “Kite

flies over muddy boy.” The *soi-disant* critics who seem eager to corrupt the subtle instrument we style “Classical Chinese” would have us believe that this is exactly the case. My own words recapitulate those written by Boodberg, who concluded: “We must sorrowfully conclude that philologists are in the habit of mislaying their gramarye when flirting with the Chinese muse . . .,” a conclusion which followed, as he saw, from the fallacious assumption that “. . . Tu Fu was indulging here in trite inversion in the mode of European poetasters.”³ “Inversions” in good modern English poetry are not idle, meaningless demonstrations of “poetic license,” any more than they are in Chinese poetry. Here is an apparent example from the writing of the gifted English poet Peter Redgrove: “A piano plays my aunt in a lacquered room.” (“Anniversaire Triste,” *The Collector and other Poems*.) The whole point of this is that an “inanimate object” (no longer passive) animates a normally active “subject”—a magical reversal of everyday roles. Gifted Chinese poets did this sort of thing regularly, only, alas, to have their sorceries nullified by conventional modern paraphrasts.

In another “cedule,” Boodberg treated with irritation the “contumacious disregard of all syntactical laws, ancient and modern,” shown by “our most experienced translators” in dealing with another celebrated line of Tu Fu:⁴

ts’ yeng zhiē p’ yong en bāk zhiē kwē^c

In supplying a superior translation, Boodberg followed his own advice and “let the text speak for itself.” The result is dramatic—a far cry from the insipid renderings of earlier translators. The tale is of a battlefield, after the carnage. The narrator is *identifying* two faint colors in the distance:

“The blue—that is the smoke of beacons; the white—that is bones!”⁵

The lackluster versions of Boodberg’s predecessors give us a dozen or so variants on “blue is the smoke of the beacons and white are the bones.” This is not only ungrammatical and tasteless, but drains the line of the very quality that makes it good.

The “inversion” doctrine is, as Boodberg showed so clearly, an irresponsible fantasy. Unhappily it has

³ P. A. Boodberg, “Translations, Hyperbatic and Hyperbathetic,” *Cedules from a Berkeley Workshop in Asiatic Philology*, no. 19, January I, 1955.

⁴ Tu Fu, “Pei ch’ing fan,” *Ch’üan T’ang shih*, han 4, ts’u 1, ch. 1, 19b.

⁵ P. A. Boodberg, “On Colloquialisms in Tu Fu’s Poetry,” *Cedules from a Berkeley Workshop in Asiatic Philology*, no. 24, February 20, 1955. The translation is mine, based on Boodberg’s.

¹ E. H. Schafer, “Notes on T’ang Culture, III,” *Monumenta Serica*, 30 (1972-73), 112.

² Tu Fu, “Chieh chü, erh shou,” *Ch’üan T’ang shih*, han 4, ts’u 3, ch. 13, p. 5a.

recently been blessed and embalmed in an article in a learned journal.⁶ This restatement of the superstition in such respectable surroundings has not, to the best of my knowledge, been challenged, and students—not unnaturally—take it to be gospel. Yet this non-existent literary device—not only a phantom but contrary to sense—has the function, according to the authors of that article, of lending a dynamic quality to the passage in which it supposed to occur. Unfortunately, all of their examples can readily be construed according to the normal—and iron-clad—rules of Chinese syntax. Consider, for instance, the line by Sun T'í they cite:⁷

*srä tr'auŋ syuk tou ngyou*⁴

Our authors take this to be a typical instance of the verb placed ahead of its subject. (p. 112) (They do not suggest that Sun T'í was imitating Latin diction. They do err in rendering the supposed subject *tou ngyou* by "the Cow Constellation." In fact this doublet represents [*Nam*] *tou* "Southern Dipper" [= *tou syou* "Dipper *nakshatra*" = the lunar lodging named "Dipper"] in Sagittarius and its companion "Ox *nakshatra*" in Capricornus. The southern dipper has unaccountably evaporated, despite the anticipatory verb *syuk* "lodge; spend the night" pivoting to its other usage [in the reading *syou*] "*nakshatra*; lunar lodging.") The verse is a simple subject-verb-object construction—as it must be: "the gauze window lodges Dipper and Ox." That is, the window makes a frame for the two potent asterisms, and in so doing assumes a new identity—it becomes itself a *nakshatra* transferred to earth in the holy monastery where the poet is writing. This kind of matching of heavenly with earthly entities and powers is a commonplace of T'ang poetry.

Our authors also give, as an example of inversion, the very example of Tu Fu's stimulated swallows, already correctly analysed by Boodberg. They admit the possibility of a simultaneity or coalescence of *two* meanings, that is, of two syntactical possibilities, a "static" and an

"active" one, each equally valid with the imaginary inverted syntax given equal status with the normal. This implies not only impossible grammar but insipid writing—faults certainly not to be blamed on Tu Fu.

The sad truth is that "translators" and "critics" of Classical Chinese verse rarely care about the nuances of diction and the discriminating choices made by the T'ang poets—the very qualities that make them poets rather than poetasters. In our time a bland and inoffensive paraphrase is always more acceptable than a version which attempts to convey the distinctive linguistic artistry of the poet.

The burden of proof is on the inversionists. Let them demonstrate beyond cavil and the possibility of rebuttal that (1) the laws of Chinese prose syntax can be suspended in poetry, so that "subject" may follow "predicate," in such a way that no other interpretation is possible; and that (2) their inverted interpretation is poetically superior to the one provided by analysis according to the rules of normal syntax.

It is this second problem that must inevitably give them pause. They must put their labels and their categories, their "genre theory," their author psychology, their identification of allusions, and all such matters in their proper places as ancillary and not always illuminating data, and get down to the primary job of making honest appraisals of what should be *the best use of language*. If, to them, "the warmth of the sand puts the ducks to sleep" remains no different than "the ducks sleep on the warm sand," they will never know why Tu Fu's poetry is superior, except because someone told them so. It is high time we stopped debasing the great Chinese poets with etiolated, jejune, infantile and erroneous renditions in English, "substantiated" by factitious doctrines.

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- a 畫棟朝飛南浦雲
- b 泥融飛燕子 沙暖睡鴛鴦
- c 青是烽煙白是骨
- d 紗窗宿斗牛

⁶ Kao Yu-kung and Mei Tsu-lin, "Syntax, Diction, and Imagery in T'ang Poetry," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 31 (1971), 49-136.

⁷ Sun T'í, "Su Yün men szu ko," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 2, ts'ê 7, pp. 6a-6b.

Humorous Anecdotes in Chinese Historical Texts

As a brief addendum to Professor David R. Knechtges' scholarship on Chinese humor,¹ I would like to call

¹ David R. Knechtges, "Wit, Humor, and Satire in Early Chinese Literature (to A.D. 220)," MS, 29 (1970-71),

attention to the use of humor in Chinese historical texts.

79-98; review of Henry W. Wells, *Traditional Chinese Humor: A Study In Art and Literature*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1971, in *JAOS*, 93.4 (1973), 633-635.



A Trip to the Moon

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A TRIP TO THE MOON*

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The problem of investigating travel in outer space during the T'ang dynasty is to determine what or where outer space was. For the Taoists, especially the masters and adepts of the celebrated school of Mao-shan, outer space was indistinguishable from inner space. The paper discusses the "astronauts" of medieval China and alternative methods of "space travel."

THE REAL PROBLEM OF INVESTIGATING TRAVEL in outer space during the T'ang dynasty is to determine what or where outer space was. The Taoists, especially the masters and adepts of the celebrated school of Mao-shan, dominated large areas of thought and even of public life during this period, and for them outer space was indistinguishable from inner space. To put it another way, they made no significant distinction between interstellar and intercellular space. The chambers within the human body were inhabited by powerful spirits which were identical with the deities who display themselves to our eyes in the forms of stars and planets. In a properly conducted meditation the initiate could either summon one of the spirits of the Great Dipper to lodge within his cranium, where he would become both visible and audible to his spiritual faculties, or, conversely, the adept might elevate himself to the realm of the circumpolar asterisms and there see the Jade Princess in her coat of feathers as plain as I see you now, and draw directly on her arcane wisdom and power. Both procedures were, in the final analysis, the same. Imagine that your skull is a kind of organic planetarium which projects the stars—the outward aspects of the gods, as in Dante's *Paradiso* they are angels made visible—against the black vault of the celestial dome for the refreshing contemplation of our physical eyes . . . and you're ready for blast-off. My remarks this evening will take this basic "truth" (but what

is truth?) about the most successful astronauts of medieval China into account, but I propose also to consider certain alternative methods of space travel, and finally to provide a kind of simple travelogue to assist any of you who may wish to employ one of these time-tested techniques for a holiday beyond the stratosphere—specifically, for a trip to the moon.

Tours of space were a commonplace of ancient China. For persons who lacked the resources to make such journeys in person, fully documented reports, dictated by the cosmonauts themselves, were readily available. The most popular of these flight-logs survive in the familiar and much commented on classical collection of the *Ch'u tz'u*, a title which may be rendered as the "Word Hoard of Ch'u." These richly and elegantly phrased rhapsodies, based on the god-seeking soul voyages of the Chinese shamans, despite differences in plot and style, settings and stage business, have much in common—an important difference of detail being the mode or vehicle of flight. Sometimes the sky-traveller projects his soul over the rainbow and beyond the clouds—sometimes he seems to go in the flesh, like John Carter on his notorious trip to Mars, or as we *all* shall do at the sound of the last trumpet. But often it is not easy to be sure which vehicle the poet intends, or if he intends to be precise on this crude point at all. Sometimes the protagonist flies off on the back of a beast powered by some undescribed metaphysical fuel—the dragon being a prime favorite. Or he may even glide aloft in a chariot, drawn by a divine animal, or else invisibly—propelled by some primitive anti-gravitational device. In either case, he skims the housetops of the star-gods, as easily as Santa Claus, hobnobs with the porter at Heaven's gate—but his ultimate goal is always the City of God, the pure and holy center

* This after-dinner entertainment was read as the Presidential Address at the 185th meeting of the American Oriental Society at The Ohio State University on 23 April 1975. I hope, in the near future, to publish the factual and interpretative materials on which this phantasmagoria is based as part of a much larger enterprise, with added coherence and respectable documentation.

of the universe, where all antinomies are resolved and all anxieties evaporate. These evolved shamans and refined medicinemen were very familiar with the stars, and their familiarity is no mere nodding acquaintance—they treat them in an off-hand, neighborly way, and even exploit them, much diminished it would seem to us, for trivial purposes. The reader is sometimes reminded of Hollywood cartoons—Bugs Bunny shuffling about purposefully in the moon dust. Our ghostly heroes of Ch'u wield comets as falchions—or as pennants; they drink perfumed wine from the Dipper—or twist off its handle to use as a magic wand.

Such visions as these were crystallized—probably about the beginning of the Christian era—along with other elements of folk belief and religious practice, into the system we call "Taoism." Today we can still see super-beings astride winged dragons, as if they were horses, in the tomb reliefs of that period, and, in the same era, other media of transport, for instance the magical Manchurian crane, began their long careers of development as indispensable attributes of the immortals.

It was also possible for Taoist initiates to gain mastery over the stars and their inhabitants either by soul projection or by feats of imitative magic. Allusions to these arts can be found even in pre-Taoist literature; an example from the old songs of Ch'u tells of "treading the array of stars to the limits of light."

While still earth-bound, the Taoist initiate, following the precedent of his ancient shamanistic predecessors, could walk among symbolic stars—or, in some sense, actual stars—tracing out their formations in order to achieve mastery over them or draw power from them, as a sorcerer can enchant a person by reciting the syllables of his name or manipulating his image in a manner approved by wizardry. Since as far back as the Chinese records show, an instant injection of supernatural energy was the portion of the adept who danced the step of Yü, the archaic divine king—sometime's called "the shaman's step." This halting but potent dance is thought by some to have originated in the shambling of a bear, impersonated in an archaic animal cult, and by others to represent the hemiplegic gait of Yü himself—the demigod had sacrificed part of his physical powers to gain heavenly ones. It is still performed by female shamans in south China. But its most sophisticated and dramatic development was in the esoteric practices of the Taoists, who followed the sequence of stars in the most powerful as-

terisms, especially that of the great Northern Dipper. The most exalted class of Taoist initiates could summon the high polar deity named "Grand Unity"—he is also known by more elaborate titles—by "pacing the road of the Nine Stars." These are the nine stars of the *true* dipper—the dipper of the Taoist cabala. The identity of the two stars other than the familiar seven is somewhat ambiguous. Medieval Taoist texts call one of these two ancillary stars "Sustainer" (*fu*) and the other "Straightener" (*pi*). The former is our little Alcor, close to the great star Mizar; the latter is said to be attached to topaz-yellow Phecda—but in fact Straightener is an invisible star, and one of its names is "Void." It is an anti-star, a "black hole."

One T'ang work on Taoist practices advocates an internal approach to the dipper: the walk involves a simultaneous vision of the star Alcor seen as a spark behind the closed eyelids. So, in the end, it is within the bony planetarium of the skull that the divine asterisms are spread—identical, through a kind of supernatural topology, with the constellations we think we see above our heads. Travel by trance is easily the best method, far superior to a Fokker Crane or a Sopwith Dragon.

The outline of the Dipper was only one of many sidereal paths available to the adept. He might, for instance, choose to make the circuit of the Five Planets, hopping along the ecliptic. He would normally hold his breath while performing along his stellar lifelines—the "mainstays of heaven," for instance the Jade Mainstay and the Gold Mainstay that made possible the transit of the Three Eminences, an important asterism below the Dipper (These Mainstays [*kang*] are the cosmic meridians which bind the stars to each other and to the poles, above all to the little star named Knot [*niu*] which marked the celestial pole in the T'ang period. Some say that there were twelve of them, corresponding to the twelve annual stations of the Jupiter cycle. The southern nexus of the Mainstays is an asterism which is itself named "Heaven's Mainstay," and represented by our *delta* Piscis Australis, near the great reddish star Fomalhaut. This is exactly in the antipodes of the Northern Dipper. Perpendicular to the Mainstays are the Strands [or "filaments" (*chi*)] of the sky, lesser bindings which have a symbolic counterpart in the constellation "Heaven's Strands" whose lucida is ξ Coronae Borealis and extends horizontally across the norther part of Hercules, connecting ϵ , ζ , and other stars of that group.)

The Mainstays then are the sturdier elements in the cosmic net, while the Filaments are the slenderer elements attached to the stays; together they may be compared with the "standards" and "threads" of basketry, and the space-walker clung to them in order to climb or skim along from star to star. There were some dangers inherent in this undertaking. One of our sacred texts says: "The method for treading the Mainstays: do not proceed horizontally, infringing on the Mainstays. To cut across—transgressing on the Mainstays of Heaven—is to hack and cut at the *Way* of Heaven, and is absolutely taboo."

In the T'ang dynasty there were still poets to testify to the power of the shaman's shuffles over the domain of the night sky. Yüan Chen, relaxing in a Taoist friary, where many such great traditions were still observed, wrote about Taoist adepts and their magic swords:

"For binding oaths—their golden sabres are weighty;
For beheading trolls—their precious swords are keen.
When they pace like Yü the Starry Stays are moved,
When they burn their spells the furnace spirit does
homage "

(The "furnace spirit" is the deity who presides over the alchemist's fire and hermetic egg).

But the most sublime instances of poetic space flight are provided by the verses of Wu Yün, whose name is associated with the Taoist court of Hsüan Tsung. A mountain recluse early in life, his reputation for sanctity earned him an invitation to the palace, where he was installed in the Forest of Quills among the most successful writers of the realm. Somehow he could not live permanently under these worldly circumstance. Whatever the causes, he returned to the life of a hermit in the middle of the eighth century. His poems abound in astral flights. Above all, he is concerned with paraphrasing clichés that suggest passage into the Infinite. The emphasis is not so much on providing such conventional metaphors as "farflight" in place of "alienation," "departure," and "escape" as did many of his materialistic contemporaries, but on suggesting, however imperfectly, the ecstatic bliss of empyreal being. He yearns for the ultimate but featureless sublimity—which becomes a kind of white glare in some of his poems—of the state where even the stars are grimy particles far below the feet. In the end, he aims to transcend what is already transcendental. All of these longings are expressed in radiant language, spangled with the very distinctions which he hopes to

negate. To suggest the ultimate transition he rings the changes on all conceivable phrases for otherworldly travel. These are displayed at their most typical in a series of ten poems collectively styled "Treading the Void," an old song title also favored by other T'ang poets. In these he points the way though the "myriad heavens;" he spirals upward, "footloose and fancy-free" above the Grand Aurora; he is irradiated by the silvery brilliance of Venus; finally he achieves the passage of the "Grand Emptiness." Here is a prosaic version of one of Wu Yün's more sparkling journeys:

"Gently, easily, away from man's domain,
Leaving, quitting, drawing near the town of God,
Up far beyond the strands of starry chronograms,
Looking down on the lights of sun and moon
Swiftly now, past the Great Tenuity:
The shine of a sky dwelling—gleaming, glittering!"

The eager collector of golden streets and pearly gates will have a happy time with Wu Yün, but will have to temper his enthusiasm for jewelled imagery with a due appreciation of abyssal plunges and cruises through black or blinding gulfs.

Fortunately the heritors of the mystic sky-journeys of Wu Yün multiplied. One of the most eminent was Lü Yen, who failed the great examinations during the second half of the ninth century, and thereafter haunted the bistros of Ch'ang-an until he discovered his own Tao. Then he vanished, later to achieve apotheosis in the popular company of "Eight Immortals." He left for us a long series of untitled poems in seven-syllable lines on alchemical and transcendental themes. Sometimes he does not disdain the plain, familiar imagery that Po Chü-i made so popular, but intermingled with it there are usually phrases of cosmic and philosophic import conveying an entirely different flavor: in these poems we find that we have left the world of romantic fiction and endless love for the world of *metaphysical* devotions and the lure of invisible, almost inconceivable universes:

"Girding the lightning, coursing the clouds, I fly to
sun and moon;
Goading the Dragon, urging the Tiger, I pass beyond
both Potent and Latent "

or again:

"Without image, without contour, flying beyond the
Formed Mutations:
There is a gate, there is a door, placed in both Potent
and Latent "

The created, phenomenal world counts for nothing here—the search is for the road that leads beyond

such illusory distinctions as the world we know provides. Outer space has become inner space.

At the very end of T'ang and throughout the tenth century, the flights of the poets' minds into immensity underwent continuous development, and the writers ransacked their souls and their thesauri for the words to express the inexpressible in new and untarnished ways. Happily the name of Kuan-hsiu, the magnificent monk of the court of Shu in Szechwan, who made new and exciting discoveries in these fantastic word-worlds, is no longer as unfamiliar as it once was.

He made a specialty of dream travel. This is a fairly obvious way of solving the problems of the transit of interstellar space, particularly since it was the common old Chinese view that dream experiences were true experiences. The soul, completely endowed with personality, went abroad, met friends in distant towns, bedded mistresses, and carried out all kinds of other normal activities—as well as many that were rather difficult when encumbered with carnality. For Kuan-hsiu, however, what the soul saw and encountered in dreams were by no means everyday things, or even extensions of them, but imperfect shadows of the truly real—perfect entities that are concealed from us during our waking hours. For him, the inner eye sees, in the phantasmagoria of dreams, only wavering segments of the ultimate vision.

At the opposite end of the scale of devices which provided mobility above the earth were crasser instruments—themselves not neglected in verse. Much in the tradition of the seven-league boots of Hop-o'-my-Thumb are the faintly comical "Flying Cloud shoes." The tale that Po Chü-i himself owned a pair while he was engaged in alchemical pursuits in Kiangsi is doubtless apocryphal, but there is no doubt that people were sometimes actually shod with such dynamic footwear. In T'ang times magic shoes could be taken as seriously as the "pace of Yü" in lifting their wearer beyond the grime of this world. The following poem, translated in its entirety, is the work of Li Po. He wrote it in honor of his friend the Taoist priestess Ch'u, surnamed "Thrice Pure," on the occasion of her departure for the sacred mountain in Hunan:

"Lady of the Tao—from the Kiang in Wu,
With lotus flower kerchief borne on her head,
And a rainbow dress unwetted by the rain—
Unique and rare—a cloud from Yang-t'ai.

Under her feet far-wandering shoes,
To skim the waves, raising pure-white dust—
To find the transcendents, heading for South Holy Hill—
Surely she will see the Dame of Wei."

There are a number of rather conventional allusions here—almost all to divine women of the past—flattering comparisons are inevitable. Lady Ch'u would surely be diminished if we were to style her a "Taoist nun," a practice commonly but poorly employed when writing of these proud and often liberated women, who should remind us rather of the daughters of medieval French and English kings—who might also do turns as secular abbesses. This "nun," so-called—no timid drab recluse—wears splendid silks and a real or artificial lotus on her massed black hair. The rain and rainbow dress symbolized the rainbow goddess of Wu-shan, the ancient fertility goddess and consort of kings, celebrated in the eighth century in the notorious fairy dance of Yang Kuei-fei. A goddess who "skims the waves" is herself so pure as to stir up little dust, and that a dust of holy whiteness, in her wet path—a kind of candent moonglade. The prototype of this snowy vision is the goddess of the Lo River, whom Li Shang-yin invested with the garb of the moon-goddess Ch'ang-o to tread, not the water of a river of earth, but the icy surface of the moon. We shall have a closer look at her in a moment.

By such means as these, then, some rare individuals came, if not to transcendental bliss, at least to the buoyant but solidly set paradises where white-limbed, angelic beings lived their endless lives. To us these castles in the air appear as if placed behind wavering mists or semi-transparent glass, although occasionally they are sharply defined, like the cunningly constructed copies of them built by royal architects in the great cities of Asia. In their more hazy versions, they are only partly revealed to the profane eyes of the poet through amethystine fogs, imponderable clouds high above the clouds that drift over the fields of earth, magic mists charged with energy analogous to the pink swirls of the aurora borealis, billowing far above the familiar world of rain and snow. The poet Ch'en Ching—an obscure writer of mid-T'ang times—describes the divine city, in one of a long set of "Pacing the Void" poems, as a "town of white clouds" (or "in white clouds"), near the sun and the moon. The eminent Taoist metaphysician and mythographer Tu Kuang-t'ing has its palatial structures actually carved and

twisted out of cloud-matter: "Formed of knotted pneumas, framed in the void of clotted clouds."

* * *

Despite the many available modes of transport the cosmos is infinite. For our first trip we must aim low. Let us consider, then, what we must expect of our first landing field, the shimmering skin of Dante's "eterna margarita," the "massy pearl of the night."

The ancient opusculum "Questions of Heaven" (*T'ien wen*) posed, among other difficult questions, the following;

"To what are sun and moon attached,
And how is the array of stars laid forth?

And specifically of the moon:

"What is the virtue of the light of night
That when it dies it is bred once more,
And what is gained by a hare in its belly?"

The answer is not simple. We know at least that the moon is anti-sun. As the sun is concentrated *yang*, made visible to the human senses, so the moon is the sensible aspect of the Grand Yin. The noumenal entity underlying the shining disc presented to our eyes was, then, quintessential *yin*—an energetic storage battery (as it were) which is the necessary complement to that powerful generator the sun. But *yin* is, in all of its aspects, no mere passive entity, as has sometimes been suggested by hasty interpreters of the verbal symbols of the *yin-yang* school. It is not merely derivative, secondary, and recessive. Its cold nature is primary, and it is not so much passive as actively receptive. Too much has been inferred by analogy from the supposed social status of women in early China: quiescent, unoriginal, obedient, and placid as they were supposed to be, it was easy to project these qualities about the glittering, dazzling globe in the sky.

Similarly it was and is easy to imagine that if *yang* is somehow "spiritual" in the same sense as the human male, *yin* must therefore be "material" like the human female. By no means. For us of the twentieth century the moon is a solid, non-luminous body, despite its remarkable albedo—a dead mass of cooled lavas, conglomerates, and other end-products of ancient magmas, all overlaid with dust, like an untended mausoleum. No crusted dowager, the Chinese moon was more truly feminine than our telescopes display. Its

energy, however, was potential rather than kinetic—its true brightness was latent, and in this sense it was dependent on the light of the sun which, like an ultra-violet lamp, irradiated all or part of its surface to stimulate the characteristic moonglow, as the ultraviolet "black light" evokes the "cold light" in a luminescent object, such as a cluster of fluorite crystals. It is not an accident that the phosphorescence of the oceans was called *yin huo* "yin-fire"—for the "feminine" principle has its own kind of cool flame—and that the modern Chinese word for "fluorescence" is "firefly light" (*ying kuang*)—that is, the kind of light shed by naturally luminescent creatures.

A Taoist text extant in early T'ang times gives a picture of this inner phosphorescence emanating from the mineral components of the moon: "The moon," it says, "is 1,900 *li* horizontally and vertically. The moon's nimbus is 7,840 *li* in circumference. White silver, veluriyam and water crystal illuminate its interior. The light of flames shines brightly on its exterior. Within it are city walls, fortifications and human beings. There is a bathing pool of Seven Jewels, and the Forest of Waning grows in its interior."

This demonstrates plainly that the moon is illuminated from within and that its relationship with the sun is purely a matter of cosmological balance, not of dependence, as we have noted elsewhere. (Perhaps it is also worth remarking that simple calculation from the figures provided by this text shows that the nimbus extends approximately 100 U.S. miles above the moon's surface.)

The same sources provide a picturesque explanation of the waxing and waning of the moon, in terms of a lunar population dedicated to the continual refining and polishing of the crystalline moon-matter so that it may radiate to best advantage:

"The men in the moon are sixteen feet tall, and all are dressed in blue colored garments. These men in the moon, from the first to the sixteenth day of the moon, regularly take white silver and veluriyam and refine them in the smelter of flame-light. Therefore when the moon swells to the limit its light is bright and clear and most sheer white; and from the seventeenth day to the twenty-ninth day they gather the flowers of the Three Pneumas below the Forest of Waning to wipe clean the light of the sun and moon; therefore, as the moon falls to its limit its light is imperceptible and its luminosity occulted."

One of the Goliard poets expressed the medieval idea of the relation between sun and moon very well:

"Dum Dianae vitrea
sero lampas oritur,
et a fratris rosea
luce dum succenditur "

I venture to render this as follows: "When the glassy lamp of Diana rises late, then it is kindled by the rosy light of her brother." These lines reveal the late rising of the full moon in the east, just after the sun has sunk below the western horizon. Phoebus' fire, potent from a vast distance, lights Diana's crystalline lamp—the latter not a bad image from the Chinese point of view. T'ang poetry abounds in lunar metaphors of a similar cast—"silver candle," "crystal dish," and so on. To sum up, I propose to confute the wrong-headed notion that *yin* symbolizes dark, shaded things, where the *yang* rays do not reach, and that therefore the light of the moon is merely the reflection to our eyes of the lordly sunlight, as from a mirror to our eyes (but in fact the Chinese did sometimes figure the moon as a mirror—but a magic mirror).

I am quite persuaded of the truth of Milton's vision. The great poet, faced with the difficulty of revealing the damned towers of Hell, a place plunged in preternatural darkness, not only to our eyes but to the burning eyes of Lucifer and his host, displays it lit by flames—not by earthly flames, but by a species which shed "no light, but rather darkness visible." Similarly, moonlight is a unique product of the moon, incited perhaps, invoked perhaps, yet of its own, *sui generis*, and self-generated.

The moon was also water—or rather made up of water most refined, most subtle, most perfect, superior to, but akin to, all earthly waters. This followed from its *yin* nature, which was the polar opposite of the fire-essence of *yang*. Its unique perfection among *yin* creatures lay in its purity, its homogeneity. It was unmixed, it was not contingent: unlike camels, marshes, & women, which embodied or exemplified *yin* only in larger degree than most beings, the moon was *yin* uncontaminated—a fact which removed it from the realm of natural objects altogether. But it shared more with natural waters than with anything else in the mortal world.

To take the watery nature of the moon as a fact of natural history rather than as an ontological

truth was fatal to some old but persistent myths, such as the belief that among the denizens of the moon were a rabbit and a toad. In the first century of our era, Wang Ch'ung—otherwise a sensible fellow—used this oversimplified interpretation of the traditional belief to confound the "Confucian" pedagogues of Han, who could not reject even the most fantastic tradition if it appeared sufficiently sanctified by age, or had been blessed by one of the sages of the past. If the moon is water, wrote Wang Ch'ung, the unhappy hare and toad, aliens in such an environment, would long since have drowned. (Toad and hare & other moon creatures, although they were always a source of uneasiness to the literal-minded, gave no difficulty to the metaphysicians and the poets, whose moon creatures were inorganic. Or if they had veins, they carried ice water rather than blood.)

The wateriness of the moon has its western analogues. From early times we have given the name of "seas" to the broad gray areas of that satellite. Among them are Mare Foecunditatis, Mare Nectaris, Mare Vaporum, Lacus Somniorum, and many other fancifully labelled wastes of water. But these imagined seas and lakes, like the supposed canals of Mars, were not only (as we now know) non-existent, but, in the end, bear little resemblance to the pervasively humid character of the moon as envisaged by the Chinese.

To sum up, leaving the problems of charting the moon's journeys and the computation of its perigees and apogees to the historians of science, and focusing our attention on its nature, we have our surest guides in folk belief and literature. T'ang poetry leads us to a vision of the moon as simultaneously crystalline and aqueous; sometimes as a lovely but frigid entity—to be personified as a snow queen or an icy maiden. Without personification, we are compelled to see it as a crystalline mass, cognate to rock crystal which, as all the world knew, was petrified ice, eons old, altered to transparent quartz.

In his poem "Moon" the tenth-century poet Hsü Yin attributes the crystalline charm of the moon—fashioned, it seems, from glittering icy dendrites—to the special intervention of the abstract and universal entity which (or *who*) stamps concrete and specific objects and events out of mere Potentiality:

"In a cyan abyss who can detect the authority of the
Fashioner of Mutations—

Which condensed the frost and congealed the snow
to create her unique allure?"

Although we are persuaded by our television screens that, despite appearances, the moon is stony, and even dusty—something of a disappointment in short—the Chinese version (since we need remote and incredible comparisons) reminds us readily of the great outer planets of the solar system with their cores of metallic hydrogen and their crusts of frozen methane and ammonia. Or we may wish to compare it to the nucleus of a comet, which has been characterized as "a dirty snowball." The climate of the ancient Chinese moon appears to us as wintry and bleak as the climate of Cocytus, the lowest of Dante's layers of Hell, whose cold is truly preternatural.

As was well known to the Chinese, the moon is furnished with a cinnamon tree, and a man who is perpetually engaged in the futile effort to chop it down. The story of the tree, which has affinities with a host of sacred trees, world trees, jewel trees, and fairy trees in all nations, has been told in many books. Tonight I have only a few words to say about its lunar version, chiefly as a means of introducing the reader to the lunar landscape. Here are the words of Tuan Ch'eng-shih, that indefatigable collector of *curiosa* in the ninth century:

"From of old it has been said that there are a cinnamon and a toad in the moon, and it is said in books of *curiosa* that the moon cinnamon is five thousand feet tall. Below there is a man who chops at it constantly, but the gash in the tree always closes up. The man is surnamed Wu and named Yang. He was a person of Hsi-ho who studied transcendentalism but went astray. He was ostracized and commanded to hew at the tree. In the Shakyas (i.e., Buddhist) books it is said that there is a jambu tree on the south face of Mount Sumeru. As the moon passes, the shadow of the tree enters into the moon. Some say that the toad and the cinnamon in the moon are shadows of the earth, while the empty places are the shadows of water. This assertion is quite close [to the truth]."

This précis of lunar information needs expansion and point by point examination. There was general agreement about the cinnamon tree. But opinion varied about the other shadows, reflections, images or entities there. A familiar book surviving from the Chin period had the authority of age, and was therefore not to be dismissed lightly:

"As to the vulgar tradition about transcendent people and a cinnamon tree in the moon: look at it now when

it is first born and you will see that the foot of a transcendent being has gradually been taking shape. The cinnamon tree appears there as a later growth."

It is not altogether clear whether we have to do with an actual foot, or with a footprint in some lunar debris. It is at least thinkable, however, that the moon is no globe of subtle *yin*-foam buoyant in the ether, but is solid enough to support living creatures on its surface (in some accounts, however, it seems to be penetrable, like a ball of water held together by its own gravity). This in turn allows the possibility that the surface may be landscaped, somewhat like the surface of the earth. A close study may lead to the suspicion that some of the shadowy shapes on the moon are mountains, as Wu Jung fancied in this poem, "Staying in a High Building—an Autumn Evening":

Inside the moon the blue hills are faint—as if so painted,
Within the dewdrops the yellow leaves are filemot-
sere—just so for autumn.

I lean outward from the steep railing—in no way in-
clined to sleep,

Wondering only if the Starry Ho may find a way into
this high house.

Observe that the pale blue hills are unambiguously *inside* the moon—so that we can be confident that Wu Jung was not seeing a surface feature. Similarly, and carefully so patterned in the quatrain, the falling yellow leaves are reflected in the round dewdrops—miniature moons. The moon is penetrated by hills, as moss agate by arboreal landscapes, and crystal by spicules of rutile. So also, with luck, the poet's lofty room may be penetrated by the flow of the star river on this brilliant night.

But more prosaic minds could still imagine a solid moon. The tale was told (or at least it reached Tuan Ch'eng-shih somehow) that two men once lost their way on Mount Sung. There they encountered a stranger dressed in pure white (it does not take a quick imagination to recognize him for a moon man). In answer to their inquiries, he informs them: "Are you aware, milords, that the moon is in fact composed of Seven Jewels? Or that the moon is contoured like a bullet? The images on it are the sunshine on its convexities. Ordinarily there are 82,000 households caring for it. I myself once counted them." (Whereupon he gave the travellers a bit of magical jade medicine—undoubtedly moon dust—to ward off illness, and pointed out the way to the public road, which would obviously be familiar to an all-seeing night-traveller like the moon.) This well-tended mosaic

moon would appear to be solid enough—but—its gemmy substance is crystalline, and crystals have an ambiguous place in the Chinese imagination. They are allied to water, and in a profound sense permeable.

Now, by way of contrast, consider the moon as pitted and honeycombed, like a volcanic rabbit-warren. From Han times at least we hear of "moon dens" or "moon burrows"—phrases used ambiguously from very early times. In one sense they refer to the dank and gloomy hiding place of the moon at the western extremity of the world—the counterpart of the solar Fu-sang tree in the extreme east. It naturally follows that they also symbolize the cold and remote lands of the western barbarians, the homeland of the ancient Kushans, whose name, in its Chinese version, even contained the element "moon," and was extended in T'ang times to include the benighted Turks and Iranians beyond the Pamirs. Moreover, whether near the Oxus and Jaxartes Rivers, or penetrating the moist substance of the moon, the caves are not only dark, they are wet. The dampness does not suggest that these lunar holes made pleasant habitations, but the darkness at least afforded security for some creatures. It will come as no surprise, then, to learn that the moon-dens housed not only felt-hatted Tajiks who, doubtless, deserved no better, but a certain familiar leporine resident of the great sky lantern. His burrow was dark, and so was he. It follows naturally that lunar bolt-holes provided convenient double images and bivalent allusions, in which it was easy to suggest a connection between earth and sky, mundane and divine. Li Po, a fairly moon-obsessed man, wrote the following about a celebrated hero of ancient times who made his reputation among the nomads beyond the frontier:

Thirsty—he ate ice from the dens of the moon;

Hungry—he dined on snow from high in the sky.

In short, while enduring privations, the warrior was still heaven-nourished—and indeed it is hardly possible to overlook his proximity to the Mountains of Heaven that stretch across Central Asia and, in T'ang times, separated the partly sinicized Iranian oases from the wild horsemen of the steppes. Similarly, in the following century, Liu Yü-hsi, testifying in verse to the nobility of a colleague about to depart on a ritual pilgrimage into the West, wrote:

The Moon Dens play the host for all of Hsia—

Cloud Officer descends from the Nine Heavens.

("All of Hsia" is a collective term for the Chinese people. Once more, earthly and celestial affairs run parallel, and the magnates of our world have their doppelgängers above the clouds: the poet's friend is—as a magistrate of T'ang—an emissary of Heaven going as guest to the caverns of the moon—is it in the western mountains, or in the lunar hills above? The distinction is fit only for nit-picking literalists.)

In all of this there is a *mythological* strain, even if it is sometimes rather tenuous. The hare's den is a microcosm of the moon's womb—and beyond this universal symbol lie the images of the germinal "sky grottoes" and the underworld to which souls pass, and from which they emerge for new beginnings. For instance, to make a meal of the lunar ice from the ice-pits in the sky (which had their earthly analogues) is to be born again, spiritually and figuratively. The interested reader may trace this thread to wherever it may lead him

Where there are secret dwelling places, we may expect dwellers. We have already seen a host of them, refurbishing the multicolored surface of an enamelled moon. These ant-like and undifferentiated inhabitants of the treasure-orb, however, do not have quite the appeal of the recognizable individuals that have been detected there.

The lunar fauna is generally treated by sinologists as if it were negligible, except as nuggets of lore for the earnest researcher in comparative folklore or for the indefatigable explorer of the endless trails followed by migratory Grand Myths. But in itself the hare in the moon remains only faintly amusing—certainly not to be taken seriously. Or so we imagine. It is enough, we think, to remember the standard tale about his elevation to that chilly planetoid, and to notice with mild interest his repeated appearance as a motif in decorative art, usually grinding away at his mortar like a good tireless beast. That is enough, and by that token he becomes—though we hardly dare admit it publicly—a tiresome beast. I conceive it to be my mission to rescue him from his patient alchemical chores, and put him on center stage, hopefully to introduce to you facets of his personality that have escaped the attention of most earthly observers—as they did *not* escape the poets of T'ang. For although many of them saw him as a trivial stock figure, like a moral-monger out of Aesop or a children's cliché from the received Mother Goose, many others saw him

as a complex person—by no means as simple-minded and unenterprising as we, in our deluded folly, imagine him to be. Certainly he is no mere paper cutout—he is a numinous hare, a hare of power. And even more, he is a mysterious and sometimes unpredictable hare.

Metaphysically, the hare was an alien element in the cold, impassive moon. The true lunar essence—the *yin* component in the symbolic symbiosis—was the toad, whose damp emanation was neutralized in part by the presence of his rabbit associate, “the *yang* within the *yin*.” Such, then, was the hare as a cosmic force—but even this philosophical eminence is not his most significant attribute. We must turn to the poets to discover the more subtle facets of his nature.

For some of them, the moon hare could be sheer fun. See him now as a rebel—a free-wheeler in the void. The poet is Yao Ho, an eminent official of the mid-ninth century:

Jade rabbit on silver wheel drifting towards the east.
Gemlike and crystal clear—and the third watch, just
right for roving!

A slip of black cloud rises—from somewhere:
Its inky net cages back a ball of water germ!

Here we have to do with a delinquent rabbit, not in the guise of a grim grinder-out of seasonal decay, a determined time-marker, but a wanderer, a rebel against clocks. “Silver” and “jade” are commonplace images of whiteness, always appropriate to the moon and its inhabitants. They put the spotlight on the vagrant hare and his silver-penny unicycle. Why vagrant? you ask. It is there, in the first line of the poem, I answer. He is pedalling irresponsibly towards the *east*, when he has been *programmed* to glide placidly toward the west, where he should descend (gracefully but tiresomely) into the evening sky. He will not. The moon—the vehicular hare, that is—is at its most gemlike and crystalline when high in the midnight sky: the third watch. The roads of heaven are nicely lit, and off he goes on his ramble. But the dark hand of ineluctable fate, in the form of a streak of black cloud, reaches up to seize him, seemingly out of nowhere. (The physical counterpart of this censorious arrest is the illusion of an east-bound moon created by the actual contrary westward movement of clouds across the sky—an illusion any connoisseur of moon-hares may verify for himself.) Caged in a celestial Black Maria the illusory culprit, now plainly revealed in his noumenal form as a crystal ball (“water germ” is rock

crystal, is the planets, is the Milky Way, is the moon!), is jerked back to his proper path, aimed at the western horizon.

The magic of poetry could also transmute the moon hare into a figure of fright and inevitable doom, a scythe-bearer, akin to a grinning death’s-head. This is how he is presented now by poet Szu-k’ung T’u, who himself saw the fall of T’ang:

Fly-y-y . . . crow . . . fly-y-y!

Hop, hare, hop! (or, “bound, bunny, bound”!)

Make mornings come and evenings go: spur on the
seasons’ sections!

Kua Woman knew only how to patch the blue sky—
She did not know how to boil a glue that would stick
sun and moon [to it].

These verses have the superficial simplicity of a nursery rhyme, beginning with the smooth, easy flight of the sun-crow across the sky, followed by the leaping leporid who represents the variable but irreversible passage of the moon. It ends with the figure of the creatrix Nü Kua, shown frustrated, holding a useless paste pot—is it the same one she used to patch the damaged vault of heaven? She is lost in moody speculation about how to devise an adhesive that might arrest the onward progress of sun and moon, and with it seasonal change,—in the end, victory over night and death. The verbal images themselves are light in tone—but they tell a message of pessimism and despair: mutability is the only law of nature, and even the gods cannot arrest time in its flight.

That Faustus may repent and save his soul,
O lente, lente currite noctis equi!

The stars move still, time runs, the clock will strike. . .

Our frost-furred friend is a deadly timekeeper with a staccato thump.

But now to the famous moon maid. Ch’ang-o (as we now call her) may well have been an ancient deity, but her modern name does not appear to be particularly old, and the legend of how she fled to the moon with the elixir of immortality appears to have been artificially attached to her. We need not linger on these difficult matters, which still need serious attention by the philologists. Suffice it to say here that by T’ang times she was a standardized figure in popular mythology, and, despite the importance of the moon in official religion and astrology, she was not—under that name at any rate—a great deity. But her role in the poetic imagination was immense.

The moon goddess, understandably, provided the poets with a natural disguise for bewitching

entertainers of men. She had the legendary jade-white complexion, which her mundane counterparts could and did approximate with white lead; she was simultaneously charming and aloof, in the grand tradition of fertility goddesses in the guise of mortal women. Many writers of inferior talent found it easy to devalue the goddess in order to make her image detectable in the figure of a Ch'ang-an courtesan. Others, perhaps of no greater ability, were able to elevate the courtesan into the realm of traditional fantasy, where she could, like a Dresden china shepherdess, serve transiently as an attractive piece of heavenly clockwork, marking the passage of the months, the fading of beloved images—in short, a symbol of all the depressing residue of separation. Some poets, more than others, were prone to lend her silver mask to the silk-garbed haunters of palace halls. Li Shang-yin was one of these secularizers, who—whatever their great gift for words—managed to divest the goddess of much of her charm and mystery. But we must not hurry to discover white-painted courtesan or white-gowned queen in every ninth-century poem about the moon and its shining spirit.

That orbèd maiden with white fire laden,
Whom mortals call the Moon.

So she appeared to Shelley, and so she appears to us. So too she appeared to the *best* T'ang poets, as has already been intimated in our more impersonal discussion of the noumenal and phenomenal qualities of the lovely sky lamp. The goddess could easily assume the physical attributes of the moon—silver train or white fire or crystalline glitter—but it was also possible to make a trace of maidenly panic, or other fugitive signs of mortal frailty in her. Let us now see her in some of her more equivocal—perhaps really unfathomable—epiphanies, where we cannot say for certain whether she is all mist and mystery, or suffers spiritual uncertainties and even carnal perplexities—whether, in short, her cold flame reddens with latent heat.

A poem by Tu Fu titled "Moon" is set in the chilly post-midnight hours, towards the end of the last month of autumn, with the moon waning towards its final crescent. It is the first new moon of winter. (All of this is apparent in the imagery of the poem, which is also well supplied with fine conceits.) Tu Fu's tone is jovial, even jocular. Evidently he was in no mood to sympathize with a lovely but lonely nymph—"give her a drink!" says he:

Fourth watch—the hills spit out the moon.
Shrinking night—the water lights the tall house,
A dusty casket starts to disclose a mirror.
A windy curtain lets a hook free to rise. [Or: frees a
hook to rise]
The hare must suspect its locks are a crane's
The toad for its part loves its sable cape.
Ladle out a draft for widowed Heng-O:
In the sky's cold she must bear the Autumn Ninth.

Perhaps this is obscure enough to deserve a minimal commentary: the east-facing crescent appears, and is reflected from the dewy pavement in front of the house—dewdrops are almost always little moons. The lunar disc seems to be a shining mirror whose edge is shown as above a newly-opened make-up case (the dust refers to the dusty hills where the moon has been hiding); it is a curtain-hook of rock crystal, set free to sail up into the air. Cranes are bald-headed and the moon-hare wonders if he is not too old and hairless for such bitter cold; the shining toad is largely concealed—but happy—in its black comforting furs. The poor goddess, with no husband to warm her, could profit from a beaker of good wine. ("Autumn Ninth" is the ninth month of the year—the last of autumn.)

Meng Chiao, the great moon-fancier, took an entirely different tack in a poem that begins with a listing of the ways in which certain beautiful things in nature are shown at their best:

Flowers are most charming when afloat in a springtime
font;
Bamboo is most charming when encaging dawn-glow
and haze;
Courtesans are most charming when not overdoing
artifice;
The moon is most charming in her natural appeal;
At the midpoint of night Ch'ang-o attends the levee of
the Grand Monad:
Naturally no one among men is her peer in charisma.
The officers of Han got such royal favor only on a few
occasions;
Both Flying Swallow and the Duchess are jealous—how
they envy her!

Here what begins as a connoisseur's pocket-list is suddenly transformed into a paean of praise for the unique loveliness of the moon goddess: what the great beauties of Han could not achieve she achieved—and more: a midnight rendezvous with the emperor in the sky! Here, unlike so many other Ch'ang-o rhapsodies, there is no question of flattering a mortal beauty—she will always outshine them all.

The theme of jealousy was a natural one, and one which was well-exploited by the poets. Another example, in a rather different tone—that of a trained Taoist with a sense of humor—appears in one of the long sequence of poems on “Saunters to Sylphdom” written by Ts’ao T’ang. I have rendered the vignette in rather insipid prose:

They quite forgot to tell someone to lock the Rear Palace:

Now the reconstituted Cinnabar is all lost—the jade cup empty.

If Ch’ang-o had not stolen the numinous medicine, There would be a struggle for long life to be achieved within the moon.

What has happened is this: the “rear palace” (women’s quarters) of some divine king has been left unattended; the girls have escaped and appropriated the elixir of immortality (“reconstituted cinnabar”) that the god kept in a goblet of jade. These pretty cats, with portions of the supernatural cream at their disposal, wish with all their hearts that Ch’ang-o, their prototype and inspirer, had not gotten to the glorious moon ahead of them with her elixir, to reign forever as unique and immortal queen of the night.

But there are other ways of treating the goddess. For instance, she can be reduced to a painted image in the sky constantly in need of restoration. In the poem which follows we discover an at first unidentifiable white cloud image. This turns out in the end to be a divine being, serving a far greater entity than himself. As the perpetually employed agent of the “Primal Harmony,” the great balancing and harmonizing power in nature, it is his responsibility to restore the face of Ch’ang-o monthly with celestial white lead, for the satisfaction of mankind. The poem is by Mao Wen-hsi, who wrote in Szechwan in the tenth century. It is set to the tune, “A Single Wisp of Cloud at Shamanka Mountain”:

A semblance covers the colors of Shamanka Mountain, A talent surpassing these waves that have rinsed polychrome damask:

Who is it that takes up his brush, ascends the Silver Ho To depict Ch’ang-o inside the moon?

Thin-spread—he applies the powdered ceruse,

Full-blown—he hangs the white-damask net:

It is the servant of the sweet-flag flowers, his dreaming soul prolific,

Years and eons in the employ of the Primal Moderator!

Let me explain:

1. The shape of the cloud blots out the colors of the celebrated spirit mountain.

2. The waves of the Yangtze below, sparkling with the colors of a richly patterned fabric, give no hint of the extent of his artistry.

3. As the sky darkens he slides up the white Milky Way.

4. To limn the aspect of the goddess on—or in—the crystal moon-stuff.

5. He covers her face with snowy make-up.

6. He clothes her in fine white cloth, more subtly figured than the polychrome.

7. He is the “dreaming servant” of ancient legend who is a king by night. He has some of the qualities of a conventional Taoist figure, but essentially he is a supernatural artist, nourished on the flowers that give eternal life (which he needs to carry out his endless job)—his dream life full of esthetic visions.

8. Engaged in his eternal routine, he serves the principle of eternal adjustment.

Here, and perhaps it is suitable that “here” should mean “finally,” we leave the moon lady—an illusion, a figment, almost a philosophical instance. But perhaps the moon itself is no more. Tonight it is two nights short of full. Let us hope that the Great Scene-painter in the Sky is restoring the make-up! You have been briefed. Be ready at zero hour!

GLOSSARY

Ch'en Ching 陳京

chi 紀

fu 輔

kang 綱

Kuan-hsiu 貫休

Lü Yen 呂巖

niu 紐

pi 弼

Szu-k'ung T'u 司空圖

Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭

Wu Jung 吳融

Wu Yün 吳筠



The Jade Woman of Greatest Mystery

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Edward H. Schafer

THE JADE WOMAN
OF GREATEST
MYSTERY

An important Taoist art, one of many designed to aid the adept—a hopeful candidate for eternal life—in reinforcing his vitality, was the technique of evoking the figure of an astral being in his immediate vicinity, or even within one of the cavities of his own body. In some sense this meant conjuring the actual presence of the deity in order to gain benefits from sharing his unique powers. Methods for attaining this desirable objective are described in many canonical texts. In these prescriptions the key word is *ts'un*, denoting a form of purposeful activity that goes far beyond mere “meditation.” Here *ts'un* is used as a transitive verb, taking the divine being whose appearance is desired as its object. It would be inadequate to translate this word as “visualize”: the adept’s efforts produce more than a mental picture. The word means “to make sensibly present,” “to give existence to”—almost “to materialize.” In the translation which follows I have tried to emphasize the concreteness of the entity which is evoked by translating *ts'un* as “actualize.”

It was, of course, essential that the initiate be perfectly familiar with the details of the deity’s appearance, including his costume, in order that he might recognize his real presence with certainty. It follows that the study of texts devoted to these practices is also a contribution to Taoist iconography.

The Jade Woman

Such forms of religious activity, while characteristically Taoist, are by no means unknown in other cultures. An attempt to epitomize these parallels in an article as slight as this would produce a topheavy effect. Suffice it to point out a single example from Christian Europe. Saint Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, has left, in his *Spiritual Exercises*, a circumstantial guide to the "actualization" of divine beings with their attributes and activities evident to all the senses. His general instructions appear in the following paragraphs:

1. By the imagination, the soul can render an object present, and as it were see it, hear it, taste it, &c. So that to apply this faculty of the soul and the five senses to a truth of religion (according as it is susceptible of it), or to a mystery of our Lord Jesus Christ, is what is called *application of the senses*.

2. The application of the senses differs from meditation in this; that in the one the intelligence proceeds by reasoning, discoursing on the attributes of God, and the causes and effects of mysteries; while in the other, it is confined solely to sensible objects—to what can be seen, heard, touched, &c. . . ."

And again:

First point. Represent to yourself the different persons, together with all their circumstances, and endeavour to draw some spiritual fruit from each.

Second point. Listen to their words, or to what it may be supposed they say.

Third point. Taste interiorly the sweetness, or bitterness, or any other sentiment, of the person you are considering.

Fourth point. Respire, as it were, the perfume of the virtues, or the infection of the vices, the sulphur of hell, the corruption of dead bodies, &c.

Fifth point. Touch interiorly the objects; for example, the eternal flames, the vestments of our Saviour; kiss his footsteps, the manger, &c.¹

Although the purpose of this sort of enterprise, and the interpretation that Loyola placed upon the experiences generated by it, were markedly different from those of a Taoist master, it is important to recognize that the inducing of the sensible presence of a supernatural entity is significantly different from what happens to a mystic in his ecstasy. It requires the active and discriminating participation of each of the senses in creating—or recognizing—clear-cut images, with specific and identifiable qualities of shape, color, texture, and the like. Even beyond this, as a modern critic has pointed out in a discussion of Loyola's *Exercises*, it has led to the formation of a special language of images:

"The Saint's emphasis on inner visualization (of Christ's person, of specific Biblical scenes) is understood as an attempt, at the

¹ Anon., trans., *Manresa, or the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius; for General Use*, new ed. (London, 1881).

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historical moment when the ear yielded to the eye as the 'perceptive sense *par excellence*,' to create an orthodox vocabulary of image, an 'image linguistics' over and against the languageless religious experience of the mystics."² The same result has followed in Taoism: devotional and ritual texts in the Canon abound in minutely detailed descriptions of divine beings, their costumes, vehicles, and dwelling places. The great influence on T'ang poetry, for instance, of the vocabulary of images that was developed in this manner can hardly be overemphasized.

In Taoism another characteristic of these concrete visions was, as will become apparent below, that the "actualized" entity frequently merged with an organ of the initiate's body or with some other part of his corporal frame, of which it was the astral or macrocosmic counterpart. In the text translated below, for example, the condensed and personified energy of the sun and the moon fuses with the adept's two eyes, to his great spiritual benefit.

This text forms the first part of a small book preserved in the Taoist Canon (*Tao tsang*). The book bears the title *Shang ch'ing ming t'ang yüan chen ching chüeh* [Secret teachings from the canon of the mystic realized one in the luminous hall of highest clarity].³ I shall refer to it hereafter as the *Secret Teachings*. It is a composite text. The larger and most interesting component—that which I have translated below—is called "Technique of the Mystic Realized One" (*Hsüan chen fa*). I shall refer to it hereafter as the

² John Updike, *New Yorker* (October 4, 1976), p. 150 (Books section). This is a review of Roland Barthes, *Sade/Fourier/Loyola*, trans. Richard Miller (New York, 1976). The inner quotations are from the book.

³ *Shang ch'ing ming t'ang yüan chen ching chüeh*, in *Tao tsang*, 194 (hereafter referred to as TT). *Yüan* must be amended to *hsüan*, making it consistent with the name of the text as given subsequently and with the titles and attributes of the female spirit who appears in it. The expression *hsüan chen*, here rendered Mystic Realized One as a personal epithet, occurs in Ko Hung's *Pao p'u tzu*, "Hsien yao," as a cabalistic synonym of *yü* "jade." There it is merely the name of an elixir which will give eternal life and the power of flight—in short, greater powers than those possessed by a mere "earthly transcendent" (*ti hsien*). The expression also appears in the pseudonym of Chang Chih-ho of T'ang, who wrote *Hsüan chen tzu* (see *T'ang shu*, Szu pu pei yao ed., ch. 196, p. 8a). The term also occurs in the *Huang t'ing nei ching ching* in one of the seven-syllable verses of the basic text: "With ability to actualize the Mystic Realized One, the myriad affairs are concluded," a sentence rightly compared by the commentator with one in *Chuang tzu* (see *Huang t'ing nei ching ching*, ch. 25, in *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien* [Taipei, 1973], ch. 12, p. 167). This commentary also classifies the Mystic Realized One as the fifth of the nine spirits who inhabit the nine chambers of the Clay Pellet Palace (*ni wan kung*) in the skull. It is the spirit who faces outward toward the north (see ch. 7 [*Yün chi ch'i ch'ien*, ch. 11, p. 140]). In *Hsüan men pao hai* (*Yün chi ch'i ch'ien*, ch. 24, p. 360) the spirit's astral counterpart has its "numinous couch" in the Great Dipper.

The Jade Woman

"Technique." The untranslated remainder of the *Secret Teachings* contains assorted materials, some extolling or tending to authenticate the antiquity and worth of the "Technique," some redundant, some only remotely related to the "Technique." An example of the latter class is the final section of the *Secret Teachings*, which is an excerpt from some version of the hagiography of an apotheosized sage of the Mao Shan pantheon, Wang Pao—an opusculé attributed to his disciple Wei Hua-ts'un, who became the goddess of Heng Shan, the holy mountain of the south.

The *Secret Teachings* begins with a sort of preface—a short passage of forty characters—attributed to the goddess Hsi Wang Mu, whose full panoply of Mao Shan titles is also given.⁴ This is presented as more than a mere prologue: it purports to constitute the whole of the original and supernal "Canon of the Mysterious Realized One in the Luminous Hall" (*Ming t'ang hsüan chen ching*). It exalts, in rich but condensed clauses, the life-giving energies available in the emanations of the sun and the moon. The "Technique," which follows this preface immediately, is a secret method for absorbing these emanations; it is said to have been promulgated by Realized Persons privy to the divine queen's counsels.⁵

The actual age and authorship of the "Technique" is unknown, but it contains pre-T'ang materials in the true Mao Shan tradition, including quotations from a digest of an ancient scripture about a technique for absorbing solar and lunar essences entitled *T'ai shang ming t'ang hsüan chen shang ching*. This digest—whose title suggests but whose contents hardly resemble the preface to the *Secret Teachings*—appears among the miscellaneous materials appended to the text of the "Technique," one of the redundancies in the *Tao tsang* version of the *Secret Teachings* that I alluded to earlier. The digest, said by T'ao Hung-ching to have been extant

⁴ Primal Mistress and Grand Realized One of the Nine Numina of Tortoise Platform of White Jade [*Po yü kwei t'ai chiu ling t'ai chen yüan chün*].

⁵ There is some discussion of absorbing the solar and lunar essences, including textual references to which I have not alluded here, in H. Maspero, "Les procédés de 'nourrir le principe vital' dans la religion Taoïste ancienne," *Journal asiatique* 229 (1937): 374–77. Maspero finds the origin of the colors of the mystic rays in an optical phenomenon: "Ces procédés me paraissent simplement fondés à l'origine sur les phénomènes visuels qui se produisent quand on regarde le soleil levant et qu'ensuite on ferme les yeux: les trois souffles vert, blanc et rouge sont les phantasmes de couleur qu'on voit après avoir fixé le soleil quelque temps." In a footnote (p. 377, n. 1), he provides a translation of a few sentences of our "Technique" but has no comment to make on the role of the Jade Woman, except with reference to "la salive de la Fille de Jade": "je n'ai pas réussi à découvrir ce que désigne cette expression."

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in Yang Hsi's own handwriting, is also preserved in "The Entitlements of the Realized Ones" (*Chen kao*).⁶

The subject of the "Technique" is the art of ingesting plasmas from the sun and the moon—not, as in the *Chen kao*, by the unaided efforts of the adept, but as transmitted by the mouth of a Jade Woman, that is, one of the female custodians of celestial secrets who visits the entranced adept and, in effect, ultimately becomes his divine wife.⁷ In short, despite its partial derivation from the epitome in the *Chen kao*, the "Technique" goes beyond that text in making the assistance and personal participation of a Jade Woman central to the esoteric process. Something was added after the fifth century. Searching the many other recipes for absorbing the solar and lunar essences preserved among the pre-Sung materials in chapter 23 of the *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien*, an anthology of the beginning of the eleventh century, and consulting still another prescription for assimilating the rays of stars in chapter 25 of that collection yielded nothing really comparable, although most of these passages share features of language and method with our "Technique." One of them (p. 354)⁸ even describes the mediation of a female spirit, named Mystic Woman of the Nine Heavens (*Chiu t'ien hsüan nü*). She is first actualized inside the adept's body in the form of a naked child. There is a transfer of astral fluid, but unlike that in the "Technique." Here it is a triple exchange between the mouth of the initiate and that of the little maid, who is poised at the entrance to his stomach. Indeed, T'ao Hung-ching had written long before of a female member of a triad within the Luminous Hall of the head in his *Teng chen yin chüeh*

⁶ *Chen kao*, Hsüeh chin t'ao yüan ed., ch. 9, pp. 17a–17b. I have emended *yüan* to *hsüan*. The same chapter of the *Chen kao* alludes also to a *Ming t'ang nei ching*.

⁷ There is a paraphrase of part of this text, which injects a spurious air of carnal sexuality into the mystic encounter, in Michel Beurdeley, Kristofer Schipper, Chang Fu-jui, and Jacques Pimpaneau, *Chinese Erotic Art*, trans. Diana Imber (Rutland and Tokyo, 1962), pp. 32–34. In partial extenuation of the crudeness of the version it can be pointed out that it is a translation from the French, and doubtless the authors' intentions have lost something in the transition. But there can be no doubt about the addition of a sauce of ordinary eroticism.

⁸ Of the Taipei (1973) edition. A most elaborate account of the art of swallowing "the resplendent efflorescences of the sun and moon," involving not only complex ritual matters but also traces of alchemy, is provided by *Tung chen t'ai shang pa su chen ching fu shih jih yüeh huang hua chüeh* (TT, 1028), which appears to derive from one of the thirty-nine parts of the *Shang ch'ing ching*. In the T'ang table of contents of the latter scripture found at Tun-huang (Fonds Pelliot no. 2337; see Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tō-kō dō-kyō mokuroku* [Kyoto, 1960], p. 116) it is called *Shang ch'ing pa su chen ching fu jih yüeh huang hua*. But in this, as in other texts on this arcane art, the ingredient of sipping from the lips of a divine maiden is lacking.

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(pp. 8a–9a). In that early text she and her two companions breathe “red pneuma” into the mouth of the adept—from within (cf. n. 33 below).

But the “Technique” adds a new element—an external, fairy-like emanation of the sun and moon jointly whose name is Binding Coil. The earliest notice I have been able to find of such a being appears under the rubric “The Technique of the Mental Conditioning of the Nine Palaces” (*Szu hsiu chiu kung fa*) in chapter 43 of *Yün chi ch’i ch’ien*.⁹ But although this text provides her various names, and places her in the Palace of Flowing Pearl, one of the nine palaces in the cranium,¹⁰ it does not—as does the “Technique”—externalize her and place her among the Jade Women of the celestial palaces, nor does it explicitly involve her in the ancient systems of absorbing the sun and moon as does the synthesis exemplified in the “Technique.”

In short, the “Technique” appears to unite three different traditions. One of them, that of the *Chen kao*, probably goes back to the fourth century; another, represented by the triad of *Teng chen yin chüeh* and by the nude sprite of *Yün chi ch’i ch’ien*, is at least as old as the early sixth century; finally, added at some unknown period, the personality of the star maiden Binding Coil completes the composition. In the end, the adept no longer extracts the essences of the two skylights by his own unaided powers of concentration—although the text of the “Technique” refers to this method—but enjoys the intimate assistance of a female astral spirit, temporarily brought into his service. It is unclear when this fusion took place, but it may well have been after the compilation of the *Yün chi ch’i ch’ien*—probably, in view of the absence of any reference to the “Technique” in anthologies and bibliographies compiled before the beginning of the eleventh century, during the Sung period.¹¹

The basic text of the “Technique” is accompanied by a double-column commentary, also of unknown date but presumably written later than the “Technique.” Where it is particularly

⁹ *Yün chi ch’i ch’ien*, ch. 43, pp. 616–17.

¹⁰ Trans. in Rolf Homann, *Die wichtigste Körpergottheiten der Huang-t’ing ching* (Göppingen, 1971), p. 8.

¹¹ I have looked in vain for quotations in such anthologies as *Wu shang pi yao*, *San tung chu nang*, and *T’ai p’ing yü lan*, and for the titles in the bibliographies of *T’ang shu* and *T’ung chih*. Michel Strickmann, whose opinions I value, tells me in a private communication dated February 28, 1977, that he believes this “baïser de la fée” to be very old—a Mao Shan refinement of the “grosser” rites of the Heavenly Masters, possibly as old as the fourth century: “. . . rather than a new element, I think the embrace is an old and secret one.”

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helpful or interesting I have used it, although the "Technique" itself offers only a few linguistic difficulties.

The Technique of the Mystic Realized One

Actualize sun or moon within the mouth. In the white light of day actualize the sun; in the middle of the night actualize the moon. It is also permissible to actualize [either one] when it is neither [plainly] daytime nor nighttime so that a decisive distinction can be made as to whether it is to be sun or moon.¹² The sun's color is red. The moon's color is yellow. The sun has nine rays of purple light. The moon has ten rays of white light.¹³ Cause sun or moon to stand opposite the mouth, nine feet away from it. The light rays should be directed towards the mouth, with the rays straight as bowstrings so that they will enter into the mouth. Next, actualize a young woman as present within the sun or moon.¹⁴ A purple cap is placed on her head, and she has a cloak and skirt of vermillion damask.¹⁵ She calls herself Jade Woman of the Cinnabar Aurora of the Highest Mysteries of the Greatest Mystery.¹⁶ Her taboo-name is Binding Coil (*Ch'an-hsüan*) and her agnomen is Secret Realized One (*Mi-chen*). From her mouth she exhales a red pneuma which fills the space between the light-rays from sun or moon completely. It combines with them until rays and auroral glow are both used up, then gushes into one's own mouth.¹⁷ One masters it and gulps it down. Actualize the woman also as exhaling it in sequence; activate it nine times ten. After these have been gulped down, actualize a conscious command to the phosphor of sun or moon to press intimately close upon one's own face,¹⁸ and command that the Jade Woman's mouth press a kiss upon your own mouth, causing the liquor of the pneuma to come down into

¹² That is, at dusk or at dawn.

¹³ The description of the images of sun and moon is virtually identical with that in *Chen kao*, ch. 9, p. 17a.

¹⁴ Sun and moon are macroscopic equivalents of the two eyes; they are so treated generally in texts on techniques of this kind.

¹⁵ Compare, in the Christian context, the instructions of Saint Ignatius: "Represent to yourself Jesus Christ rising gloriously from the tomb; the angel seated on the stone of the sepulchre, of whom it is said in the Gospel, 'His countenance was as lightning, and his raiment as snow'" (*Manresa*, p. 197). The enveloping "cloak" (*p'ei*) is an indispensable part of the ensemble of a Female Realized (Person) (*nü chen*) of the Realm of Highest Clarity (*shang ch'ing*)—and of a priestess of the Mao Shan persuasion, whose ambition it is to join the ranks of those goddesses. The (outer) skirt (*chiün*) is almost as regularly a part of her costume; it is often a flying skirt or a feathered skirt.

¹⁶ *T'ai hsüan shang hsüan tan hsia yü nü*. "Aurora" translates *hsia*, to suggest the pastel colors—especially tints of pink and yellow—of wispy clouds at dawn. The word is important in the Taoist lexicon, especially for iconography, where it may, for instance, be the appropriate color for the filmy gauze of the cloak of a goddess.

¹⁷ The word translated here (and subsequently) by "one's own" is *wo* "I; me; mine." The usage is rather strange. It may derive from the *Lao tzu* text, where, in the opinions of Walter Liebenthal, *Wo* represents "the Lord Ātman," or "the Sage"—or even "the Tao." In this text it evidently means "the Adept himself." See W. Liebenthal, "Lord Ātman in the *Lao-tzu*," *Monumenta serica* 27 (1968): 374–80.

¹⁸ "Phosphor" is *ching*, meaning "a luminous divine projection"; the "external phosphors" are stars, planets and even shining nebulosities; the "internal phosphors" are corresponding organs, body structures, and cavities. This usage implies that the spirits are represented to our senses as counterparts—radiating stars and irradiated organs. (The word *ching* is cognate to *ying* "light-produced replica" [hence "silhouette, heliograph, phantom"]; cf. *ying* "reflection, glint, refulgence"; see Homann, p. 59.)

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the mouth. One then conjures here inaudibly: "Jade Woman, Living Germ of Sun and Moon, Conserving Spirit of the Luminous Hall,¹⁹ Purple Realized One of the Grand Aurora, Binding Coil, generated spontaneously from the Barrens in the Prior Age,²⁰ whose agnomen is Secret Realized One, whose head is capped with the Numinous Crown of the Purple-flowered Lotus,²¹ and whose body is cloaked in a multicolored damask cloak and a Flying Skirt of Vermilion Cinnabar, who emerges from the sun and enters the moon. Lit by Heaven! Subtly fragrant! May your mouth emit the orange pneuma²² to irrigate my Three Primes.²³ May my face gaze upon the Sky Well.²⁴ Make my white-souls compliant. Give definition to my cloud-souls.²⁵ May the mystic liquor move in streams. May the foetal germ²⁶ grow to completion. May the Five Stores²⁷ generate efflorescence. Open my pupils in reverse to my face,²⁸ that I may inspect and rein the myriad numina, the Supervisor of Destiny, and the "flying transcendents." This done, actualize the salival liquor from the mouth of the Jade Woman,

¹⁹ The name Luminous Hall (*ming t'ang*) has, since Chou times, been the appellation of the sacred retreat of the king in his role of chief astrologer. In Taoist anatomy it was extended to an important segment of the cranial cavity, immediately behind the forehead. It was one of the nine "palaces" of the head, each with its presiding spirit.

²⁰ All of the Jade Women—attendants, messengers, and archivists of the Realized Persons of Highest Clarity—were crystallized out of the primordial mists, like feldspar out of a magma. Unlike the Realized Persons themselves, who had a prior earthly existence, they are coeval with time itself, like the Heavenly Venerables (*t'ien tsun*).

²¹ In this prayer the divine woman's headgear is more clearly described as a lotus crown which, with the long cloak, constitutes an essential part of the costume of a female personage of Highest Clarity. The petals of this distinctive article are, in T'ang literature at least, usually described as "yellow" or "of jade" or both.

²² The color here called "orange" is *chiang*. In early China it was given to a red paint yellowed with gambodge. It is common in Taoist hagiographic descriptions, not only for solar pneumas but also for sacred insignia, for the sky-travelling vehicles of the gods, and the like. "Orange pneuma" is, of course, a kind of fiery radiant energy, perceived as a body fluid of the goddess.

²³ Three Primes (*san yüan*) is a multivalent term, but because of the belief in correspondences—the doctrine that phenomena conceal identities or harmonized alter-egos—the various "meanings" given to the expression do not exclude each other. Primarily they are three astral deities, who may project themselves into the three great "palaces" of the human body. They are sometimes styled Upper, Middle, and Lower Three Primal Lords. They in turn correspond to the three critical positions of the sun, East (sunrise), South (noon), and West (sunset), which are important in some spiritual exercises (see *Huang t'ing nei ching ching*, ch. 15 [in *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien*, pp. 140, 149, 151]; Maspero, p. 372).

²⁴ Sky Well refers to the depths of the sky as seen from below. Since representations of the starry hemisphere were commonly represented on the ceilings of tombs, the phrase came also to imply "ceiling."

²⁵ Phrases like "irrigate my Three Primes" (i.e., the upper, middle, and lower parts of my body), "make my white-souls compliant," and others used here abound in the prayers and invocations of adepts who are attempting to actualize and mobilize the astral spirits within their own persons. For example, "refine and irrigate my seven white souls; harmonize and make compliant my three cloud-souls" occurs in an incantation under the rubric *San i chiu kung fa* in *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien*, ch. 50, p. 705. For the renderings "white-soul" (*p'o*) and "cloud-soul" (*hun*), see extensive remarks in my forthcoming book *Pacing the Void* (University of California Press).

²⁶ "Foetal germ" is the embryonic state of the adept's growing immortal body, which he nourishes with the very substances of the sun and moon.

²⁷ Five Stores are the five principal organs, conceived as repositories of vital fluids.

²⁸ Evidently the adept asks for this power to inspect the interior of his own body.

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commanding it to gush into one's own mouth. Then, having rinsed it with the liquor, proceed to swallow it. Stop only after nine times ten passages. [Then], in quieting the heart, in making thoughts resonant and activating them, there need no longer be any limit set on most of one's strivings.²⁹ If one is actualizing the sun, he does not actualize the moon. If one is actualizing the moon, he does not actualize the sun.³⁰ It is only essential that he should actualize them both impartially.³¹ If one misses the time for taking the dose, he should actualize the two phosphors as returning to the Luminous Hall—the sun on the left, the moon on the right. Command the lights and flashes³² of sun and moon to radiate jointly with the pupils of the eyes, reflecting the two pneumas in the four [directions], so that they may gush freely through one.³³ One may also actualize sun and moon regularly as in place in the Luminous Hall, without waiting for the regular taking of the dose from [one of] the two phosphors of sun and moon, and thus exploit them concurrently.³⁴ Perform these things for five years and

²⁹ The commentary interprets this to mean that after this discipline has been completed the adept need not limit his actualizations of the Jade Woman to a particular time of the day or to a specific length of time.

³⁰ However, he should not actualize both sun and moon simultaneously.

³¹ That is, with equal frequency, but at different times.

³² I was inclined to translate as "flashes of light," but the commentary states that "light" refers to the red and yellow lights of the sun and the moon, while "flashes" refers to their purple and white rays, respectively. I follow this gloss somewhat grudgingly.

³³ The concept of merging the projected simulacra of the sun and moon with the pupils of one's eyes is already to be found in *Chen kao*, ch. 9, pp. 17a–17b. The Chinese word *t'ung* "pupil of the eye" is identical with *t'ung*, "lad; young person," ultimately referring to the little human figures that one can see when peering into someone else's eyes—that is, his own reflections. In some texts the "pupils" are represented as two divine youths, one male and one female. For instance, the *Shang ch'ing ta tung chiu kung chao hsiu pi chüeh shang tao* (TT, 319), 2b–3a, says: "The first of the nine palaces is the Luminous Hall which lies one inch behind the brow. On its left is a simulacrum of the sun, nine-tenths of an inch in diameter—a purple light with ten rays. On its right is a simulacrum of the moon, one inch in diameter—a yellow light with ten rays. In the middle is the Spirit Lord of the Luminous Mirror, in the form of a new-born child, dressed in green damask, with 'fire bells of fluid gold' at his belt. He holds a mirror of red jade in his mouth, which shines with a red light. He is the detached spirit of the Great Theocrat of Long Life, and his appellation is 'Realized Lord of the Luminous Hall'; his given name is 'Quadruply Luminous,' and his agnomen is 'Germinal Essence made Visible.' On his left is the Realized Lord 'Luminous Lad,' in the likeness of a Theocratic Lord; he is the detached spirit of the Noble Lord Han [*Han chün chang jen*]; his given name is 'Mystic Yang,' and his agnomen is 'Lesser Clarity.' On the right is the Realized Lady 'Luminous Lass,' also in the likeness of a Theocratic Lord; her given name is 'Mystic Yin,' and her agnomen is 'Lesser Prime.'" Obviously these two spirits behind the eyes represent the sun (the lad) and the moon (the lass), respectively. (This text is attributed to a certain Chou Te-ta, or rather is said on the title page to have been inherited and transmitted by him. However, I have not been able to identify him. The passage is virtually identical with the one about the red-breathed triad of *Teng chen yin chüeh*.) The text of the "Technique" seems to be saying that if, for some reason, the adept misses a regularly appointed session with the Jade Woman, he should compensate by actualizing sun and moon without her mediation and force them to irradiate the region behind his eyes with their potent beams.

³⁴ Even at other times of the day and night the adept may actualize the sun and moon in the Luminous Hall—naturally without the opportunity of drinking the scarlet liquor of the Jade Woman. In her absence, it appears that it is possible to evoke the solar and lunar simulacra simultaneously—something that the "Technique" forbids when the Jade Woman is present: on any single occasion she is only sun spirit or moon spirit.

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the Jade Woman of Greatest Mystery will come down to you, and lie down to take her ease with you.³⁵ The Jade Woman of Greatest Mystery can also divide her shape to make several tens of Jade Women who will be responsible for your urgent errands. This is the ultimate in accumulating resonance, in knotting germinal essences together, in transmuting life, and in seeing germinal essences as simulacra. In the end, it is a miraculous response to your resonance. The Most High Realized Magistrates employ the Way of the Sun's Aurora and the Technique of Draining³⁶ the Two Phosphors to bring men into communication with the numina, to summon the Realized Ones, to embody their lives in gemmy refulgence, to bind the myriad spirits in service and to command them, and finally to rise up into the chambers of the divine kings. The Way which was taught to Yü of Hsia long ago by the Realized Person of Mount Chung³⁷—that was precisely the Technique of the Mystic Realized One. However, this is no more than an excerpted outline; and indeed we lack anything about the affairs of Binding Coil.

Indeed the affairs of the Jade Woman of Greatest Mystery, who resembles the angel Schachlil, genius of the solar rays, remain a mystery today.³⁸

University of California

³⁵ The mystic marriage may now be consummated: the adept is on the threshold of a transcendental life among the stars.

³⁶ The word *i*, here translated "drain," means "to draw off a liquid from a container." Maspero (p. 373) notes that T'ao Hung-ching, in his *Teng chen yin chüeh* (TT, 193), ch. 2, p. 19a, gives the technical meaning of "one suck and one swallow."

³⁷ T'ao Hung-ching identifies this personage as the one who taught the Technique of Nine Footprints of the Numinous Jewel (*Ling pao chiu chi fa*) to Yü, thus enabling him to achieve his masterful feat of draining the floods from the Chinese lands (see *Tung hsüan ling pao chen ling wei yeh t'u* [TT, 73], 9b).

³⁸ For Schachlil, see Gustav Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels; including the Fallen Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1971), p. 262.

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GLOSSARY OF CHINESE CHARACTERS

Ch'an-hsüan 纏旋	Po yü kuei t'ai chiu ling t'ai chen yüan chün 白玉龜臺九靈太真元君
Chang Chih-ho 張志和	p'o 魄
Chen kao 真誥	San i chiu kung fa 三一九宮法
chiang 絳	san yüan 三元
ching 景	shang ch'ing 上清
Chiu t'ien hsüan nü 九天玄女	Shang ch'ing ming t'ang hsüan chen ching chüeh 上清明堂玄真經訣
Chou Te-ta 周德大	Shang ch'ing ta tung chiu kung chao hsü pi chüeh shang tao 上清大洞 九宮朝修秘訣上道
ch'ün 裙	Ssu hsiu chiu kung fa 思修九宮法
Han chün chang jen 韓君丈人	T'ai hsüan shang hsüan tan hsia yü nü 太玄上玄丹霞玉女
Heng Shan 衡山	T'ai shang ming t'ang hsüan chen shang ching 太上明堂玄真上經
hsien yao 仙藥	T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景
hsüan 玄	Teng chen yin chüeh 登真隱訣
hsüan chen 玄真	ti hsien 地仙
Hsüan chen fa 玄真法	t'ien tsun 天尊
Hsüan chen tzu 玄真子	ts'un 存
Hsüan men pao hai ching 玄門寶海經	Tung chen t'ai shang pa su chen ching fu shih jih yüeh huang hua chüeh 洞真太上八素真經服食日月皇華訣
Huang t'ing nei ching ching 黃庭內景經	Tung hsüan ling pao chen ling wei yeh t'u 洞玄靈寶真靈位業圖
hun 魂	t'ung "pupil" 瞳
i 挹	
Ling pao chiu chi fa 靈寶九跡法	
Mao Shan 茅山	
Mi-chen 密真	
ming t'ang 明堂	
Ming t'ang hsüan chen ching 明堂玄真經	
ni wan kung 泥丸宮	
nü chen 女真	

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t'ung "lad" 童

Wang Pao 王褒

Wei Hua-ts'un 魏華存

Yang Hsi 楊羲

ying "replica" 影

ying "reflection" 映

yüan 元

Yun chi ch'i ch'ien 雲笈七籤



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The Transcendent Vitamin: Efflorescence of Lang-kan

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The enigmatic word *lang-kan* 琅玕 has attracted the attention of a few scholars, but its precise connotation has never been determined. The earliest texts in which it occurs, texts of the late Chou and the Han periods, give us a better idea of the world of *lang-kan* than of the identity of *lang-kan*. The word represents a gemstone--but it is a ghostly gemstone, shrouded in fog, even when in the company of the most resplendent jewels, of golden towers reflecting the light of Heaven, and of divine beings gloriously costumed in damask and brocade. It is easy to assume that since the word normally appears in supermundane environments it never had a definite mineralogical referent. But the assumption is not a necessary one. The worlds of faery are built out of the fragments, often decayed, of the world we know. Men have adorned their paradises with names that are meaningful to them: the walls of the Heavenly City were decorated with real chalcedony and undoubted chrysoprase. It is we, the latter-day descendants of these men--the decoders of their relics--who must discover the true gems within the gangue accumulated by the passage of time and linguistic change. *Chermitēs* may be a mystery to us, but it did not conceal its identity from Theophrastus. (Fortunately we have discovered that *topasion* and *sapphiros* were not "topaz" and "sapphire" to the ancients, but peridot and lapis lazuli. Semantic history is not always a vain pursuit.)

"Blue [or green] (*ch'ing* 青) *lang-kan*" appears among the mineral drugs of the [*Shen nung*] *pen ts'ao ching* 神農本草經, thought to be a work of the later Han period.¹ This is one of the rare early references to the mineral which treats it as a real substance. Most others make it a feature of the divine world. The *Shan hai ching* 山海經, for instance, tells of "*lang-kan* trees" in shadowy, haunted, western borderlands of

¹T'ao Hung-ching edited the "original" *Shen Nung* pharmacopoeia. Of material attributed to that book since the sixth century, only the names of the drugs, with their rank in a three-fold hierarchy, can be assigned with some certainty to the ancient book. *T'ai p'ing yü lan* 太平御覽 (Chia-ch'ing ed., Preface of 1818), 809: 1b, quotes this passage, adding that the mineral is also called "bead[ed] wand" (*chu kuei* 珠圭), which suggests a kind of symbolic gem-tree.

China.² Indeed, *lang-kan* trees are closely associated with the cult of Hsi Wang Mu 西王母 and with K'un-lun 崑崙, her cosmic mountain. The trees have also been placed on P'eng-lai 蓬萊 the counterpart of K'un-lun in the eastern ocean.³ However, the so-called "weft" books (*wei shu* 緯書) of Han, which abound in statements about the phenomenal effects of astral emanations, describe a species of *lang-kan* devoid of all specific geographical associations: "When the divine numina proliferate, *lang-kan* phosphoresces."⁴

But the documentation for the *lang-kan* tree of K'un-lun is the most abundant.⁵ As a tree of the western paradise its lustrous verdure permeates the imaginative literature of the post-Han period, in which the rubineous sheen of its fruits is virtually eclipsed by its blue-green foliage, whose color the

²In *Hai nei hsi ching* 海內西經 and *Ta huang hsi ching* 大荒西經. Kuo P'u's 郭璞 glosses on these passages makes the first tree red, the second white. In the second case he has textual support, but in neither is it made very clear whether he refers to the body of the tree, or to its gemlike fruit, or both. It appears that it is chiefly Kuo's scholia that have created the confusion about the mineralogical identity of *lang-kan*. Modern scholars have supposed that, in view of the diversity of colors attributed to it, the name stood for a number of dissimilar materials. For instance, H. T. Chang, *Shih ya* 石雅 (*Lapidarium Siniticum*, Memoirs of the Geological Survey of China, Ser. B, No. 2, Peking, 1921), p. 24, proposes the identity of red spinel ("balas ruby") from the famous mines at Badakhshan. I myself, in *Tu Wan's Stone Catalogue of Cloudy Forest, A Commentary and Synopsis* (Berkeley, 1961), p. 95, proposed precious red coral from the Mediterranean. I no longer see a need for such an identification. Among the supposed examples of "red *lang-kan*" is the expression *tan kan* 丹玕 in *Hsun tzu*. This phrase appears later in the name of the supernal residence of the Incomparable Lord of the Golden Pylons (*Chin ch'ueh sheng chün* 金闕聖君), one of the most exalted of the *shang ch'ing* 上青 deities, whose home is the Basilica of Cinnabar Kan (*Tan kan tien* 丹玕殿). See *Tung chen ching* 洞真經, quoted in *Wu shang pi yao* 無上祕要 (*Tao tsang*, 770), 22: 21a. Although *tan kan* could be interpreted as "cinnabar (i.e., vermilion) [*lang-*] *kan*," it could also be taken as an ordinary rhyming binom, with graphs arbitrarily chosen to represent the sounds. The former interpretation seems preferable in view of the occurrence of such terms as *chu kan* 珠玕, "beaded *kan*," on Mount P'eng-lai in the eastern sea, in *Lieh tzu*, "T'ang wen," and *pi kan* 碧玕 "cyan *kan*" in *Sung shih* (K'ai-ming ed.), 488: 5714a. *Kan* can reasonably be taken as a monosyllabic substitute for *lang-kan* in these attribute-head constructions; compare *hung p'o* 紅珀 "pink amber," in which *p'o* represents *hu-p'o* 琥珀 "amber." But this is about the extent of the evidence for a red variety of *lang-kan*, restricted to the realm of ancient faery.

³See the *Lieh tzu* 列子 passage just referred to. This text is much later than many which associate the *lang-kan* tree with K'un-lun and the far west generally.

⁴*Hsiao ching shou shen ch'i* 孝經授神契, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 809: 1a. "Phosphoresces" translates *ching* 景.

⁵Classical sources, other than those mentioned, include *Erh ya*, *Kuan tzu*, and *Huai nan tzu* "Ti hsing." *Lang-kan* is regularly associated with that other gem of faery (to take a retrospective view of its environment), *lin-ch'iu*, whose second syllable appears to be cognate to *ch'iu* 珠 "ball"; in short, another beadlike gem. For a review of these passages, see Chang, *loc. cit.*

fruits acquired--to become lovely green pearls.⁶

Despite these elfin affinities, the belief persisted that there was an actual mineral, born within mundane rocks, to which the name *lang-kan* could reasonably be applied. The earliest such record is in the "Tribute of Yu" section of the *Shu ching* 書經. There *lang-kan* is listed, along with the equally mysterious *lin-ch'iu* 琳璆 among the products of Yung-chou 雍州, a region corresponding approximately to modern Shensi. The *Yu kung* 禹貢 is a rather matter-of-fact inventory of economic resources--especially of ancient luxury goods--and not given to fantasy. Probably, then, *lang-kan* was a genuine product of the Western Chou heartland in ancient times. For the Later Han period we have the laconic assertion of *Shuo wen* 說文 that *lang-kan*--like so many other precious minerals--is "a stone inferior to jade." However, no source of supply is mentioned. A little later, we have the testimony of *Wei lueh* 魏略 that "The country of Great Ch'in 秦 produces *lang-kan*."⁷ Here we have a source but no description, and even the name of the source does not help us much. "Great Ch'in," often identified with the Eastern Roman Empire, was at this time as much a fairyland to the Chinese as Wak-wak is to us. With T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景 in Liang times, we are in somewhat better case: he notes a traditional association of *lang-kan* with Szechwan. Su Ching 蘇敬, the T'ang pharmacologist, reports that the gemstone comes from among the Black and White Man 蠻 tribes "west of Sui-chou 雋州" on the Yunnan border of Szechwan. Here the reference is to the aboriginal peoples of Yunnan and Kweichow who were, in T'ang times, known collectively as Ts'uan 蠻. Finally, the mineral was imported from distant Khotan and also from India.⁸ But clearly Yunnan was a prime source of *lang-kan* in the T'ang period.

During this Han-T'ang interval the evidence points clearly to the use of *lang-kan* as a gem, and a valuable gem at that. Chang Heng 張衡 tells of

⁶Early instances are Wang Yen-shou 王延壽 (ca. 124-ca. 148), *Lu ling kuang tien fu* 魯靈光殿賦 (*Ch'uan Hou Han wen*, in *Ch'uan shang ku san tai Ch'in Han san kuo liu ch'ao wen*, 1965 ed.), 58: 2a; Lu Ch'en 盧湛, *Chao hsia fu* 朝霞賦 (only one verse survives, in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 809: 1b); Wang Chia 王嘉 (4th cent.), *Shih i chi* 拾遺記 (*T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 809: 1b). It must be acknowledged that in these survivals from the second to the fourth centuries gemminess still tends to prevail over leafiness; but a trend, to be fulfilled in the T'ang, has set in.

⁷Quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 809: 1a. Cf. H. T. Chang, *op. cit.*, 27-28.

⁸The associations of *lang-kan* with Szechwan and Khotan are found in Su Ching 蘇敬, *Hsin hsiu pen ts'ao* 新修本草 (Shanghai, 1959), 5: 66-67. That with India is from *T'ang shu* (*Ssu pu pei yao* ed.), 221a: 13b.

the entertainments of the Han nobility at which guests were regaled with the sight, and perhaps the gift, of dishes overflowing with the stuff, as if with the fruits of paradise, along with certainly edible dainties--a veritable scene from "Aladdin."⁹ The poet Ts'ao Chih 曹植 (A.D. 192-232) hung "halcyon blue" (ts'ui 翠) lang-kan from the waist of his "beautiful person."¹⁰ The *Chin shu* 晉書, in its monographic report on economic affairs, associates lang-kan with yak-tail pennants and plumagery as a rich commodity of the Shensi region.¹¹ In the fifth century Chiang Yen 江淹 adorned a goddess with gems of lang-kan.¹² Plainly, during this period, lang-kan was used primarily in jewelry, both real and literary.

This has been a fair sampling of the evidence for the cultural role of "real" lang-kan down to T'ang times. But before attempting an identification of the substance it is first necessary to consider the continued and reinforced use of its name to refer to divine fruits on heavenly trees during the post-Han era. The example of Chang Heng had consecrated the metaphor of Lucullan fruits as concretions of lang-kan, and later poets did not hesitate to exploit the image. So Juan Chi 阮籍 (210-263) gives us a poem called "Dining at Sunrise on Lang-kan Fruit."¹³ Half a millenium later Li Po 李白 informs us that a famished phoenix, still conscious of its worth and dignity, will not deign to peck at millet as common fowl do, but like a Taoist adept, will scorn all but a diet of lang-kan.¹⁴ Here we can detect a new facet on the poetic gem--a transition from glittering fruit of distant K'un-lun, to aristocratic fare in golden bowls, to (in the end) an elixir of immortality.

It was predictable that the association between lang-kan and the beauties of an idealized natural world would overflow into (literally) colorful (non-literal) metaphors. These tended to fall into two classes:

⁹ Chang Heng, *Nan tu fu* 南都賦 (in Kuo-hsueh chi-pen ts'ung-shu ed. of *Wen hsuan*), 4:77. Elsewhere, Chang Heng has lang-kan and gold as the gifts of a "beautiful person." See his "Ssu ch'ou shih," in *ibid.*, 29: 639. The former text has *chen hsiu lang-kan* 珍羞琅玕, suggesting the juxtaposition, and possible identity, of jewels and sweetmeats.

¹⁰ Ts'ao Chih, "Mei nü p'ien" 美女篇, in Ts'ao Tzu-chien chi (Ssu pu ts'ung k'an ed.), 6:5a.

¹¹ *Chin shu* (K'ai-ming ed.), 26: 1153b.

¹² Chiang Yen, "Shui shang shen nü fu," *Chiang Li-ling chi* (in *Han Wei liu ch'ao po san chia chi*, 1960 ed.), 1: 16b.

¹³ Juan Chi, "Yung huai," no. 43, in *Juan Pu-ping yung huai shih chu* (1957 ed.), p.55.

¹⁴ Li Po, "Ku feng," no. 40, *Ch'uan T'ang shih*, han 3, ts'e 4, 1: 8b.

images of crystalline splendor exemplified in forms of water and ice, and, even more importantly, images of vegetative glory.

In the case of water, there was the well-established precedent of *pi* 碧, another mineral word often applied to divine-seeming waters. This usage was ultimately derived from descriptions of the divine pools at Mount K'un-lun. As a color word, *pi* came to be associated equally with deep shades of green, as in dark, glossy vegetation, and of dark blue, whether that of deep, cold water, or of the chilly depths of the sky. The word connoted, in short, intense varieties of *ch'ing*. On the blue side, celestial affinities are particularly abundant, as in such phrases as *pi k'ung* 碧空, *pi hsu* 碧虛, *pi lo* 碧落, and *pi Han* 碧漢. The last of these referred, not to the Han River on earth, but to its counterpart in the sky. In these heavenly contexts I have found it convenient to translate *pi* by "cyan." Hence our "Milky Way" is "The Han in the Cyan [Depths]"--dark, remote, crystalline and cold. This is the ultimate image of the most pure and the most divine of waters. We see comparable usage, transferred to *lang-kan*, in Pan Chao's 班固 poem on "The Arrival of Winter":

The long Ho forms [crystalline] *lang-kan*;

Layered ice is like banked-up jade.¹⁵

Here the "Yellow" River is represented as truly mundane, close to the primordial, frozen, icy blue of quartz--that is, of "germinal essence of water" (*shui ching* 水精).

But by T'ang times the dominant image conveyed by *lang-kan* was that of glossy herbiage--above all of the gemmy luster of plants and trees consecrated by tradition to the gods, or forming part of the environment of divinely inspired men and women. So Tu Fu 杜甫 found the word *lang-kan* appropriate to the vegetation around the altar at the forest home of a holy Taoist,¹⁶ and to the turf which provided splendid matting for guests at a royal picnic near a mysterious grotto, an avenue to the underworld.¹⁷ In the charming neighborhood of a woodland temple, with quicksilver elixirs fuming under the trees, bamboos of *lang-kan* lean over the paths.¹⁸ A beautiful garden, an image of

¹⁵Pao Chao, "Tung chih," *Pao Ts'an-chün chi*, in *Han Wei liu ch'ao po san chia chi*, 2, 53b.

¹⁶Tu Fu, "Hsuan tu t'an ko chi Yuan i jen," *Ch'uan T'ang shih*, han 4, ts'e 1, 1: 4a.

¹⁷Tu Fu, "Cheng fu ma che yen tung chung," *Ch'uan T'ang shih*, han 4, ts'e 2, 9:5a.

¹⁸Ch'üan Te-yü 權德輿, "Wan ch'iu yü . . . Hao t'ien kuan," *Ch'uan T'ang shih*, han 5, ts'e 8, 7: 4a.

paradise, displays shrubs of jointed *lang-kan*.¹⁹ Bamboo was always the most typical representative of *lang-kan* in the plant world. Its color had been stereotyped as "halcyon," itself an ambiguous word: it was organic turquoise, neither blue nor green.²⁰ Still, amid all of this bambusoid greenery, the mineral glints of sky and water were never forgotten:

Piled snows come to melting--torrents' water broaden;

The luminous moon, filling this high loft, is shattered *lang-kan*.²¹

In T'ang times uncertainty gave way to certainty: the mysterious blue-green gem-trees did in fact exist, and in the domain of T'ang itself. Indeed they could be hauled up in nets out of the shallow waters off Ch'ang-kuo 昌國 township in Ming 明 county, in modern Chekiang. In short, as was inevitable, the divine *lang-kan* tree was finally recognized in a kind of mineralized subaqueous shrub--a species of branching coral, colored either blue or green.²²

This new development in the natural history of *lang-kan* creates a certain problem. What kind of coral was it? It must have been a variety attractive enough to find acceptance in the imaginations of persons brought up on the shining myths of K'un-lun. Perhaps it is no longer identifiable. One known kind of coral is at least worthy of serious consideration. This is the blue coral *Heliopora coerulea*--a very suitable name for the divine tree of Hsi Wang Mu. It is a branching coral, the only living species of its genus, reported to grow in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. In former times specimens from Africa, presumably taken from the Indian Ocean, played some minor part in the gem trade. I have seen a single report for recent times, published in 1975: "This is a calcareous type. It had a peculiar structure with quite a number of large holes with a very conspicuous structure, plus a myriad of tiny indentations in the surface. Despite the indentations, the overall stone took a rather high polish."²³ Whether this is the same species of coral that was

¹⁹ Liu Yü-hsi 劉禹錫, "Ho Lo-t'ien hsien yuan tu shang," *Ch'uan T'ang shih*, han 6, ts'e 3, 9: 9a

²⁰ E.g., in Li Shen 李紳 (?-846), "Nan t'ing chu," *Ch'uan T'ang shih*, han 8, ts'e 1, 2: 1a; Hsu Yin 徐寅 (fl. 873), "Chu," *Ch'uan T'ang shih*, han 11, ts'e 1, 1: 13b.

²¹ Ts'ui Tao-yung 崔道融 (fl. 879), "Ch'i yeh," *Ch'uan T'ang shih*, han 11, ts'e 1, 1: 6b. The anomalous appearance of "*lang-kan* paper" in a supernatural tale of the ninth century suggests, despite the ghostly atmosphere congenial to minerals from another world, that *lang-kan* had become merely another color word, like *pi* and *se-se* 瑟瑟 (for which see E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, Berkeley, 1963, pp. 230-231 and especially p. 333) before it, and later English "azure" (earlier the name of the mineral lapis lazuli). See Tuan Ch'eng-shih 段成式, *Yu yang tsa tsu* 酉陽雜俎, hsu 續 (Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng ed.), 2: 183.

²² See especially Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i 陳藏器, *Pen ts'ao shih i* 本草拾遺, quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu* 本草綱目 (Hong Kong, 1972), 8: 40. See also the comments of Li Shih-chen 李時珍 in *ibid.*; H. T. Chang, *Shih ya*, p. 27; Schafer, *Tu Wan's Stone Catalogue*, pp. 94-95.

²³ Richard T. Liddicoat, Jr., "Developments and Highlights at GIA's Lab in Los Angeles," *Gems and Gemology*, (Winter, 1974-75), 14: 369.

fished up along the China coast in T'ang and Sung times can only be a matter for conjecture.

But even during the T'ang period, when the purity of the *lang-kan* lineage was contaminated, as it were, by salt water, there was some feeling that the true mineral was not dredged up from the depths of the sea. How could one account otherwise for reports of glassy *lang-kan*? How should one explain the officially authenticated *lang-kan* beads--gems in the true classical tradition--which were among the thirteen treasures, found in Kiangsu, in honor of which the new era *Pao ying* 寶應 "Treasure Response" was proclaimed in A.D. 762? What could one make of the persistent reports of *lang-kan* in the mountains of the west--apparently confirmed in Sung times by the gift of a miniature mountain of "cyan *kan* (*pi kan* 碧玕)" to the Chinese court by the Kingdom of Ta-li 大理 in Yunnan--a traditional source of the gemstone?²⁴ None of these examples were coralline.

For this *lang-kan* of the mountains, such green gemstones as demantoid garnet (known from the serpentine of the Urals), green tourmaline (as that of Ceylon), apple-green chrysoprase, or even light greenish-blue turquoise from the famous deposits near Nishapur, are all conceivable identities. Or perhaps the name was given to several of these minerals on the basis of color and luster alone. But demantoid and tourmaline of gem quality are very local and uncommon, while the hues of chrysoprase and turquoise, minerals which are more widely distributed, seem to disqualify them because of their pallor.

While it hardly seems possible that we can ever be certain about the "true" identity of ancient *lang-kan*--if it ever had a unique identity--it must be admitted that the candidate of at least two modern authorities is by far the most plausible one: it was malachite.²⁵ This handsome green carbonate of copper has important credentials. It is often found in copper mines, and is therefore regularly at the disposal of copper- and bronze-producing peoples. It has, in certain varieties, a lovely silky luster, caused by its fibrous structure. It is soft and easily cut. It takes a good polish. It was commonly made into beads both in the western and eastern worlds. Above all, even uncut malachite often has a nodular or botryoidal structure, like little clumps of bright green beads, one of the classical forms attributed to *lang-kan*. Sometimes, too, it is stalactitic, like little stone trees. Leaving this realm of high probability we can even speak of actualities: malachite was indeed an important gemstone of pre-Han China. In particular, inlays of

²⁴E. H. Schafer, *Tu Wan's Stone Catalogue*, p. 95; E. H. Schafer, "The Origin of an Era," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1965, 85: 545.

²⁵H. T. Chang, *Shih ya*, pp. 26-27; B. E. Read and C. Pak, "A Compendium of Minerals and Stones Used in Chinese Medicine from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu, Li Shih Chen, 1597 A.D.," *The Peking Society of Natural History Bulletin*, 1928, 3: 21 (item 32).

malachite decorated ceremonial bronze weapons of the Shang and early Chou periods, and ornamented the ritual vessels of late Chou times.²⁶ In brief, along with turquoise and to a lesser extent carnelian and jade, malachite was one of the most exploited gems of classical antiquity. It is hard to avoid the conviction that it was indeed the *lang-kan* of Han and earlier times. Indeed we need a word for gem-quality malachite for that period. In early medieval times the ordinary variety of the mineral--granular, stone, or earthy, and chiefly used as a pigment--was "green verditer" (*lu ch'ing* 綠青). By this time the word *lang-kan* was obsolescent, increasingly restricted to fairy gems and exotic, even imaginary jewels. If this was so, it shared the fate of many other old names of gemstones, most notably *ch'iuung* 璚 and *yao* 瑤.

Lang-kan--malachite or not--was an ingredient of Taoist elixirs during the Six Dynasties period, as T'ao Hung-ching made plain when he wrote: "It may be transmuted into a 'cinnabar' (*tan* 丹)," that is, into a drug of immortality based, as usually, on mercuric sulphide.²⁷ But this was only a step in the evolution of an incredibly synthesized *lang-kan* which bore, it seems, about the same relation to the natural mineral as strontium titanate, known in the gem trade by such names as "lustigem" and "zenithite," does to the true diamond of Jagersfontein and Dutoitspan.

The *lang-kan* elixir--as distinguished from the novel coralline *lang-kan* of T'ang and Sung, and from the fading image of an attractive gem from the southwest and the far west--was, in T'ang times, already well known as a thing in itself, although its image was not *entirely* distinct from these other identities. Consider, by way of example, a poem of distinctly Taoist character written by Ku K'uang 顧況 (ca. 725-ca. 814), embellished with the images of a sacred crane, the walled city of Hsi Wang Mu, and a Jade Woman. This splendid supernatural array concludes with a food, a dish for the gods, "finest bloom of *lang-kan*."²⁸

²⁶ Among many available descriptions of these gemmy inlays in bronze, see especially John R. Gettens, *The Freer Chinese Bronzes II: Technical Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1967-69), pp. 197, 204.

²⁷ T'ao Hung-ching, *Ming i pieh lu* 明醫別錄 (in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 8: 40). The *Har Wu Ti nei chuan* offers a tantalizing glimpse of a transitional stage between the natural mineral, used as a reagent, and the mystic elixir of the same name. Among the fantastic drugs said by Hsi Wang Mu to be essential to the attainment of endless life was "the *lang* [-kan?] vegetable of the Cyan Sea," apparently a name related to the shorter "cyan kan" of which we have already taken note. See K. M. Schipper, *L'empereur Wou des Han dans la légende taoïste. Han Wou-ti nei tchouan* (Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 58, Paris, 1965), p. 82.

²⁸ *Lang-kan ying* 琅玕英. Ku K'uang, "Hsien Wang lan chung chien tseng ch'in hao," *Ch'uan T'ang shih*, han 4, ts'e 9, 1: 10a.

Michel Strickmann has written a vivid exposition of the hypothesis that this elixir was an agent of self-liberation, a lethal nectar, a compound of mineral poisons which guaranteed life after death to the daring adept, as death in a holy war guaranteed a blissful career in a rosy paradise to the fallen Muslim warrior.²⁹ A detailed account of the preparation of this elixir is provided by an alchemical scripture preserved in the Taoist canon. Nathan Sivin began the study of this important text some years ago, and his findings will appear in print very soon.³⁰

The scripture, which calls the elixir "efflorescence of *lang-kan*," may be very old indeed, as Strickmann suggests, possibly antedating even T'ao Hung-ching's classical account of the preparation. The text describes a basic mix of fourteen reagents, for which the cabalistic names are given and explained by glosses consisting of their ordinary mineralogical synonyms. These scholia are termed "orally transmitted secrets" (*k'ou chueh* 口訣). They can, for the most part, be given correct identities, which are readily tabulated as follows:

CHINESE NAME	MINERAL SPECIES	CHEMICAL COMPOSITION
1. <i>tan sha</i> 丹沙	cinnabar	HgS
2. <i>hsiung huang</i> 雄黃	realgar	AsS
3. <i>po shih ying</i> 白石英	milky quartz	SiO ₂
4. <i>k'ung ch'ing</i> 空青	azurite	Cu ₃ (CO ₃) ₂ (OH) ₂
5. <i>tzu shih ying</i> 紫石英	amethyst	SiO ₂
6. <i>shih tai</i> 石炭	graphite	C
7. <i>hsiao shih</i> 硝石	niter (+ soda niter?)	KNO ₃ (+NaNO ₃ ?)
8. <i>shih liu huang</i> 石流黃	sulphur	S
9. <i>yang ch'i shih hsin</i> ³¹ 陽起石心	tremolite (?)	Ca ₂ Mg ₅ Si ₈ O ₂₂ (OH) ₂ (?)
10. <i>yün mu</i> 雲母	mica	KAl ₂ (AlSi ₃ O ₁₀)(OH,F) ₂

²⁹ Michel Strickmann, "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching," unpublished manuscript on the transcendental aspects of Taoist alchemy. See references to T'ao Hung-ching in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 8: 40, and in *Chen kao* 真誥 (ed. of Hsueh chin t'ao yuan): 4: 15a-17a.

³⁰ T'ai wei ling shu tzu wei lang-kan hua tan shen chen shang ching 太微靈書紫微琅玕華丹神真上經 (Tao tsang, 120, 1a-8b). Sivin's study will appear in the forthcoming Vol. 5, Pt. 4 of *Science and Civilization in China*.

CHINESE NAME	MINERAL SPECIES	CHEMICAL COMPOSITION
11. <i>chin ya shih</i> ³² 金牙石	litharge, massicot	PbO
12. <i>hu fen</i> 胡粉	ceruse	2PbCO ₃ ·Pb(OH) ₂
13. <i>jung yen</i> 戎鹽	salts (precipitated in desert lakes; gypsum, anhydrite, and halite appear in that order)	CaSO ₄ ·2H ₂ O, CaSO ₄ , NaCl, and others
14. <i>tz'u huang</i> 雌黃	orpiment	As ₂ S ₃

³¹The identification of *yang ch'i shih* 陽起石, to which our text adds the unique *hsin* "heart"--a *hapax legomenon* so far as I can tell--offers some problems. T'ao Hung-ching, quoted in *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 10, 2, calls it "root of mica . . . much resembling mica . . . rather brownish." Su says that the best is white, resembling *yin nieh* 殷孽 (small tips of stalactites), but having some of the gloss of mica, hence the variant name of "white stone" in the *Shen nung pen ts'ao ching*. There is a black variety, like black mica (biotite). Several medieval medical authorities compare its appearance to that of wolf fangs or of arrowheads. Masutomi Kazunosuke, *Shosoin yakubutsu o chushin to suru kodai sekiyaku no kenkyu*, 1: *Shosoin no kobutsu* (Kyoto, 1957), p. 198; and Read and Pak, *op. cit.*, no. 75, both identify this substance as "tremolite." Read and Pak report that the specimens labelled *yang ch'i shih* which they purchased in shops were sometimes calcite, sometimes "sulphate of lime" (i.e., anhydrite or gypsum). A sample from Peking, however, proved to be actinolite asbestos. Actinolite belongs to the same isomorphous series as tremolite. Part of its magnesium is replaced by iron, which colors it green--a feature of *yang ch'i shih* not mentioned by any classical authority. (Tough compact varieties of tremolite and actinolite constitute nephrite jade.) The old pharmacologists refer to sources which give Ch'i-chou 齊州 (i.e., Chi-nan-hsien 齊南縣 in southern Honan) in T'ang times as the prime source of *yang ch'i shih*. T'ang-shu, 28: 6b, lists talc and mica among the chief products of that region, and these minerals are very commonly associated with tremolite, which often occurs, for instance, in talc schists. Tremolite often displays a lustrous, radiating, crystalline structure, commonly with a satiny gloss. These radiating clusters could be the wolf fangs or arrowheads of the pharmacologists. As for the black variety, this would be the closely related amphibole called hornblende. The arcane names for *yang ch'i shih* provided by Mei Piao 梅彪 (*Shih yao erh ya shih* 藥面雅 [Tao tsang, 588]), among them a number strongly suggesting a pentachromatic scintillation, such as "five-colored lotus" (*wu se fu-jung*), must give us pause, unless they refer to some laboratory-made elixir in which *yang ch'i shih* is the crucial ingredient. In any case, the first of Mei Piao's synonyms is the respectably ancient one of "white stone." Sivin, *Chinese Alchemy: Preliminary Studies* (Harvard Monographs in the History of Science, 1: Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p. 293, gives the most probable solution, that *yang ch'i shih* is not a single mineral species, but the class of amphiboles. (I once thought that *yang ch'i shih* was a potassium feldspar. See E. H. Schafer, "Notes on Mica in Medieval China," *T'oung Pao*, 1955, 43: 265-286. I no longer hold this view.)

³²This name is not a usual one for oxide of lead (litharge and massicot are chemically identical, but crystallize in different forms). Mei Piao gives *ch'ien huang hua* 鉛黃華, *huang ching* 黃精, *chin kung huang* 金公黃, and *huang ya* 黃牙 for PbO. I believe that we have a new synonym here. Cf. E. H. Schafer, "The Early History of Lead Pigments and Cosmetics in China," *T'oung Pao*, 1956, 44: 413-438.

(I shall not list all of the cabalistic names of these ingredients, but give only the first of them by way of example. This is "Vermilion Child of Scarlet Tumulus" [*chiang ling chu erh* 絳陵朱兒], representing cinnabar.)

The scripture tells the precise quantities in which these mineral reagents must be combined, all in terms of catties (*chin* 斤), or fractions thereof: thus, cinnabar, ten catties; realgar, five catties; azurite, one-half catty, and so on. All of these components must be triturated, then put into a cauldron in a fixed order, like the stratified liqueurs in a *pousse café*. The cinnabar is added last, to form the uppermost layer. On top of all, the alchemist pours three catties of pure quicksilver. The whole is sealed, first with "yellow cinnabar clay" (*huang tan ni* 黃丹泥, a lute that contains minium, Pb_3O_4), and then with a mixture in which oyster shells (calcite, CaCO_3) are the prime ingredient. All is encased in fine earth before firing. The firing lasts a hundred days, with a three-day cooling period at the end. When opened, a volatile efflorescence shimmers on the surface of the preparation. This must be brushed away with a cock's feather, after which the surface displays a dazzling coruscation of many colors. This beautiful product is "the cinnabar of *lang-kan* efflorescence." Taken by the adept in small quantities under carefully prescribed circumstances it will yield wonderful results, not the least of which are a seven-colored aura emanating from his head and a "jade refulgence with golden efflorescence" on his face. Other advantages include the following: "Spit on the ground, and [your saliva] will be transformed into a flying dragon; whistle to the left, and the divine transcendents will instantly attend your Levee." Ascent into the realm of Highest Clarity is the greatest of the boons provided by this marvelous drug.

Presumably this elixir was actually concocted many times in the course of the medieval centuries. But, unless a bold experimenter now wishes to sacrifice the third part of a year in anxious vigilance, with added hazards due to philological error, we shall not soon enjoy its glorious aspect.

Perhaps a few superficial observations about its nature will not prove amiss, however. Obviously we cannot be certain about the most desirable temperature in the divine crucible, but if we assume that it was moderate by modern standards, some of the ingredients would remain inert, while we could expect some activity on the part of such radicals as Hg, As, Cu, K, Pb, Ca, (Na?), C, S, (Cl?), CO_3 , NO_3 , SO_4 , OH, and O. It seems probable that the end product would be a "flint" glass--that is, glass with a high lead content, the glass of ceramic glazes, artificial jewelry, and the like. The ingredients essential to such an outcome, about 20 to 40 per cent silica and about 50 to 80 per cent lead oxide, are both abundantly present in the mix. Usually a small amount of potash, soda, or alumina is desirable; they are present here, if only in traces, and in any case the niter would act as a flux.

A typical flint glass softens at only 630°, no great problem with simple equipment. Presumably the copper would add a bluish tint, which might account for the charming classical name of *lang-kan*. The effects of other metallic ions in the melt, for instance those of mercury, I cannot predict.

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Three Divine Women of South China

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The ancestors of the wonder tales of late T'ang were such collections of marvels as the *Sou shen chi* 搜神記, which in their own times expressed the uncritical zeal of collectors of evidence for the truth of miracles, generating corresponding awe in their readers. These collections, in turn, had their own simpler predecessors in accounts of otherworldly personages and places on the undisciplined fringes of civilization—such books as the *Mu t'ien tzu chuan* 穆天子傳 and the *Shan hai ching* 山海經. For them, the world of spirits was a foreign world which occasionally intersected the familiar world. Few men doubted that the burning stars housed powerful spirits, or that trolls lurked in the fir forests, or that the kingdom of Ta Ch'in was inhabited by demigods.¹ That the wonder tales of an age later than these were also based as much on faith as on fancy is not quite so popular a thesis among sinologists—yet such, I believe, was indeed the case.

Prime examples of good writing on religious themes, especially saintly lives and visionary experiences, are discoverable in the literature of Taoism. (Manuals of monastic discipline and ritual protocol are less amenable, perhaps, to such artistic treatment.) This is especially true of the writings produced by the medieval adherents of what we call *Shang ch'ing* 上清 or Mao Shan 茅山 Taoism, which took form in the fourth and fifth centuries of our era and became a fountain of inspiration to writers of the T'ang period. Most important of all was the *Chen kao* 真誥,² a guide to the revelations made to the faithful elect on the eponymous mountain in the fourth century. Among much else, the *Chen kao* contains hagiography written in excellent prose, and glimpses of the celestial world contrived in beautiful verse. Almost as influential, but more derivative, is the charming "novelette" *Han Wu Ti nei chuan* 漢武帝內傳, the product of a later age. It combines stylish prose and poetry in a well-designed and edifying account of the ideal *Shang ch'ing* hierogamy.³

In T'ang times, when the monarchs of China claimed descent from the revered author of the *Lao tzu*, already elevated to the status of a cosmic divinity, when princesses of the blood—like high-born abbesses in medieval Europe—took holy orders, when highly competent poets did not disdain to renew themselves through periodic retreats in hermitages attached to great Taoist friaries, this noble literary heritage was even more refined and elaborated. Unfortunately, this literature, which testifies to the central importance of the native Chinese religion in medieval life and culture, has since been rejected as unworthy of serious study, particularly as a result of

¹ See, for instance, Kiang Chao-yüan, *Le voyage dans la Chine ancienne considéré principalement sous son aspect magique et religieux*, Vol. I, translated by Fang Jen (Shang-hai, 1937). I have touched on the fusion of the exotic with the supernatural in literature in *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (Berkeley, 1963), and in "Iranian Merchants in T'ang Dynasty Tales," *Semitic and Oriental Studies Presented to William Popper*, v. 11 of *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology*, (Berkeley, 1951), pp. 403-422.

² T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景, *Chen Kao*, preserved in the *Tao tsang* and extant in other editions.

³ For text, translation, and superb commentary—which makes any comment by me superfluous—see K. M. Schipper, *L'Empereur Wou des Han dans la légende taoïste; Han wou-ti nei tchouan* (Paris, 1965).

the Manchu orthodoxy which regarded expressions of Taoist belief as potentially subversive, or else it has been etiolated by draining away, both in translation and commentary, its true religious significance. The end result has been the trivialization of a considerable portion of medieval literature and the corruption of modern understanding of it. Both T'ang poetry and T'ang prose have suffered. Even masterly poems have been consistently misinterpreted—or avoided altogether—because astral imagery (to take only one example), so important in the *Shang ch'ing* tradition, is hardly recognized, despite its ubiquity.⁴ "Taoist" prose has been largely ignored. The present study attempts to open a small window on the prose writings of a great Taoist master of the late T'ang.

Specifically, I offer a slight contribution to Taoist hagiography. Its essential core consists of translations of three tales from the *Yung ch'eng chi hsien lu* 壙城集仙錄 of Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 (850-933), as preserved in the *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien* 雲笈七籤, that important epitome of the Taoist canon which appeared early in the eleventh century. Tu Kuang-t'ing was an ordained priest. (While treating the compatibility of religious vocation and piety with good writing, I must add: "as was John Donne".) His book is devoted to the careers, both mortal and immortal, of Taoist women and goddesses. The stories he tells provide edifying examples of devotion and piety, but differently considered, belong to the realm of the characteristic wonder tales of T'ang—tales of the exotic, of mystery, and of the supernatural. But despite their assimilation to the manner of the literary short story, the incorporation of these narrations into Tu Kuang-t'ing's collection is in itself evidence that they were expected to be taken seriously as testimony to the truths of the faith.

All three stories deal with female personages associated with holy mountains in southernmost China during the ninth century. It follows that Tu Kuang-t'ing was writing of things that happened—or were reported to have happened—within recent memory.

Two of these women were associated in some degree with Heng Shan 衡山, the sacred mountain of the south. The name requires a little discussion.

In antiquity, Southern Marchmount⁵ was Huo Shan 霍山, an unstable floating name. Many early sources equate it with Heng Shan, presumably the mountain of that name in Hunan today. But during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty (r. 140-88 B.C.), it was applied to T'ien-chu Shan 天柱山 in Anhwei. Thereafter the ancient name Huo Shan, while losing few of its sacred associations, was seldom applied to Southern Marchmount, but it loomed large in Taoist cosmography during the great formative period of the Taoist religion between Han and T'ang. Then a distinction had developed between the "lesser" Huo Shan of early Han, and a secret "greater" Huo Shan—the "true" Southern Marchmount—which was unknown to the non-elect. In the fourth and fifth centuries this was an eminence in Lo-chiang 羅江 Township in Fukien.⁶ This was, it appears, the holy microcosm which was assigned to Wei Hua-ts'un 魏華存 by her heavenly mentors as her private domain. By T'ang times Heng Shan—no longer thought of as Huo Shan—had been firmly established as Southern

⁴I myself have recently been studying Taoist poetry of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, and some of my results are about to be published. Most significant among them for our purposes here is a study on *tz'u* 詞 in the form *Nü kuan tzu* 女冠子, which will appear in *Asiatische Studien* under the title "The Capeline Cantos—Verses on the Divine Loves of Taoist Priestesses." This develops in some detail themes already touched on in my book *The Divine Woman* (Berkeley, 1973), and more recently in *Pacing the Void* (Berkeley, 1977)—especially the sections called "Star Women" and "Flight Beyond the World."

⁵For the use of "marchmount" for *yüeh* 嶽, see *Pacing the Void*, p. 6.

⁶Michel Strickmann, as quoted in E.H. Schafer, "The Restoration of the Shrine of Wei Hua-ts'un at Lin-ch'uan in the Eighth Century," *Journal of Oriental Studies*, 15 (1977) [in press], footnote 54.

Marchmount in official and popular belief, and the worship of Wei Hua-ts'un as a goddess had been instituted there. But the Mao Shan Taoists still affirmed the greater holiness of "Great Huo Shan," no longer in Fukien, however, but part of the great complex of Mt. T'ien-t'ai in Chekiang.

The first of our supernatural ladies was a spiritual descendant and alter-ego of Wei Hua-ts'un, whose shrine at Heng Shan she defended, just as Huang Ling-wei 黃靈微—otherwise "Dame Flower"—had been dedicated to the preservation of Lady Wei's shrine at Lin-ch'uan 臨川 in Kiangsi at the end of the seventh century.⁷ Although her name was sacred in both places, the aura of Lady Wei at Lin-ch'uan was that of an advanced adept, destined for a supernal life, but her spiritual influence at Heng Shan was rather that of a supernatural entity, sharing the powers of the divine stars and planets. Some knowledge of the character of her cult there can be gleaned from a guide to the notable sights and relics of the sacred mountain written by the T'ang priest Li Ch'ung-chao 李冲昭. This little book survives in the Taoist canon with the title *Nan yüeh hsiao lu* 南嶽小錄, that is "A Small Register of Southern Marchmount."⁸ From internal evidence, this text can reasonably be dated A.D. 902. Among the remains associated with Lady Wei—in Li's book referred to by the elegant title "Primal Mistress of the Purple Barrens" (*Tzu hsü yüan chün* 紫虛元君)—was a sacred stage, or altar-platform, twelve feet high, which had been dedicated to her.

1. Fearless Custodian: K'ou Hsien-ku 緜仙姑

The female acolyte who tended the holy arena at Heng Shan in T'ang times—a latter-day saint, and mask of the Lady Wei herself—was surnamed K'ou, titled "Purified Teacher" (*lien shih*),⁹ but commonly known as Transcendent Dame (*hsien ku*).¹⁰ It is as Transcendent Dame K'ou that she appears in Tu Kuang-t'ing's little history.¹¹

The so-called Transcendent Dame K'ou was a person of Ch'ang-sha. She entered upon the Way, and dwelt at Heng Shan. At more than eighty years her countenance and

⁷See *Ibid.*

⁸HY 453 (*Cheng t'ung Tao tsang*, Taipei, 1976, reprint). Books and scriptures in the Taoist canon [*Tao tsang*] will be cited according to their serial number in Weng Tu-chien, *Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature* [Taipei, 1966, reprint], Number 25 in *Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series*, as "HY" [=Harvard-Yenching] plus the number.

⁹*Lien* 鍊 "to refine precious metals" is sometimes replaced in this title by its cognate *lien* 練 "to whiten silk by cooking it." According to *T'ang liu tien* (Kyoto, 1935), ch. 4, p. 42, "Purified Teachers" were the fourth and most exalted class of priests in Taoists convents. The first three, *fa shih* 法師, *wei i shih* 威儀師, and *lü shih* 律師, were pragmatic friars, but the *lien shih* were exalted for their holiness alone, and devoted themselves solely to meditation. The word *lien*, in whichever form, meant "purify by the removal of dross." It has a respectable history in Taoist usage, describing what the adept must do to himself to attain eternal life. An example is the expression *lien hun* 鍊魂 "to refine the soul," for which see H. Maspero, "Les procédés de 'nourir le principe vital' dans la religion taoïste ancienne," *Journal Asiatique*, 229 (1937), pp. 178-179. The word occurs prominently in the titles of two scriptures in the *T'ai shang san shih liu pu tsun ching* 太上三十六部尊經 (HY #8), namely the *Lien sheng ching* 鍊生經 and the *Shang lien ching* 上鍊經. An outstanding example of a "Purified Teacher" was Li Han-kuang 李含光, who was regularly addressed by this title by Emperor Hsüan-tsang (r. 713-755), or so states Liu Ta-pin 茅山志, *Mao shan chih* 劉大彬 (HY 304), ch. 2. Poems addressed to Purified Teachers abound in the *Complete T'ang Poetry*.

¹⁰Li Ch'ung-chao says she dwelt there "long ago." See *Nan yüeh hsiao lu* (HY 453), fol. 10b. But Tu Kuang-t'ing puts her in the third quarter of the ninth century, that is, hardly two generations before the appearance of Li's gazetteer—unless I err in supposing the latter to belong to the year 902; it is possible that the date should be 962.

¹¹*Yung ch'eng chi hsien lu*, in *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien* (Taipei, 1973), ch. 115, p. 1615. The tale has been reproduced in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi* (Peking, 1959), ch. 70, pp. 435-436. The latter version omits words and phrases here and there, and changes a few others, without departing substantially from the version of *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien*.

complexion were [as those of someone] very young. At the transcendent Altar of Lady Wei [Hua-ts'un] below the Marchmount she performed germinal restoration with incense and fire for more than ten years—in solitude, without a companion. In the vicinity of the altar there were many tigers and wolves, and ordinarily when men travelled there, they had to form parties, carrying military implements, before they dared to enter. But the Transcendent Dame, hidden deep within, never once felt any fear. After several years there was a blue bird,¹² in the form of a dove or pigeon, with a red neck and long tail, which came flying to her dwelling place, and spoke freely to her: "I am the emissary of the Lady of Southern Marchmount. Because, Dame, you cultivate the Tao, strenuously and seminally, perched all alone at the limits of the forest, she has just commanded me to be your comrade." On another day it said, "The surname of the Royal Mother of the West is K'ou, and she is in fact the Dame's peerless ancestor! Hearing that the Dame cultivates the Tao with utmost zeal, she will have a Realized Magistrate descend to give you the Tao, but that time has not yet arrived. It is needful that you exert yourself in determined self-cultivation." Whenever some one was travelling on the mount, the blue bird never failed to announce his surname and agnomen in advance—and when the day came it was proved right in each particular. It also said, "K'ou-shih 緱氏山¹³ in Honan is the old mountain home of the Royal Mother—the place where she cultivates the Tao." On still another day the blue bird came flying and said, "This evening there will be violent visitors—but they will prove harmless. Do not take it as something to be feared!" And indeed that evening more than ten [Buddhist] monks came to the transcendent altar of Lady Wei. This was a huge slab of stone—something more than ten feet in diameter. Underneath it floated smoothly, lodged on top of another stone. Should it happen that one person pushed it with his hand, it would shake and move, but if many men did so it stayed firmly in place. Now on this night, the monks, carrying fire and clutching swords, were going to work woe on the Transcendent Dame. They entered her house, but the Transcendent Dame was on the bed, and the monks did not see her. After going out the gate they immediately pushed and damaged the transcendent altar. There was a rumbling noise; the mountain shook and valleys split open. One would have said that it had toppled off—but in the end they had not been able to move it! The monks ran off all together. With the coming of light one came to a distant village. Separated and scattered, nine of the monks had been gnawed to death by tigers, while the one monk who, at the time of the pushing on the altar had not taken part in that evil, escaped injury from the tigers. The Lady's transcendent altar remained proud and unimpaired. The Dame, too, suffered no adversity. In something over a year, the blue bird told the Dame to move her residence to a place of the transcendents. So she moved away to dwell in Hunan. The bird went along too, but other persons were never able to comprehend its speech. The Minister of State Cheng Tien 鄭 畋,¹⁴ Civil and Radiant Lord, had been degraded from Gentleman-scholar Recipient of the Intent to the Pastorale of Wu County (*Wu-chou mu* 梧州牧), where he devoted himself to the Dame as his teacher. The Dame spoke to the Civil and Radiant Lord thus: "Hereafter there will be many troubles within the Four Seas; I may not dwell long among men. Now I propose to divine a retreat among the [Mountains of the] Nine Uncertainties."¹⁵ And so one morning she was gone.

Fortunately, Tu Kuang-t'ing has supplied us with further details about the supreme moment in the life of Custodian K'ou in an anecdote intended to illustrate the

¹²The blue bird-messenger of Hsi Wang Mu is an established mythological and literary figure. She is elsewhere a "fairy maid in blue" (*ch'ing o* 青娥).

¹³K'ou-shih Shan, also called Fu-fu Shan 覆釜山, was the place where Chin 晉, Grand Heir of Ling Wang of Chou, ascended into the sky. The story is told in the *Lieh hsien chuan*; see Max Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-sien tchouan* (Peking, 1953), pp. 109-110. He appears in the matched poems of Cho Ying-ying and Lu Mei-niang translated below.

¹⁴Cheng Tien was banished to Wu-chou in Kwangsi in 869, and remained there for several years, until after the accession of Emperor Hsi-tsung (r. 874-888). This places the events here described approximately in the period 870-874. See *Chiu T'ang shu* (*Ssu-pu pei-yao* ed.), ch. 178, fol. 7a.

¹⁵Chiu-i Shan 九疑山, the celebrated and most remote of the great sacred mountains, in southernmost Hunan near the Kwangtung-Kwangsi border.

numinous power of the lady herself, and also to demonstrate such vulgar facts as that the transcendent beings watch over their own, that wild creatures are at their command, and that the strivers after the Highest Clarity (*shang ch'ing*) are a breed superior to the fanatical thugs who adore the Lord Buddha. The collection of edifying illustrations of which this is an instance is entitled "Record of the Numinous Proofs of the Teachings of the Tao."¹⁶ The particular instance is entitled "The Proof of the Ten Buddhist Monks Who Came to Vandalize the Altar of Lady Wei and Were Gnawed by Tigers."

The Altar of the Lady Wei is on top of a gigantic rock in the forepart of the central peak of Southern Marchmount. It is a large monolith something more than ten feet in diameter. Its shape is square and it is firmly placed—rounded below and flat above, supported as if floating on top of another stone. Should it happen that a single man attempted to push it off, it seemed to move around, but when there were many men it remained firmly set in place. It was traditionally taken to be a numinous and marvelous thing, where divine transcendents and recluses alike came to promenade and take their ease. Above, fully covering its summit, there were wonderful fumes and supernatural aethers. One time there were more than ten cassocked monks who came with torches in their hands and staves under their arms. They reached the site of the altar by night, intending to do injury to the transcendent Dame K'ou. They entered the place where she dwelt, but the Transcendent Dame was on the bed and the monks did not see her. Then they went forth to visit the site of the altar. When they pushed and damaged the Lady's altar there was a rumbling noise as if it had toppled off. They shone lights all round—and they had been unable to move it at all! Recognizing its strange and numinous power they rushed off, fleeing in all directions. With the coming of daylight one of them had reached a far village, having run something on the order of ten *li*. Nine of these men of joint purpose had been gnawed to death by tigers, but one of them, because he had not joined in the evil deed when they pushed the altar, had escaped destruction by the tigers. He accordingly gave a full account of the matter to the villagers and country-dwellers. Far and near men wondered in astonishment at this.

—We may surmise that the tigers consumed the malicious monks with pious relish.

2. Impeccable Artist: Lu Mei-niang 盧眉娘

Our next holy woman was not associated with Heng Shan, but rather with a sacred eminence in Kwangtung, east of Canton, in Hsün 循 (**Zywin*), which, although it did not have the credentials of a Marchmont, was a very numinous place indeed. This was Lo-fou Shan 羅浮山,¹⁷ where Ko Hung was said to have spent his last years, looking for the ultimate elixir. In T'ang times it was the remote home of the great ninth-century master Hsüan-yüan Chi 軒轅集, and of the immortal damsel Ho hsien-ku 何仙姑.¹⁸ Its surface was ornamented with magical fruits and lovely flowers, evidence that potent pneumas worked there, and its interior was swollen with a whole star-studded world, like a magical bubble. This was the seventh of the ten great "grotto-heavens." Its name was "Vermilion Luminosity" (*chu ming*), and it was 500 *li* in circumference.¹⁹ The story of the holy maiden is but one link in the endless chain of the wonders of Lo-fou.²⁰

¹⁶Tu Kuang-t'ing, *Tao chiao ling yen chi* 道教靈驗記, in *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien*, ch. 117-122, p. 1634.

¹⁷See E.H. Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 88-89.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹⁹Szu-ma Ch'eng-chen 司馬承禎, "T'ien ti kung fu t'u," in *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien*, ch. 27, p. 401. For much more see Michel Soymié, "Le Lo-feou chan; étude de géographie religieuse," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 48 (1954), 1-139. This monograph is the single most important study of Mt. Lo-fou, and can hardly be neglected by any student of medieval China.

²⁰Under the title "The Divine Dame" (*shen ku* 神姑) in *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien*, ch. 116, pp. 1623-1624.

The so-called Divine Dame was Lu Mei-niang ("Lu, Maiden with the Eyebrows"). She was a descendant of Lu Ching-tso 盧景祚,²¹ the teacher of the Theocrat "Northern Forefather"²² of Later Wei. Her eyebrows were long and green at her birth, and this is the reason for her name. In the prime [i.e. first] year of "Eternal Probity,"²³ the Grand Protector of Nan-hai [Canton] sent her to the capital as "tribute," because of her marvellous craftsmanship and her extraordinary qualities of spirit. Lu, Maiden with the Eyebrows, had been astute and quick-witted since her youth. She had the ability to separate thread into three filaments, which she then dyed in various colors. These she knotted together within a hall to form an umbrella-like canopy in five tiers. Within it were simulacra of the Ten Continents, the Three Isles, Heavenly Persons, Jade Women, basilicas on platforms, and unicorns and phoenixes, while around it were arrayed transcendent youths, no less than a thousand in number, grasping streamers and holding insignia aloft. Its breadth was ten feet, but when weighed was less than some three ounces. She herself simmered a numinous aromatic which, transmitted to it, made it firm and stiff, so that it did not tear.²⁴ Our Resplendent Theocrat, the Accommodating Ancestor,²⁵ gasped at the miracle of her craft. Within the palace she was spoken of as "Divine Dame." At the time of her initial entry into the Penetralia she was just in her fourteenth year. Her daily diet consisted of only two or three spoonfuls of cooked "foreign hemp" [sesame seeds]. Later, during "Primal Harmony,"²⁶ our Resplendent Theocrat, the Exemplary Ancestor,²⁷ appreciated her wit and astuteness, and so bestowed a golden phoenix circlet on her, with which to gird her wrist. But after a while she was unwilling to remain in the palatine annex, and so he had her ordained as a Gentlewoman of the Tao, and allowed her to return to Nan-hai, having bestowed on her the title of "Fancy-free" (*Hsiao-yao* 逍遙). She went several years without eating, while divine persons descended regularly to keep her company. One morning she was "transformed into a plumed one."²⁸ A perfumed breath filled the entire building, and when her coffin was raised as the funeral began, it was felt to be light. When the cover was removed, there was nothing there but her old shoes. From time to time men saw her riding over the sea on a purple cloud. Li Hsiang-hsien 李象先 of Lo-fou composed "The Tradition of Fancy-free Lu." Su O inserted her case in his *Tu-yang [tsa] pien* 杜陽雜編.²⁹

The preternatural skills with which Miss Lu was endowed extended beyond her refined work with wisps of silk and her successful practice of Taoist physiological and mental disciplines. She was also a poet of some ability, although very little of her writing survives as a basis for evaluation. The *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩 (Complete T'ang Poetry) preserves only three stanzas. Two of these are of particular interest in that they are carefully matched responses to verses composed by another woman, a resident of

²¹Otherwise unknown. In *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, ch. 66, p. 413, a similar version of this tale tells that he was one of four brothers. The eldest, Lu Ching-yü 盧景裕 was a pious Buddhist, and his biographies may be found in *Wei shu* (K'ai ming ed.), ch. 84, fol. 2088b, and *Pei shih*, ch. 30, 2842c. But the *T'ai p'ing kuang chi* version places these men in Later Han, which is inconsistent with the Northern Wei references in both versions.

²²*Pei tsu ti* 北祖帝 not identified.

²³A.D. 805, Li Sung 李誦 (Shun Tsung 順宗) reigning.

²⁴Emending *ch'iu* 虬 to *chien* 堅, following *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*.

²⁵i.e. Shun-tsung.

²⁶A.D. 806-820.

²⁷Hsien-tsung 憲宗, i.e., Li Ch'un 李純.

²⁸*Yü hua*, i.e., she achieved transcendence.

²⁹I have given a brief account of her career, based on that of Su O 蘇鶚 in *The Vermilion Bird*, p. 107. Su O's biography appears to be the source used by Tu Kuang-t'ing, since the latter follows it faithfully, while omitting a few details. For instance, Su O, whose account may be found in *T'ang tai ts'ung shu* (Taipei, 1968, reprint), p. 65, praises her skill in embroidering the entire seven scrolls of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra* in tiny but legible characters on a one-foot length of pongee. The two versions show a few differences in wording, for instance Su O writes that the Dame was "ordained with the Yellow Crown," rather than "as a Gentlewoman of the Tao" (but the two terms are synonymous), and he describes the shoes left behind in her coffin as "her lotus shoes."

Ch'eng-tu named Cho Ying-ying 卓英英. The editors of the *Complete T'ang Poetry* tell us only that Miss Cho, presumably because of her literary talents, was chosen for the imperial seraglio. The two which harmonize—not only in form and rhyme-words, but also in topic and imagery—with those of Miss Lu, are both lightly suffused with a Taoist atmosphere. The first is set in Ch'eng-tu, although—since there is no evidence that Miss Lu ever visited that city—we may reasonably assume that it, as well as Miss Lu's reply, were written at the palace in Ch'ang-an. This matched pair is entitled "Spring Vista at Damask City," that is, "at Ch'eng-tu." The version written by Cho Ying-ying goes as follows:³⁰

- 1a. Congenial winds disguise and tincture: spring
in Damask Town!
- 1b. Fine rain like silken thread, repressing jade
dust.
- 1c. Pretext for leisure: my passion for poetry—
I look up a singular scene;
- 1d. Ravishing flowers, viscous wine—proper for
idle persons.

To which Miss Lu has harmonized:³¹

- 2a. Silkworm Market newly opened—spring here and
everywhere!
- 2b. Nine Crossroads' ravishing luminosity: upraised
aromatic dust.
- 2c. In this world—always affairs of floating flowers:
- 2d. But I strive for the transcendental mountain, away
from the men of this world.

Glosses

- 1a. Vitalizing spring breezes turn the River of Colored Damask, for which the city was named, into the very costumes and makeup of divine beings.
- 1b. The textile image is continued with the wispy rain. Here it puts down the dust (suitable for a city in the sky)—whereas in Miss Lu's response, the equally wonderful dust is upraised by divine light.
- 1c. She avoids practical affairs with the honorable pretext of writing verse, and seeks out a pleasant place in the country.
- 1d. But it is not at all clear that her excuse is valid: she seeks the inspiration of colors, scents, and rather worldly elixirs.

* * *

- 2a. The silkworm market was a great affair in Ch'eng-tu in the springtime—and here are more allusions to weaving.
- 2b. "Nine Crossroads" represents the busy but divine metropolis, laid out like a magic square—no ordinary grime here, only supernatural grains of incense.
- 2c. "Floating flowers" suggests beautiful, fading petals drifting out of sight on the waters of time: transient, trivial, butterfly activities. She longs for the certainties of supernal life.
- 2d. Her divine home is the eternal mountain, whose earthly image is K'un-lun or P'eng-lai.

³⁰Cho Ying-ying, "Chin ch'eng ch'un wang," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, v.12, (Taipei, 1971, reprint), ch. 863, pp. 9755-9756.

³¹Lu Mei-niang, "Ho Cho Ying-ying Chin ch'eng ch'un wang," *Ibid.*, p. 9756.

The second of the mirrored poems, in Miss Cho's version, bears the title "Practising the Reed-organ," and goes like this:³²

- 1a. Leaning incessantly against the silver screen I rehearse the phoenix reed-organ;
- 1b. Within the tune are shrouded purposes—they arouse the emotions of spring.
- 1c. Since my thoughts turn to bygone things, they generate feelings of despair;
- 1d. And I am incapable of harmonizing a single sound with those of Mount K'ou.

Miss Lu answers as follows:³³

- 2a. Only in the gallery of the gynaceum I perfect my blowing on the reed-organ;
- 2b. The Realized Transcendent of Grand White is spontaneously seized by emotion.
- 2c. Some other day, in the vermilion empyrean, I shall yoke a white phoenix---
- 2d. Why should I be dejected that Heir Chin does not hear the sound?

Glosses

- 1a. The "reed-organ" (*sheng* 笙) is a magical instrument, peculiarly suited to calling up divine beings.
- 1b. Her music excites her—it carries the promise of celestial union.
- 1c. But her record is one of failure.
- 1d. Mount K'ou is metonymous for the palace of Hsi Wang Mu, with whom she identifies herself in imagination, and with whom she is poetically identical.

* * *

- 2a. It is not only a magical but an erotic instrument—and one used almost exclusively by women in medieval times, as paintings of the T'ang and Sung periods testify.
- 2b. "Grand White" refers (1) to the planet Venus; (2) to the poet Li Po, who enjoyed a unique intimacy with that planet; (3) to a mountain near Ch'ang-an, associated with both the planet and the poet—himself a "banished transcendent" (*che hsien* 謫仙), and an ideal Platonic lover.
- 2c. Miss Cho is too pessimistic—all things are possible.
- 2d. "Heir Chin" (for whom see note 13 above) achieved transcendence on Mount K'ou; he was also a skilled performer on the reed-organ, which, for him at least, sang with the voice of a phoenix. It would appear that he is not the only immortal fish in the celestial sea.³⁴

The editors of *Complete T'ang Poetry* have appended another poem to those attributed to Miss Lu. This is given the title "The Chant of the Mysterious Gentleman of Grand White Mountain about a Ground Painting."³⁵ No explanation for its presence there is provided. This is especially strange in view of the fact that the same poem appears a few pages earlier under the title "Chant about a Ground Painting," with the author given as the Mysterious Gentleman of Grand White Mountain.³⁶ Possibly the second appearance of his poem is based solely on the reference to him in Miss Lu's reed-organ poem. In view of the dubious character of this association I am obliged to

³²Cho Ying-ying, "Li-sheng," *Ibid.*, p. 9756.

³³Lu Mei-niang, "Ho Cho Ying-ying," *Ibid.*

³⁴For the story of the king's son Chin, see Kaltenmark, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

³⁵T'ai po shan hsüan shih hua to yin, "Ch'üan T'ang shih," v. 12, ch. 863, p. 9756.

³⁶T'ai po shan hsüan shih, "Hua ti yin," *Ibid.*, ch. 862, p. 9749.

suppress a brief discussion of the poem to a footnote.³⁷ As to the mystic gentleman himself, his true identity is hidden from us.

3. *Transoceanic Goddess: Nan ming fu-jen* 南溟夫人

Master Tu Kuang-t'ing has also left us an account—which might reasonably be called a “novelette”—of the marvelous encounter between two earthlings and a divine woman of the South China Sea who—despite the conventional disclaimer of the author—seems to have had her origin in folk mythology rather than in the cult of a local heroine—if that distinction can ever be made with any real confidence. Our heroine is a great goddess, at any rate, without traceable roots in a deified maiden. Her story appears to belong to the early part of the ninth century. It is named “The Lady of South Stygia.”³⁸

The Lady of South Stygia³⁹ dwelt in the midst of the Southern Sea. We do not know her degree in quality or precedence; when she descended [among men] it was presumably as a divine transcendent who had attained the Tao. There were two men, Yüan Ch'e 元徹 and Liu Shih 柳實 who were both of a mind to search for the Tao at Heng Shan. There they put a hut together, as an eyrie and retreat. After more than a year they went off into the south together, and came to the Township of Ho-p'u in Kuang County. They went up into a boat, proposing to cross over the sea to its southern shore. When they came to Chiao-chih [Hanoi] they moored the boat alongside the bank. Now it happened that the villagers were making offerings to their gods, with a clamorous performance on drums and syringes. The boatmen and waterside workers, as well as grooms and messengers, all went off to look at them. Only the two gentlemen remained in the boat. In a little while a typhoon blew in,

³⁷The poem of the Mysterious Gentleman goes rather like this: “He studied for achievement in ‘cinnabar and bice’—that was several myriads of years ago.//Uncounted times among men catastrophe has come upon the Mulberry Fields.// Despite the catastrophes of the Mulberry Fields, this cinnabar and bice remain.//Who, in view of this cinnabar and bice, finds fitting the achievement of transcendence?” Commentary: “Cinnabar and bice” is the traditional synecdoche for polychrome painting, in which natural vermilion and powdered azurite (blue bice) formed an important part of the palette. The expression “ground painting” (*ti hua* 地畫) has good Taoist associations: it occurs in *Chuang tzu*, “T'ien chien shih,” and the art was one in which mysterious Chang Hua 張華 was accomplished. (*Chin shu*, ch. 36, fol. 1184b. Chang Hua is said to have amazed and delighted the court with his detailed drawings of the layout of the Han palaces.) Nevertheless, in many contexts the word *hua* connotes a line-drawing rather than a painting—the sort of thing one might do on the ground with a stick. Clearly, however, this poem describes a picture made on the ground in colors: one thinks instantly of Navajo sand paintings. It is worth noting that cinnabar and azurite were as important to Taoist alchemists as to painters. The magic of the two minerals had two distinct areas of efficacy. The poem asks—which is the truly immortal art? The sage seems to be sighing over the difficulties of obtaining immortality through the use of mineral drugs in alchemy. The great painter of the past, whose work he is contemplating, is truly immortal—with the immortality of inorganic substances. Even an adept like himself, during his brief span of life on earth, can rarely expect to achieve comparable results by means of the crucible—a graphic parable illustrating a dismal fact, often commented on by frustrated alchemists. The catastrophes that overwhelm the “Mulberry Fields” are geological catastrophes. The Mulberry Fields are, in Taoist tradition, the lands beneath the Pacific Ocean, which are exposed at eon-long intervals, to make dry-shod passage to the holy peaks of P'eng-lai possible. To the Taoist transcendent these immense periods of time are as months or years to ordinary mortals.

³⁸*Yung ch'eng chi hsien lu*, ch. 116, pp. 1617-1619.

³⁹*Nan ming fu-jen*. “South Stygia,” or “Stygian Sea” (*ming hai* 冥海) are names from early Taoist literature. The former occurs at the beginning of *Chuang tzu*, “Hsiao-yao yu” along with its northern counterpart. It lies in the far south, and is also called “Pool of the Sky” (*t'ien ch'ih* 天池). The Stygian sea occurs in *Hai nei shih chou chi* 海內十洲記 as the name of the black waters that surround Mt. P'eng-lai. The word *ming*, written with or without the water radical, also occurs in a number of binomial expressions, e.g. *ming-hsing* “boundless, dark waters” and “obscure, primordial mist.” The term “the Four Stygias” is not uncommon; it refers to the dark, foggy, circumambient ocean which lies in all four quarters of the world, between the habitable world and the sky.

severed the cable, and whirled the boat off into the sea. They knew nothing of where they were going. Two or three times they came close to sinking. Suddenly they came ashore on a lonely island, and wind and wild waves settled down as well. The two gentlemen ascended the bank and saw, at the limit of their vision on the island, the image of the Heavenly Revered One⁴⁰ in white jade—hyaline bright, inside a house of stone. In front of it was a golden brazier, the incense turned to ashes—but no person whatsoever. The two gentlemen scanned all around. Despondent, they saw in the far distance a huge beast emerge from the waves, as if scrutinizing something. After a good while it sank. Presently a purple cloud gushed over the surface of the sea, flowing copiously over three or four *li*. In its midst there was a great lotus flower, more than a hundred feet tall, unrolling in a whorl, petal on petal. Within it there was a canopied tent of white damask and embroideries in a complex intermingling. A rainbow bridge, some tens of feet in breadth, reached directly over to the top of the island, where there was a serving woman offering up incense in front of the image of the Heavenly Revered One. Before the incense wick was burnt out, the two gentlemen knocked there dolefully, seeking rescue, and beseeching earnestly that they be shown the homeward road. The serving woman exclaimed in surprise: "How have you come here so unexpectedly?" They clarified the whole matter for her, and the serving woman said, "The Lady of South Stygia has an engagement with the Revered Teacher of Jade Barrens in a little while. You gentlemen may seek to put your request to her." Before the serving woman departed, there was a Gentleman of the Tao who came riding on a white deer [amidst] many-hued clouds. Weeping mournfully the two gentlemen made their report to him. The Gentleman of the Tao said, "You may go along with this woman and pay your respects to the Lady of South Stygia." Two gentlemen accepted this advice, and went with the serving woman; ascending the bridge they came before the canopy. They made the double salutation and kowtowed. They told her their surnames and agnomens, and how they came to be waifs and castaways. The Lady commanded them to sit. The Revered Teacher also arrived, and they sat in a circle for a musical performance, and shortly afterwards were presented with delicacies. The Revered Teacher said, "The two visitors require the delicacies of humankind," and these were offered to them. When these delicacies were finished, the Revered Teacher gave a scroll with seal characters in vermilion to the Lady. The Lady saluted and accepted them. This done the Revered Teacher announced his departure, and addressed the two gentlemen: "You possess the pneuma of the Tao—do not be anxious about the homeward road. I happen to have a numinous drug which I shall present to you gentlemen. It has not been your lot that you should have found yourselves a teacher. But it is not for *me* to be a teacher to you gentlemen. I shall see you another day." The two gentlemen saluted and took leave. The Revered Teacher departed, mounted on the deer. Shortly there was a martial hero, more than a hundred feet tall, in golden armor, and holding a sword. He advanced and spoke: "The commission I undertook [was this]: the Tengu⁴¹ was not heedful of the law in his clearing of the way,⁴² and it was necessary to perform exemplary execution upon him. I have now carried out the penalty." So saying he hurried away, and sank from sight. Forthwith the Lady commanded the serving woman to show the homeward road to the gentlemen, saying, "Go off by the Bridge of a Hundred Flowers." She bestowed a jade urn on them and said, "Should there be problems ahead, you may knock on this urn." Then they took their leave of the Lady, ascended the bridge, and so departed. The bridge was both long and broad, and all along there were strange flowers on the balustrade. The two gentlemen, peering between the flowers, saw a thousand hydras and a myriad dragons, all knotted and intertwined with each other so as to form the bridge. They saw the huge beast of the former occasion, its head and body already floating in different places among the waves. The two gentlemen asked the envoy who was escorting them the reason for the decapitation of the beast. She replied, "It

⁴⁰T'ien tsun 天尊. That is, the supreme deity of the Taoist pantheon, at the summit of the empty realm of Jade Clarity (*yü ch'ing* 玉清), aloof from human affairs.

⁴¹Middle Chinese for Mandarin T'ien-wu 天吳, a kind of sea spirit.

⁴²Ch'ing tao 清道; especially, to clear the way for the passage of a distinguished personage, with all comforts and conveniences.

was because he did not recognize you two visitors!" The envoy spoke to the two visitors, saying, "I should not be providing escort for you gentlemen, but it seems that there is a deep purpose in the wish that I accept the commission." She undid a pyxis of amber from the belt of her costume and gave it to them. Inside it was an object, finely incised in the likeness of a spider. She spoke to the two gentlemen thus: "We are Transcendents of the Water. Once I experienced the utmost in passionate pleasure with a person of tender years in P'an-yü [Canton]. We had a son, but when he was three years old, he saw fit to abandon him. The Lady commanded that he be given to the Lord Esquire of the Southern Marchmount to become his son. Meanwhile an envoy from the Peak of the Returning Goose had business in the Water Archive, and I entrusted to him a jade ring, with which my son used to play, but it was concealed by the envoy, so that I was disappointed in my hope. But you two visitors may take this pyxis and cast it into the temple on the Peak of the Returning Goose. If you obtain the jade ring and convey it to the temple at the Marchmount for me, my son should have a response for you. But take care that you do not open or disclose it!" Accepting it, the two gentlemen put it in their clothing, and then inquired about the Revered Teacher of Jade Barrens, saying, "Do you, madam, have your own teacher? And who is he?" She said, "He is no other than the Prior Born of Grand Culmen of South Marchmont. You yourselves shall meet him." Shortly they had passed over the bridge, and parted from the envoy. They had reached the shore of Ho-p'u. When they asked what period of time it had been—it was twelve years! Then they took the long way to Mount Heng, but were overcome with hunger in mid-journey. They tried knocking on the jade urn, at which rare dainties came to them, and once the two gentlemen had eaten, they were no longer hungry or thirsty. When they were back at last, their wives had already faded from this world, and a member of the family said, "It is now more than ten years since the lord esquires were drowned at sea!" After this the two gentlemen were increasingly inclined to despise common things, and had no more heart for becoming renowned statesmen. Accordingly they ascended Marchmount Heng and cast the pyxis into the temple on the Peak of the Returning Goose. In a wink and a breath there was a black dragon, several tens of feet long, with gusting winds, spurting lightning, that split trees and plucked up houses. With a single clap of thunder, temple and grounds were instantly smashed. As they shook with fright, there was a person in the middle of the air, who presented them with a jade ring. The two gentlemen accepted the ring and conveyed it to the temple on the Marchmount. When they returned home there was a young person dressed in yellow, holding two golden pyxes, which he gave to the two gentlemen in repayment, saying, "The Lord Esquire of South Marchmount kept this 'Soul-restoring Ointment' in order to repay you, lords. Should any one in your households perish, even though it be after the [sixty-year cycle of] *chia-tzu*, still, if you paint his neck with it, he will come to life." After they had taken it, they lost [sight of] that envoy. The two gentlemen then used an application of the ointment to revive their wives. Later, after a great snow, they saw an aged faggot-gatherer carrying his load in the freezing cold. They took pity on his age and gave him wine to drink. Suddenly they saw that on his hat-brim were the words "Grand Culmen." Consequently they paid him due honors and took him for their teacher. He said, "I attained the Tao of a divine transcendent, and now have enrolled my name at Grand Culmen. The All Highest has just instructed that I come and ordain you gentlemen." Then, on seeing the jade urn, he said, "This is the urn in which I stored the jade liquor. It has been lost now several tens of [sixty-year cycles of] *chia-tzu*. I am very happy to see it again." Consequently they offered up the jade urn to him. The two gentlemen accompanied the Prior Born of Grand Culmen into the Palace of the Vermilion Tumulus at Chu Jung's Peak.⁴³ They visited all the transcendental archives in turn, and they and their wives together attained the Tao of ascent into the sky.

⁴³*Chu ling* 朱陵. This "palace" is located in the third of the thirty-six "lesser grotto-heavens," each of which is a spirit-world hidden in the roots of one of the mountains of China. This one, deep in Mount Heng, is 700 *li* in circumference. See Tu Kuang-t'ing, *Tung t'ien fu ti chi*, in *T'ang tai ts'ung shu*, p. 313. See also *Nan yüeh hsiao lu*, fol. 11b-12a. Chu Jung's Peak, named for the ancient forge and fire god—and overseer of the south in Chinese mythology generally—is the tallest of the "Five Peaks" of Heng Shan. Li Ch'ung-chao, writing at the beginning of the tenth century, mentions the ruined foundations of a Chu Jung Temple on its summit,

A quatrain attributed to the Lady of South Stygia is preserved in the *Complete T'ang Poetry*.⁴⁴ An editor's preface narrates the gist of Tu Kuang-t'ing's tale. It places these events early in the ninth century. Other differences with Tu's version follow: the great lotus shows five colors; from it comes a "double hair-coil" (*shuang huan* 雙鬟), i.e. a little maidservant; the Lady of South Stygia, like the lotus, is costumed in five colors, and is ravishingly beautiful, with a skin as white as jade; the jade urn is more than a foot high, and bears the text of the poem here preserved; when, in distress from hunger, the two gentlemen knock on the urn, they hear the speech of a mandarin duck, and then obtain food and drink. This abridgement is plainly based on a different version of the story than the one recorded in Tu Kuang-t'ing's edifying collection. The poem itself must have formed part of the unabridged original:

"Inscribed on a Jade Urn, Presented to the Two Gentlemen
Yüan and Liu"

Coming by a single leaf—in a boat you come;
Going to hundred flowers—on the bridge you go.
If, back again among men, you knock on this urn of jade,
A mandarin duck will resolve all freely, in speech both
clear and distinct.

along with other evidence, ancient and contemporary, of a flourishing Taoist cult there in T'ang times. See *Nan yüeh hsiao lu*, fol. 2a.

⁴⁴*Ch'üan T'ang shih*, v. 12, ch. 863, pp. 9757-58.



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WU YÜN'S 吳筠 STANZAS
ON "SAUNTERS IN SYLPHDOM" 遊仙詩

EDWARD H. SCHAFER
University of California, Berkeley

Know further yet; whoever fair and chaste
Rejects mankind, is by some Sylph embraced:
For Spirits, freed from mortal laws, with ease
Assume what sexes and what shapes they please.

.

Some to the sun their insect wings unfold,
Waft on the breeze, or sink in clouds of gold;
Transparent forms, too fine for mortal sight,
Their fluid bodies half dissolved in light,
Loose to the wind their airy garments flew,
Thin glittering textures of the filmy dew,
Dipped in the richest tincture of the skies,
Where light disports in ever-mingling dyes,
While ev'ry beam new transient colours flings,
Colours that change whene'er they wave their wings.

.

A constant Vapour o'er the palace flies;
Strange phantoms rising as the mists arise;
Dreadful, as hermit's dreams in haunted shades,
Or bright, as visions of expiring maids.
Now glaring fiends, and snakes on rolling spires,
Pale spectres, gaping tombs, and purple fires:
Now lakes of liquid gold, Elysian scenes,
And crystal domes, and Angels in machines.

Alexander Pope, "The Rape of the Lock"

Lyrics (*shih* 詩) on the theme of transcendental journeys, with roots in the *Ch'u tz'u* 楚辭, under various titles among which *yu hsien* [*shih*] 遊仙[詩] finally became dominant, were firmly lodged in the *yüeh fu* 樂府 tradition early in the third century.¹ We have notable examples from the pens of Ts'ao Chih 曹植 (192 – 232), Kuo P'u 郭璞 (276 – 324), and others.² In this paper I am concerned with the *yu hsien* mode in T'ang times. The subject seems not to have attracted

Abbreviations

- CTS *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩. Taipei: Fu-hsing shu-chü 復興書局, 1967.
 HY Weng Tu-chien, *Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature*. Harvard-Yenching Institute Sino-logical Index Series, no. 25, 1935, pp. 1 – 37.
 TT *Cheng t'ung tao tsang* 正統道藏. Taipei: I-wen yin-shu-kuan 藝文印書館, 1976.
 WYT T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景, *Tung hsüan ling pao chen ling wei yeh t'u* 洞玄靈寶真靈位業圖. HY 167.
 YCCC *Yün'chi ch'i ch'ien* 雲笈七籤 in *Tao tsang ching hua* 道藏精華. Taipei: Tzu-yu ch'u-pan-she 自由出版社, 1973.

1) The sense of the expression *yu hsien* should be generally understood by now. Unfortunately this seems not to be the case. Although others have said it very well, I shall repeat my own version of it here: "The word [*hsien*] is a member of a closely knit family whose members connote variously 'flying up; leaving this mortal coil; transcending physical limitations and involvements' ... the upward flight of winged creatures – birds, angels, and souls... 'Wandering Immortals' [is] a syntactical error. This is a verb-object construction meaning 'a relaxed journey to the world above; a saunter in secret sylphdom; easy transition into transcendence.' It has to do with a change from one state into another It is about time that someone in authority decreed the restriction of the inappropriate noun 'immortal' to the deathless residents of Olympus, who were plainly so called in Greek." E. H. Schafer, Review of Joseph Needham with Lu Gwei-djen, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 5, pt. 2, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 35 (1975), 323 – 324.

2) There is a large secondary literature on the subject. I do not propose to recapitulate it here. However I wish to draw the reader's particular attention to a good survey (with which I disagree strongly on many points). It is Chu Kuang-ch'ien 朱光潛, "Yu hsien shih" 遊仙詩, *Wen-hsüeh tsa-chih* 文學雜誌 3 (1948), no. 4, 1 – 14. Two unpublished studies also deserve special notice. They are Stephen Shih-tsung Wang, "T'ao Chih's Poems of Mythical Excursion" (University of California M. A. Thesis, 1963), and Thomas R. Nelson, "Kuo P'u's Transcendent-Ideal in his 'Poems on Roaming to Sylphdom'" (seminar report, Department of Oriental Languages, University of California, Berkeley, 1977).

much modern attention, even by translators.³ But I have not attempted a serious census of translations.⁴ However I do wish to draw the reader's attention to one remarkable contribution to the mode.

Some years ago I made preliminary evaluation of the quality of the ninety-eight poems with the collective title of "Little Lyrics on Saunters in Sylphdom" (*Hsiao yu hsien shih* 小遊仙詩) written by the ninth century poet Ts'ao T'ang 曹唐.⁵ They are seven-syllable quatrains, and undoubtedly once were a set of an even hundred, like the "Palatine Cantos" (*kung tz'u* 宮詞) of Wang Chien 王建, which they resemble in significant ways.⁶ I still find little to disagree with in my earlier statement: "They show dainty, coloured fairylands, where gorgeous princes and exquisite maidens hold court, as if in lotus-land The atmosphere is enchanting rather than enchanted. Ts'ao T'ang's paradises are opaque, phenomenal, Watteau-like..." Then I was making an unfavorable contrast with the "paradise poems" of Kuan-hsiu 貫休, which I then found more "transparent," sliding "through the sensuous texture of sounds and colours into the ultimate, blinding reality, whose symbols all these bright images are."⁷ Nevertheless, I am now inclined to amend my previous opinion somewhat. Then the spiritual substratum of the visions of the syncretist Kuan-

3) Chu Kuang-ch'ien, *op. cit.*, attempts a kind of typology of "tone" (i.e. the religious, the erotic, etc.) that includes T'ang writers, but I do not find it very convincing.

4) Suzanne E. Cahill has done preliminary translations of T'ang contributions to this style by Liu Fu 劉復 (fl. 773), Szu-k'ung T'u 司空圖 (837 – 908), and Hsü Hsüan 徐鉉 (916 – 991) for her Ph.D. dissertation. I myself published a set by Kuan-hsiu 貫休 in my "Mineral Imagery in the Paradise Poems of Kuan-hsiu," *Asia Major* 10 (1963), 73 – 102. I have noticed only one or two other translations, and suspect that the topic has suffered from traditional castigations as "superstitious" and "trivial" – modern scholars following Ch'ing antipathy to the native Chinese religion, Taoism.

5) In "Mineral Imagery," p. 99. The notice there emphasizes the role of minerals – not only gemstones, but alchemical reagents – in his poetry, and includes a translation of no. 83 in the sequence. The originals may be found in *CTS, han* 10, *ts'e* 2, *ch.* 2.

6) In *CTS, han* 5, *ts'e* 5, *ch.* 6.

7) "Meng yu hsien" 夢遊仙, *CTS, han* 12, *ts'e* 3, *ch.* 1, pp. 4a – 4b. The quotation is from "Mineral Imagery."

hsiu⁸ was more accessible to me than the purely Taoist imagery of Ts'ao T'ang, with which I am now much more conversant. At any rate, Ts'ao T'ang's poems constitute a prime example of high Taoist poetry of the medieval period. Like Wu Yün 吳筠, the subject of this paper, he exploits the full diapason of Taoist diction, including that of pre-Taoist mythology assimilated to medieval Taoism, chiefly names, such as "Mu Son of Heaven" (*Mu t'ien tzu* 穆天子), "Royal Mother of the West" (*Hsi wang mu* 西王母), and P'eng-lai 蓬萊, and a considerable number of transitional proto-Taoist names and other expressions, such as Ma Ku 麻姑, Juan Lang 阮郎, "mulberry fields" (*sang t'ien* 桑田), and "mushroom fields" (*chih t'ien* 芝田). But there is a much larger and richer display of the vocabulary of fully developed medieval Taoism. To name only a few: "Lord of Purple Solarity" (*Tzu yang chün* 紫陽君), that is, Chou I-shan 周義山, a very important figure in the Highest Clarity (*shang ch'ing* 上清) pantheon; "Purple Subtlety" (*tzu wei* 紫微), an epithet of the palace at the celestial pole and also of the Royal Mother of the West; the "Three Grottoes" (*san tung* 三洞), that is, the three collections that constitute the Canton; "Lord Mao" (*Mao chün* 茅君), the eponymous founder of "Mao Shan Taoism" (that is, Highest Clarity Taoism); "Pacing the Void" (*pu hsü* 步虛), the ritual, choreography, and mystic experiences of ambulations among the stars, especially the Dipper; "jade women" (*yü nü* 玉女), the archivists and messengers of the high gods, and often the preceptors of human adepts; and a great many others. In short these are richly furnished and carefully furbished Taoist fantasies – many of them invested with a playful tone.

Yet, although Wu Yün, the remarkable Taoist poet of the eighth century, exploits the same vocabulary, the spiritual adventures he conjures up are entirely different. It is a prime purpose of this article to show how his "Saunters in Sylphdom" differ so profoundly from those of Ts'ao T'ang, despite their superficial similarity.

I have already outlined Wu Yün's antecedents and sketched the special character of his work under the rubric "The Poetry of Space,"⁹

8) See especially his "Ta hsing san chiao" 大興三教, *CTS, han* 12, *ts'e* 3, *ch.* 9, p. 1b.

9) E. H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars* (University of California Press, 1977), pp. 242 – 247.

which contains this comment: "The eager collector of golden streets and pearly gates will have a happy time with Wu Yün, but will have to temper his enthusiasm for jewelled imagery with a due appreciation of abyssal plunges and cruises through black or blinding gulfs." These words refer specifically to his verses on "Saunters in Sylphdom," surprisingly, since his treatment of that theme is highly uncharacteristic — indeed, as far as can be imagined from the haunted riparian landscapes of the Six Dynasties poems with the same title, and, for that matter, equally far removed from the polished stanzas of Ts'ao T'ang. They seem to describe, in fact, Wu Yün's ten poems called "Cantos on Pacing the Void" (*Pu hsü tz'u* 步虛詞).¹⁰ In these, the poet has left us an unparalleled corpus of ecstatic poetry about the supernal existence of realized Taoist adepts, who, at the cost of long, complex and gruelling disciplines both on earth and beyond, have earned an endless existence in the blazing depths of space.

It now remains to observe his "Saunters in Sylphdom"¹¹ sequence as closely as possible, in the order to determine, if possible, how close they really are, both in content and in style, to the "Pacing the Void" series.

ONE

1. I open my tomes — peruse the bygone years;
2. I shake out reminiscences — examine my present feelings.
3. Back through antiquity — all now silent and hushed;
4. Take our own age — what but agitated fluster?
5. I am awake to something else: the miracle of the Nine Transcendents!¹²
6. Surpassing [this world]: the pleroma of the utter nucleus of vitality.

10) They have been translated and interpreted in my "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void,'" in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41 (1981), pt. 2, 377 — 415. This study also contains biographical and other information about the poet.

11) Collating versions of *CTS*, *han* 12, *ts'e* 6, pp. 1a — 4a and *Tsung hsüan hsien sheng wen chi* 宗玄先生文集 (*HY* 1045), *ch.* b, pp. 26b — 30a.

12) The "Nine Transcendents" are the residents of the province of Grand Clarity (*T'ai ch'ing ching* 太清境), namely, (1) *shang hsien* 上仙, (2) *kao hsien* 高仙, (3) *ta hsien* 大仙, (4) *hsüan hsien* 玄仙, (5) *t'ien hsien* 天仙, (6) *chen hsien* 真仙, (7) *shen hsien* 神仙, (8) *ling hsien* 靈仙, (9) *chih hsien* 至仙. The sequence is apparently from lowest rank to highest. *YCCC* 3, 26.

7. I congeal my spirit – commit myself to a plunge into the mysterious gloom;
8. Mutated and submissive – to skim the Grand Clarity.
9. My heart is extended equally with space and eternity;
10. My frame is matched in lightness with the nebulous aurora.
11. Auspicious winds blow my plumed parasol;
12. Felicitous darks¹³ brush my iridian banners.
13. My draconic equipage comes to the levee of Purple Tenuity;¹⁴
14. The Latter Heavens¹⁵ will preserve my immutable name.
15. What have I in common with the gentry down in that sphere,
16. Complacent in the brief glory of noble coach and coronet?

Paraphrase

1. I study my historical treatises.
2. I consider the present state of the world.
3. The past is mute ashes – unrevealing.
4. The present is hardly edifying.
5. There remain the transcendental mysteries.
6. The source of eternal life is now unavailable.
7. Appropriate austerities and rites will lead me thither.
8. I am not committed to the murk of the sublunary world.
9. My spirit is no longer bound by the limits of time and space.
10. I may shed material dross, to be buoyed up by the vital breath.
11. Divine grace will lift the chariot of my soul.
12. I shall be projected to the limits of the universe.
13. Finally I shall arrive at the Holy of Holies.
14. There is Life Eternal.
15. No longer am I at home in a corrupt and ephemeral world.
16. There illusory distinctions and meaningless honors count for all.

TWO

1. Simurghs and phoenixes roost in the azure-gem forest;

13) Or “the indigo depths of space,” translating *hsiao* 霄.

14) *Tzu wei* 紫微, the quality of the celestial pole, where the court of the universal lord is eternally in session.

15) *Hou t'ien* 後天 refers to the era and cosmos in which we now live, as distinguished from the Prior Heavens (*hsien t'ien* 先天), the epoch before the differentiation of the primordial monad.

2. Eagles and ospreys perch in the level thicket.¹⁶
3. Drinking and pecking – always matchless delicacies;
4. Soaring afar – inevitably to strange places.
5. Here, in my quarter, I will leave brawling and clamor behind –
6. At the onsets of the seasons,¹⁷ I am aspiring to be raised high.
7. I shall win free of the lusts of this tract,¹⁸
8. To ally myself with comrades out there beyond the darkness of space.
9. Who would say that the road to heaven is too long?
10. My induced transit will be free – without impediment!

Paraphrase

1. Magic fowl live in the divine forst of gem-trees.
2. The most high-soaring of earthly birds may be discerned on the forest canopy below them.
3. The celestial avifauna consumes only unearthly fruit.
4. Their nearby earthly cousins, high soarers, range (unlike wrens and robins) far over land and sea.
5. My aim is to leave this world of folly.
6. I aspire to fly high and far, like the heroes (eagles and ospreys) and demigods (simurghs and phoenixes) among birds.
7. I will free myself of sordid attachments.
8. I will find unfettered friends beyond the stars.
9. The way beyond no longer seems too great.
10. I shall be drawn outward; my being is attuned to divine energies.

THREE

1. Sympathy with custom leads one to removal and disintegration;
2. Search for transcendence parts one from foundering and submer-sion.

16) "Level thicket" represents *p'ing ch'u* 平楚, a name for a dense forest as seen from high above, looking like a flat green plain.

17) A conjectural interpretation of *li chieh* 立節, which I presume to refer to the beginnings of the four seasons, *li ch'un* 立春, and so on. The implication would be "all year long."

18) "This tract" (literally "within the tract" *ch'ü chung* 曲中) occurs in the same sense, namely "our world of matter and passion," in Wu Yün's fifth canto on "Pacing the Void."

3. The Three Primes¹⁹ hold a realized person,
4. Who, along with me, generates Tao-bones.
5. I graze the dawn-source²⁰ to suck the cinnabar phosphor;²¹
6. I enter the night to drink from the yellow moon.
7. My Hundred Junctions²² are permeated with euphoric harmony;
8. My "square inch"²³ overflows with a clear treble.
9. My resting spirit is matched with Barren Nullity;²⁴
10. My tunnelled view encompasses the undefinable.
11. Unawares I follow the Jade Illustrious One;²⁵
12. With burning incense I attend the Jade Pylons.²⁶

19) *San yüan* 三元, the ultimate segments of the macrocosm with their counterparts in the human microcosm. This verse and the next imply that the adept will soon merge with his perfect alter-ego, the surrogate of the macrocosm.

20) *Ch'en* 晨. For further information, see my article, "The Grand Aurora," forthcoming in *Chinese Science* 6.

21) *Tan ching* 丹景: the sun as a metaphysical concentrate. For "phosphor" see *Pacing the Void*, p. 6. For cinnabar as associated with the solar essence, see *Huang t'ing nei ching yü ching chu* 黃庭內景玉經注, with commentary of Po Lü-chung 白履忠 (Liang ch'iu tzu 梁丘子), in *Hsiu chen shih shu* 修真十書 (HY 263), section 11, line 10: "If there is hunger or thirst, take heed to drink of the lunar yellow and solar cinnabar." Cf. Meng Chiao 孟郊, "Lieh hsien wen" 列仙文, no. 4, CTS, han 6, ts'e 5, ch. 9, pp. 7b-8a, referring to a journey through Highest Clarity: "Above pluck the germ of the white sun; below eat the flower of the yellow moon." The art of ingesting the essences of sun, moon, and stars was central to Highest Clarity (*shang ch'ing* 上清) Taoism.

22) *Po kuan* 白關. "In this usage, a *kuan* is a customs station in the body, at the border between two realms. The whole hundred together constitute a network of transition points on the roads connecting the bodily organs." "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'," n. 102.

23) An ancient metaphor for the heart.

24) *Hsü wu* 虛無, a not uncommon phrase in pre-Han and Han literature; it came to mean, in medieval Taoism, a kind of remnant - beyond the world of space and time - of the seamless primordial monad that had been Totality before the differentiation of Grand Culmination (*t'ai chi* 太極). For the latter, see *Pacing the Void*, p. 29.

25) The Lord of the Universe, at the summit of the heaven of Jade Clarity.

26) The Golden Pylons (*chin ch'üeh* 金闕) are the ceremonial gateway to the supreme celestial city, the Jade Capital (*yü ching* 玉京), for which see no. 20 below. Here the greatest deities assemble on the 20th day of each month to do homage. Such exalted personages enjoy titles distinguished by the phrase "golden pylons" in recognition of this privilege. Examples are Blue Lad (*ch'ing t'ung* 青童), Lord

Paraphrase

1. Attachment to vulgar beliefs and practices leads to death.
2. Salvation lies in the study of Taoist meditation and ritual.
3. There is an ideal version of myself.
4. With proper discipline I will become his identity.
5. I learn to draw the *yang*-energy from the sun.
6. I absorb the *yin*-energy of the moon.
7. The knots and blockages in my body are cleared.
8. My heart functions perfectly as the center of my vitality.
9. My spirit is as free of turbulence as the ultimate source of being.
10. My vision extends beyond what I ever imagined.
11. So without conscious purpose, I approach the ultimate deity.
12. I am a worshipper at the center of everything.

FOUR

1. At Western Tortoise they first determined my ordination tablets;²⁷
2. At Eastern Florescence they have already audited my name.²⁸
3. The Three Officers²⁹ have nothing left to censure in me;
4. My Seven Forebears will rise in a cloudy landau.³⁰

of the Eastern Sea and the Rising Sun (*WYT*, p. 3b), the messianic "Later Paragon" (*hou sheng* 後聖) (*WYT*, p. 5a), and even, by decree of A.D. 754, Lord Lao himself (*T'ang shu* 唐書 [*Szu pu pei yao* 四部備要 ed.] 5, 14a).

27) "Western Tortoise" refers to "The Platform of the Tortoise of White Jade" at the palace of Hsi Wang Mu, mistress of the west, at K'un-lun. See *WYT*, p. 5b. An "ordination tablet" (*lu* 籙) is a register of the names and ranks of the supernal beings with which the initiate must be intimately familiar. It is a warrant, a passport, and a talisman of great power.

28) "Eastern Florescence" (*tung hua* 東華) is the eastern counterpart of the K'un-lun Palace. It is the palace of the dawn in which Blue Lad (see n. 26 above) reigns. Here, as at the other end of the world, the adept's deeds have been checked and verified. The epithet "eastern florescence" matches that of Hsi Wang Mu, who is "the ultimate [expression] of the florescence of the west" (*hsi hua chih chih* 西華之至). See Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭, *Yung ch'eng chi hsien lu* 壺城集仙錄 (*HY* 782) 1, 9a.

29) *San kuan* 三官, representing the realms of Heaven, Earth, and Water. They are the divine arbiters of human destiny; they dispense justice after weighing one's deeds. See *Huang t'ing ching*, section 36, line 18.

30) The seven degrees of the initiate's ancestors, whom, by his virtuous achievements, he rescues from "affliction in the underworld." See *Huang t'ing ching*,

5. My [bodily] frame made marvelous — set apart from dirty involvements;
6. My heart made subtle — conjoined with the arcane mutator.
7. One morning I shall go out from both heaven and earth;
8. For a lac of years — to be like a boy or infant.
9. I — equal to unending kalpas³¹ —
10. In all solemnity, shall banquet in Jade Clarity.³²

Paraphrase

1. The mysterious authorities of the West will review my qualifications.
2. Those of the East will study my history.
3. The Three Weirds will certify my worthiness for eternal life.
4. My pious efforts will also exalt my ancestors.
5. I shall be miraculously transformed. [“Listen! I will unfold a mystery: we shall not all die, but we shall be changed in a flash, in the twinkling of an eye ...” I Corinthians 15, 51 – 52 (*The New English Bible with The Apocrypha*).]
6. My spirit will be attuned to the creative spirit.
7. I shall leave the cosmos we know.
8. I shall be reborn in the supernal world.
9. My perfected personality will assume its eternal quality.
10. I shall be one of the blessed spirits.

FIVE

1. My congenial spirit lies in the numinous archive,³³
2. Gleaming like moonshine — incorporating [only what is] clear and limpid.
3. The Transcendental Scriptures did not deceive me;
4. Lifted up lightly — my faith has its justification.

section 36, line 19. “Landau” stands for *p’ing* 幃, an enclosed carriage for ladies and other persons of quality.

31) Destined to live through all eternity.

32) I shall join the court of the universal sovereign.

33) The numinous archive (*ling fu* 靈府) is the particular residence of the human soul, which, in the microcosm, is the heart. The *locus classicus* of the phrase is *Chuang tzu*, “Te ch’ung fu” 德充府.

5. In times long past my thoughts yearned for the Tao;
6. Now in the present I have gained the sympathy of Heaven.³⁴
7. It is nothing other than the distinction of my *yin* achievements³⁵
8. That will bring me aloft in the bright light of day.
9. What need for me to make the transit of a Grotto Archive?³⁶
10. I shall pass up and over the Vermilion Tumulus!³⁷

Paraphrase

1. My spirit, made whole, is settled in the focus of vitality.
2. It gleams like a gem of unearthly purity.
3. The Taoist canon is proved true.
4. My elevation justifies my faith.
5. My dedication has been lifelong.
6. Today I have my reward.
7. My method was to build a firm foundation in *yin*.
8. From this base I can take flight.
9. I need not even spend a term in an underground purgatory.
10. I shall pass far above the mountain that covers it.

34) The *locus classicus* of "sympathy of Heaven" (*t'ien chin* 天矜) is *Shu ching*, "T'ai shih, shang" 泰誓上. Legge translates "Heaven compassionates the people."

35) *Yin kung* 陰功. See "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'," n. 75, for a discussion of this expression, which is important in Wu Yün's writings. The concept has various denotations, such as the prolongation of life on earth by physical disciplines in order to build a firm foundation for later *yang* achievements; sometimes it means accommodation with the human aspect of *yin*, i.e. female sexuality; sometimes it is a period in purgatory, that is, a term spent in the dark underworld for the purpose of earning admission into the bright world of *yang*. Manfred Porkert, *The Theoretical Foundations of Chinese Medicine: Systems of Correspondence* (Cambridge and London, 1974), calls *yin* "the structructive aspect." It provides the adept with a framework on which to flesh out his immortal person.

36) *Tung fu* 洞府; i.e. to spend a period in one of the underground Grotto Heavens before the final ascent. "I have earned enough *yin* credit already on the surface of the earth."

37) *Chu ling* 朱陵, the name of a "grotto archive" at the "Palace which Gives Passage to the Yang" (*Tung yang kung* 洞陽宮), the residence of the great spirit-lord of the south, the Red Thearch, the polar opposite of the subterranean channels of *yin*. See *Wu shang pi yao* 无上秘要 (HY 1130) 22, 4b (relying on *Tung chen ching* 洞真經 and *Tao chi ching* 道迹經), and my article on "The Yin-transmitting Lithophones," the first of "Two Taoist Bagatelles," *Society for the Study of Chinese Religions Bulletin* 9 (fall 1981), 1 – 18 (especially p. 3).

SIX

1. [The realm of] the high realized ones is truly remote and rarefied;
2. But, being matched with the Tao, I shall not be left outside of it.
3. Who would say that Ku-yeh is far?³⁸
4. There divine persons shall frolic with me.
5. Our equipages conjoined, I shall rove in their train;
6. Swirling afloat out from the terminus of heaven.
7. Unaccountably, my person has transmuted itself;
8. My soul is condensed — my substance without a flaw.
9. Hence I know that I have attained germinal resonance,
10. Sufficient to harmonize me with the four seasons.

Paraphrase

1. The perfect realm is beyond imagining.
2. But, having made myself one with the Tao, I shall see it.
3. The mountain home of deathless beings may be distant.
4. Yet I shall enjoy its felicity.
5. I shall traverse the skies in the divine company.
6. We shall journey even beyond the known universe.
7. My nature, beyond reason, is no longer what it was.
8. My spirit is refined to its essence; my body is incorruptible.
9. My vital nucleus is in empathy with the cosmos.
10. My own rhythms are identical with the rhythms of nature.

SEVEN

1. The Cyan Sea³⁹ — its breadth without limits;

38) Ku-yeh 姑射 is the name of a mountain overlooking the Fen 汾 River in Shansi. The name occurs in *Chuang tzu*, "Hsiao-yao yu" 逍遙遊, as the residence of divine persons (*shen jen* 神人; for whom see the next line of this poem): "There are divine persons dwelling there, whose flesh and skin resemble ice and snow, soft and delicate like sequestered girl-children; they do not eat the five cereals; they suck the wind and drink the dew; they mount the clouds and vapors and drive the flying dragons — thus they rove beyond the four seas." (This translation is quoted from E. H. Schafer, *Ancient China* [New York, 1967], p. 63.) This is the archetypical description of the beings who came to be known in Han times as "transcendent ones" (*hsien che* 僊者). In Wu Yün's poem the adept is confident that he shall join them.

39) *Pi hai* 碧海, standing for *ts'ang hai* 滄海 "The Watchet Sea," the ocean off the northern coast of China.

2. The Three Mountains⁴⁰ – their height indeterminate.⁴¹
3. By the Golden Platform at the Heaven Within the Net;⁴²
4. Plumed visitors⁴³ indulge themselves in roving and relaxing.
5. Auroral liqueurs⁴⁴ may be drunk in the dawn;
6. Rainbow mushrooms⁴⁵ are fit for eating in the evening.
7. I shall whistle and sing – my heart forgetful of itself;
8. I shall mount aloft – how have I borrowed wings?
9. I shall conserve my longevity – to be equal to that of the Three Lights:⁴⁶
10. How would it be possible to chronicle those many millions [of years]?

Paraphrase

1. The eastern sea goes on forever.

40) The three magic seamounts in the east (*i.e.* P'eng-lai 蓬萊), a lower home of the transcendents.

41) This verse echoes one of the traditional opening lines of the *yüeh fu* entitled "Shamanka Mountain is High" (*Wu shan kao* 巫山高), but replacing "shamanka" (*wu*) with "three." See, for comparison, the example of the genre written by Chang Hsün-chih 張循之, in *CTS, han* 1, *ts'e* 4, *ch.* 1, p. 3b. A closely related variant is *wu shan wang pu chi* 巫山望不極, in a version by Lu Chao-lin 盧照鄰, in *ibid.*, p. 3a.

42) *Chin t'ai* 金臺, the site of the Golden Pylons (n. 26 above), and by synecdoche the palace of the supreme deity at the summit of the Great Netting (or "Enveloping") Heaven (*ta lo t'ien* 大羅天) which encloses all other heavens. See "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'," n. 115 and n. 116. ("Heaven Within the Net" is *lo chung t'ien* 羅中天.)

43) *Yü k'o* 羽客, an old trope for *hsien* 仙.

44) *Hsia i* 霞液. This is the essential extract of *yang*, streamers of which reach out from its source into the dawn sky. See "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void,'" n. 72 and n. 76.

45) *Hung chih* 虹芝, apparently a *hapax legomenon*, but not an impenetrable one. The epithet "rainbow" suggests the prismatic colors that symbolize all aspects of reality, and sacred mushrooms are often identified by comparable qualities. In this couplet "rainbow mushrooms" takes the place of the more usual antonym of auroral beverages, namely *hang-hsieh* 沆瀣, the liquid form of the *yin* principle, which I have elsewhere translated as "night damps," with this explanation: "The mountain fog – the visible breath of *yin*, represented by a winter offering of a potion to the deities of the seven stars of the Dipper, arranged in seven cups on the altar." See my *Mao Shan in T'ang Times* (Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, Occasional Monograph, no. 1, 1980), p. 42, p. 68, n. 258.

46) Sun, moon, and stars.

2. The holy isles reach up beyond sight.
3. At the summit of all is the golden palace of the almighty king.
4. There immortal beings make their weightless flights.
5. They drink auroral nectars.
6. They eat polychrome polypores.
7. This vision of my life to come fills me with joy.
8. I shall make the transit of the sky without effort.
9. There I shall live as long as sun and stars shall last.
10. All eternity.

EIGHT

1. I proposed to pass by way of the Palace of the Grand Thearch,⁴⁷
2. And briefly to visit the site of Fu-sang.⁴⁸
3. The Realized Lad⁴⁹ has already welcomed me,
4. And cleared away the overnight mists on my behalf.
5. The sea, it seems, has pacified its wide-spread surges;
6. Hsi-ho⁵⁰ has halted his coursing chariot.
7. Five [-colored] clouds knot into storied galleries;
8. Eight Phosphors drive my flying palanquin.⁵¹
9. Aurora from the blue may surely be broached;
10. Cinnabar mulberries⁵² will be encountered once in a while.

47) *T'ai ti* 太帝. This personage is alluded to in *Huang t'ing ching*, section 36, lines 2 and 11. Both text and commentary indicate that his palace is in the east. This location is confirmed in the subsequent verses of Wu Yün's poems.

48) Ruled by the "Great Thearch and Lord of Fu-sang" (*Fu-sang ta ti chün* 扶桑大帝君), a derivative of the primitive figure of Tung Wang Kung 東王公. See WYT, p. 3b; K. M. Schipper, *L'empereur Wou des Han dans la legende taoïste: Han Wou-ti nei-tchouan* (Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient 58. Paris, 1965), p. 81, n. 3. He shares many attributes with Blue Lad, who appears in the next verse.

49) *I.e.* Blue Lad, lord of the east. His full title contains, among many others, the epithet "Most Greatly Realized" (*t'ai chen* 太真). WYT, p. 3b.

50) The mythical charioteer of the sun.

51) The lamps of his sky-carriage, stars that shine into all parts of the cosmos, provide motive power. They correspond to the eight directions. See "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'," n. 66.

52) "Mulberries" is *shen* 槲. The graph is commonly read *chen*, in the sense of "filling block; chopping block," but here it is obviously — as often — a substitute for the fruit of the mulberry tree (*sang* 桑). The expression appears in *Han Wu Ti*

11. They detain me here to banquet in the jade hall:
12. The coach of return will not be ordered in haste!

Paraphrase

1. My cosmic voyage begins at the first of the palace-paradises of the East.
2. I go on to the next, by the sun-tree of Fu-sang.
3. And then proceed to the realm of Blue Lad, master of the life-giving dawn.
4. He dispels the grim shadows of night and death for me.
5. The eastern sea is serene as I pass.
6. The new-risen sun stops to illuminate my passage upwards.
7. I see the glorious towers of the celestial palace.
8. My star-powered vehicle drives me toward it.
9. I anticipate the incomparable aperitif that awaits my arrival.
10. There will also be viands unknown on earth.
11. At last I may rest in my glorious home.
12. I look forward to no further wandering.

NINE

1. Desiring to surmount the boundaries of *yang*-conduction,⁵³
2. I attempt to extend my view beyond the cinnabar culmen.⁵⁴
3. [There] the Red Thearch dances his fire dragons:⁵⁵

nei chuan, in a list of divine fruits and vegetables, but Schipper has missed the meaning and rendered it vaguely as "bois de cinabre." See his *L'empereur Wou*, p. 85.

53) *Tung yang* 洞陽 (cf. no. 5 above). "Conduction/conducting" represents *tung* (or *t'ung*) "...in its active aspect, as might also 'providing a channel, tunnel, passage, avenue, conduit, duct, siphon, pipeline, or vent for'." *Tung yang* is also "...the name of a celestial palace in early Mao Shan ('Highest Clarity') texts ... the epitome of solar energy." The palace was the residence of the divinity sometimes known as "Great Numinous Thearch, Transmitter of Yang" (*Tung yang ta ling ti* 洞陽大靈帝). See *Wu shang pi yao* 22, 16a. (Quotations above are from "The Yin-transmitting Lithophones," p.2.)

54) That is, to peer beyond the southern edge of the terrestrial world into the divine realm beyond, ruled by the King in Scarlet.

55) "Red Thearch" is an ancient title of the god of the south. Here it is employed as an epithet for the medieval Taoist divinity who represents the solar energy as an activator of the human heart, a freshener of life blood, and a source of

4. The Officer of Flames curbs his vermilion bird.⁵⁶
5. They guide me on the ascent to the Scarlet Archive;⁵⁷
6. They extend my torso out from the verge of heaven.⁵⁸
7. The *yang*-numen is truly a blaze and a flash;
8. Reaching into the four [quarters], how purely it glistens!⁵⁹
9. For you too it sets the Triumphal Wind⁶⁰ streaming —
10. For the [whole] flock of living beings there need not be early death!

Paraphrase

1. My desire is to circumvent secondary channels of vitality.
2. I will go directly to the source.
3. There is the burning fire of life.
4. Thence the bird of life takes flight.
5. I am led to the sanctum itself.

vitality. "Fire dragons," whose name suggests the flame-breathers of western mythology, occur in medieval Chinese poetry as symbols of energized solar plasma, invigorating the arteries.

56) "Officer of Flames" (*yen kuan* 炎官) refers to the Red Thearch. The epithet occurs in T'ang poetry, e.g. "Blazing and fierce, the Officer of Flames spreads his umbrella of fire." (Han Yü 韓愈, "Yu ch'ing lung szu tseng Ts'ui ta pu ch'üeh" 遊青龍寺贈崔大補闕, *CTS, han 5, ts'e 10, ch. 4*, p. 2b.) The wording suggests that the vermilion bird, master of austral constellations and emblem of the south, draws his vehicle. (See E. H. Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South* [University of California Press, 1967], *passim*.) Possibly the title is only a variation on "Officer of Fire" (*huo kuan* 火官), common in Ling Pao scriptures, e.g. as *t'ai yang huo kuan* 太陽火官, an authority matched with *t'ai yin shui kuan* 太陰水官.

57) *Chiang fu* 絳府: on the macrocosmic level it is the shining red headquarters of the deity of the southland. More often the same phrase refers to the heart as the seat of life. In the microcosm, then, the adept's spirit is directed into its source of vitality, to be energized by the *yang* plasma from the upper world.

58) *T'ien miao* 天杪. "Verge" (Latin *virga* "stick, switch, cane, etc.") represents *miao* in its sense of "tip of branch." I do not have a classical precedent for this expression, but observe it somewhat later in Ho Yü-yü 紇于俞 (early ninth century), "Yü kou fu" 玉鉤賦, *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 723, 3b, in which the crescent moon is "a phosphor, limpid and clear on the verge of the sky; a mote, floating on the outside of creation."

59) Indeed this whole poem is a blaze of red solar images — *yang* triumphant!

60) *K'ai feng* 凱風, a metaphor for the south wind. See *Erh ya* 爾雅, "Shih t'ien" 釋天.

6. My person is propelled out of the physical world.
7. Here there is only an indescribable coruscation.
8. It flares out to all parts of the universe.
9. This stream of energy is available to everyone.
10. No one's life-line need be cut short.

TEN

1. Now that I am visiting the Mother of Metal,
2. My flying canopy⁶¹ surmounts the western culmen.
3. Thus I enter the "Heaven Within Pure Whiteness,"⁶²
4. Halting my wheels by the side of the Grand Nimbus.⁶³
5. The Nhak flowers brush the flowing phosphor.⁶⁴
6. They do not let the white sun hide away.
7. It pours out heliacal beams, once more to attain its zenith;
8. Now the Six Pairs are rid of their stygian complexion.⁶⁵

61) "Flying canopy" (*fei kai* 飛蓋) is a synecdoche for "birdlike canopied conveyance."

62) *Su chung t'ien* 素中天 (compare *lo chung t'ien* in no. 7 above). *Su* is "unstained white," with such over-tones as "simple, blank, unmarked, untarnished, innocent, candid." Here it appears to characterize a lower part of the sky, at the summit of K'un-lun, distinguished both by the purity of a divine realm, and by the metaphysical whiteness that characterizes the west.

63) *T'ai meng* 太蒙. The words suggest a kind of cosmic mist or steam, that is, energetic pneuma made visible. The construction is analogous to such others as *t'ai wei* 太微, *t'ai yüan* 太淵 *et al.*, all characteristic of Taoist cosmology. It is probably derived from "Great Shroud" (*ta meng* 大蒙), the darkling home of the setting sun in the west. See *Erh ya*, "Shih ti" 釋地. (The Taoist version reminds one of the Niflheimr of Norse mythology, the cold, dark, misty home of the dead. *Nifl* is cognate to "nebula," etc.)

64) The flaming **nhak* 若 flowers shine only when the sun rises. (See *Ch'u tz'u* 楚辭 "T'ien wen.") The "flowing phosphor" (*liu ching* 流景) is the rising sun at the eastern horizon, lured up into the sky by the sacred tree, which longs for its warming irradiation. The adept is not to be left cold and dreary in the far west.

65) (Cf. "Good Hamlet, cast the nighted colour off." *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene ii.) Night – including the night of the soul – is dispersed as the whole world is illuminated by the focus of yang-energy. The "Six Pairs" (*liu ho* 六合), really the "six paired entities," are often taken to be heaven, earth, and the four quarters of the world, although the commentary on *Huang t'ing nei ching*, section 32, line 1, takes them, rather enigmatically, to be "heaven and earth, above and below, the four quarters." The same text (section 19, line 16) reads: "Sun and moon move

9. The Tao transmutes⁶⁶ according to shifts in resonance;
10. But the underlying pattern of this – who can fathom it?

Paraphrase

1. I am at the western rim of the sky.
2. I rise to the summit of K'un-lun, the acropolis of the Royal Mother of the West.
3. I continue up into the white western sky.
4. My sky car halts over the misty grave of the sun.
5. From the abode of night and death I see the rebirth of the sun (*yang*) in the distant east.
6. It shows itself as floriate rays on the cosmic tree.
7. In full glory it climbs to the zenith.
8. The whole world is once more flooded with light.
9. This cycle of light and dark exemplifies the eternal permutations of the Tao.
10. But beneath the dyad of *yin* and *yang* lies something ineffable.

ELEVEN

1. The nine dragons⁶⁷ – how fluent their undulation!
2. They bear me aloft to the nebulous mainstays.⁶⁸
3. Looking down with slanted glance, I feel care for my old country:
4. But wind and dust homogenize it into indeterminate verdure.

between the Six Pairs in their flight.” The six mark the boundaries of the physical world. Moreover the gloss on the verse just quoted makes an analogy with the somatic microcosm. The *locus classicus* of “six pairs” is *Chuang tzu*, “Ch’i wu lun” 齊物論. For this and other numbered cosmographies, see E. Zürcher, “Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism,” *T’oung pao* 66 (1980), 124, and especially n. 71.

66) *Tao hua* 道化. The *locus classicus* is *Lieh tzu* 列子, “Shuo fu” 說符: “Therefore the supermen of old had confidence in the mutating [power] of the Tao.” In short, the mysterious principle of equipoise will always be maintained, and the divine light will be with me even in the white realm of death.

67) These are the ghostly dragons hitched to the adept’s sky car. Nine is an ancient and honorable number for a set of dragons.

68) *Yün kang* 雲綱. I have not found this locution elsewhere. Presumably it refers to the great cables that support the network of stars, pendent from the Great Dipper. See *Pacing the Void*, p. 241.

5. Gently, easily, I separate from man's domain;⁶⁹
6. Away, away, drawing near to the town of God.
7. Above, surmounting the strands of starry chronograms;⁷⁰
8. Below, I perceive the lights of sun and moon.
9. Swiftly now, past the Grand Tenuity⁷¹ —
10. The blaze of a sky dwelling — gleaming glittering.⁷²

Paraphrase

1. The dragon-horses are ready.
2. They draw my car up to the firmament.
3. I look below for a glimpse of the land I am leaving.
4. All I see is a green blur.
5. I turn away from the sublunary world.
6. I head for the celestial palace.
7. I pass among the stars, threaded like gems on a necklace.
8. The sun and moon are beneath me.
9. I pass the divine vizirate.
10. I reach the throne of God.

TWELVE

1. I halt my troika by the side of Grand Regalia;⁷³
2. I adjust my costume in front of the Golden Pylons.⁷⁴
3. In stately dignity I am received by the Highest Thearch;⁷⁵
4. Tinkling and clinking, the congregation of transcendents is as-

69) Verses 5 – 10 of this poem were translated in *Pacing the Void*, p. 245. Here I have modified the earlier version somewhat.

70) For "starry chronograms" (*hsing ch'en* 星辰), see *Pacing the Void*, p. 5; for "strands" (*chi* 紀), the filaments that connect the mainstays, see *ibid.*, p. 241.

71) *T'ai wei* 太微: the southern palace of the universal sovereign, which houses his great vassals and chief ministers. Its outlines may be traced at the autumnal equinox, in our own constellations Leo and Virgo. See *ibid.*, p. 52.

72) He sees the great palace above, at the celestial north pole.

73) *T'ai i* 太儀. "Regalia" here presumably refers to the emblems or symbols of spiritual power. "Grand Regalia" refers to the visible tokens of the ineffable source of the created world.

74) See n. 26 and n. 42 above.

75) *Shang ti* 上帝, an archaic term, here used as a name for the supreme divinity, also called *Yü huang* 玉皇.

sembled.⁷⁶

5. The immense brazier emits numinous aromas;⁷⁷
6. The portico is a projection of the Pivotal Heaven.⁷⁸
7. My body of jade is concordant with the central seat;⁷⁹
8. Auroras rise high above the Four Mattings.⁸⁰
9. To this excellent term there will be no final bound!
10. In the space of a nod⁸¹ I make the transit of a lac of years.

Paraphrase

1. I stop my sky car by the insignia that mark the entrance to the celestial palace.
2. There, by the golden gateway, I prepare myself to enter.
3. The eternal sovereign welcomes me.
4. His is a brilliant court.
5. Divine incense is wafted toward me.
6. I am given a place of honor under the very center of heaven.
7. My reborn self is worthy of this.
8. Tokens of my assumption spread through the world.
9. So it shall be forever.

76) "Tinkling and clinking" (*chiang chiang* 鏘鏘) refers both to their pendent badges and jewels and to the divine persons themselves, whose imperishable bodies are regularly compared, in both secular and religious literature, to precious gems and jewels (cf. line 7 below).

77) Following the CTS version; TT has "tones" for "aromas."

78) Lit. "extends the pivotal Heaven (*chün t'ien* 鈞天), the central heaven of the nine (see *Lü shih ch'un ch'iu* 呂氏春秋, "Yu shih" 有始). The form and position of the palatial loggia duplicate those of the celestial focus.

79) My eternal, inorganic body is perfectly suited to the exalted seat at the zenith.

80) *Szu yen* 四筵. A "matting" is a ground-cover beneath a mat for sitting (*hsi* 席). The "four mattings" is a name for the four quarters of the world, regarded as the sees of divine beings. See *Ch'u tz'u*, "Yüan yü" 遠遊, where the expression occurs in connection with the break of day, hence the auroras in Wu Yün's verse. See also Tu Fu 杜甫, "Yin chung pa hsien ko" 飲中八仙歌, CTS, *han* 4, *ts'e* 1, *ch.* 1, p. 10b, where the noises from a drinking party of the Eight Transcendents "startle the Four Mattings." (In Tu Fu's time this was not the traditional group of eight known since Yüan times, but consisted of Li Po and his boon companions [*Chiu chung pa hsien jen* 酒中八仙人].) Wu Yün's verse shows us the adept seated in sublimity under the celestial pole, with the potent *yang*-auras, symbolizing his final and total transformation, flaring up around him.

81) Lit. "a look up and down."

10. Time is now meaningless to me.

THIRTEEN

1. Forbiddingly steep, brilliantly shining – the Gate of Miracles gapes wide;⁸²
2. Limpid and subtle – the Speculum of Truth transmits [to me].⁸³
3. The Rose-gem Forest, above the Nine Auroras⁸⁴ –
4. The Golden Gallery, centered among the Three Heavens.⁸⁵
5. Volant hydras⁸⁶ leap on felicitous clouds;
6. Soaring cranes cluster in the numinous wind.⁸⁷
7. How dense and tumultuous – that assembly at the Jade Capital;
8. For the transcendents' tryst – the Six Pairs are as one.⁸⁸

Paraphrase

1. The dazzling gateway to the ultimate palace is before me.
2. Within are the secrets of life and the universe.

82) "Miraculous Gate" (*miao men* 妙門) is a familiar term in Buddhism, less so Taoism. In the former it symbolizes the entrance into Nirvana. Here it gives access to the ultimate secret of creation.

83) "Speculum of Truth" (*chen chien* 真鑑) occurs also in the first of Wu Yün's "Cantos on Pacing the Void." This mystic mirror reveals ontological truth to the fully realized adept.

84) For "Rose-gem Forest" (*ch'üung lin* 瓊林) see "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void,'" n. 81. This is the wonderful wooded parkland that surrounds the palace of the universal sovereign. The Nine Auroras (*chiu hsia* 九霞) are the vitalizing *yang*-plasmas that emanate from the Nine Heavens. The accomplished adept may imbibe them to his own benefit. See Po Lü-chung's glosses on *Huang t'ing ching*, section 20, line 1; section 24, line 8; and section 36, line 4.

85) The celestial palace is here imaged as a tower of gold, penetrating the concentric shells of the Heavens of Grand Clarity, Highest Clarity, and Jade Clarity. It is, in short, the axis of the world. For more see "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void,'" n. 80.

86) *Fei ch'iu* 飛虬. These sinuous monsters are not ordinarily thought to be auspicious. I am inclined to regard them here as tamed performers, sufficiently purged of their brutish instincts to permit their recruitment into a *corps de ballet* to welcome the new transcendent.

87) The *locus classicus* of "cluster...in the wind" (*t'uan feng* 搏風) is *Chuang tzu*, "Hsiao-yao yu."

88) That is, the world is in perfect order for this grand occasion. For "Six Pairs" see no. 10 above.

3. All around is the most exalted of parks.
4. The divine mansion, at the summit of the world axis, lies within it.
5. Serpentine spirits are arrayed to welcome me.
6. Bands of sacred cranes dance for me.
7. An immense company of divine beings awaits my arrival.
8. For my sake the cosmos is perfectly harmonious.

FOURTEEN

1. I ascend as far as the Font of *Yang*;⁸⁹
2. I desire to rest in the Hostel of the Luminous Aurora.⁹⁰
3. Tossing in turbulence, my rose-gem wheels lift up;⁹¹
4. Lustrous and splendid, the golden phosphors scatter.⁹²
5. [Here] the knotted void forms the myriad beings;⁹³
6. [Here] the high miracles may all be probed!
7. The Jade Mountain⁹⁴ — dense with jagged peaks;
8. The Cerulean Sea⁹⁵ — indistinct and shoreless.

89) *Yang Yüan* 陽原, emended to 陽源, as in "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void,'" no. 1, and n. 74.

90) *Ming hsia kuan* 明霞館. According to *Wu shang pi yao* 22, 6b, this is the place where the Grand Realized Thegn of Clouds and Mists (*T'ai chen yün wu tzu* 太真雲霧子) retires for exercises of self-purification. The "aurora" is, of course, an emanation from the Font of *Yang*.

91) Such sky cars normally fly in tempestuous vortices. For "rose-gem," see no. 13 above. "Rose-gem wheels" comes from one of the songs of the Lady of Cloudy Forest (*Yün lin yu ying Wang fu-jen* 雲林右英王夫人), one of the angelic preceptors of Yang Hsi 楊羲. *YCCC* 98, 1350 (song no. 17).

92) The "golden (or metallic) phosphors" (*chin ching* 金景), must be the stars and planets, although I have not seen the term elsewhere.

93) This is the creative source, where all creatures have their origin in twists and involutions in the formless barrens beyond the sky.

94) Pole of the universe and seat of its ruler.

95) *Lang hai* 琅海. "Cerulean" is weak, but no better equivalent comes to mind. *Lang* may be a short form of *lang-kan* 琅玕, for which see E. H. Schafer, "The Transcendent Vitamin: Efflorescence of Lang-kan," *Chinese Science* 3 (1978), 27–38, but may also have been the monosyllabic original from which the binom *lang-kan* was generated. The Cerulean Sea appears to represent the ocean of space. I note a comparable expression, *lang yüan* 琅園, in one of the inspiring effusions of the Lady of Cloudy Forest. *YCCC* 98, 1349 (song no. 9).

9. A brief appreciation – the passing of a thousand cedrelas;⁹⁶
10. The far term of my age – who could then compute it?

Paraphrase

1. I fly to the vital heart of the universe.
2. My aim is to find a home close to it.
3. My powerful sky car plunges upward.
4. The shining stars stream by me.
5. This is where entities are created *ex nihilo*.
6. Here are the ultimate mysteries.
7. This is the godly seat at the summit of the world.
8. The depths of space, beyond sounding, recede on all sides.
9. A stroll through the garden may last for eons unnoticed.
10. My whole life, then, will be immeasurably long.

FIFTEEN

1. I call a friend from Purple Solarity to accompany me;⁹⁷
2. To join the banquet at the Platform of Jade Clarity.⁹⁸
3. Thrusting the phosphors aside, my plumed costume shakes;⁹⁹
4. Floating in space, my cloudy equipage comes home.¹⁰⁰

96) "Cedrela" is *ch'un* 椿 (*Cedrela sinensis*), often called "numinous cedrela," a long-lived tree, whose reputation is much enhanced in *Chuang tzu*, "Hsiao-yao yu": "In remote antiquity there was a great cedrela, which took 8,000 years to be a springtime." See also E. H. Schafer, "Li Kang: A Rhapsody on the Banyan Tree," *Oriens* 6 (1953), 344 – 353, especially p. 352. Wu Yün suggests that as he walks admiringly among the cedrelas in the divine park, he reflects that even their immensely long life-spans will be to him no more than the passing of a moment.

97) This friend can only be the divine Chou I-shan 周義山, styled "Realized Person of Purple Yang" (*Tzu yang chen jen* 紫陽真人), on earth the ruler of Mao Shan 茅山: a great honor for the adept. See *WYT*, p. 4a.

98) A ceremonial visit to the palace of the supreme deity is an occasional perquisite of Realized Persons from Highest Clarity.

99) His magical cloak of feathers propels him, birdlike, through space; he passes unharmed through swarms of suns and nebulae.

100) Floating auspiciously colored clouds, he arrives at his ultimate destination at the summit of heaven. (Pinioned like a peri in verse 3, he is conveyed by cloud-chariot in verse 4. The metaphorical switch need not alarm us.)

5. On the numinous pennon the Seven Asterae are in motion,¹⁰¹
6. From the rose-gem panel the Nine Lights show forth.¹⁰²
7. As phoenixes dance, the dragon lithophones¹⁰³ perform;
8. For my hydra-drawn coach there will be no turning back.¹⁰⁴

Paraphrase

1. My spiritual preceptor is invoked.
2. He will sponsor me at the celestial reception.
3. Accordingly, I put my new powers of flight to the test.
4. I plunge up to the celestial palace.
5. An astral banner proclaims the solemnity of the occasion.
6. A stellar placard marks my destination.
7. Mysterious creatures cavort at my arrival.
8. My draconic chariot has reached its final destination.

SIXTEEN.

1. I ascend high above the Purple Culmen;¹⁰⁵
2. To banquet here on the peak of the Mystic Metropolis.¹⁰⁶

101) "Numinous pennon" is *ling fan* 靈幡, usually a sacred banner displayed before an altar to announce to the world of spirits that a ritual is about to take place. Here, in the context of the upper world, it designates the location of the Holy of Holies. The Seven Asterae (*ch'i yao* 七曜) can — as can also "Seven Stars" (*ch'i hsing* 七星) — refer to the sun, moon, and five planets, but can also refer to their analogues, the seven stars of the Dipper. They are represented on the holy pennant. See *Huang t'ing ching*, section 17, line 13, and commentary.

102) The nine stars of the Dipper, two of which are invisible, although one of these, Alcor, the companion of Mizar, may be detected by trained adepts. See *Pacing the Void*, pp. 239 — 240. The "rose-gem panel" (*ch'iung chang* 瓊障), otherwise not found in literature, appears to be a gemmy poster displaying the mystic aspect of the Wain.

103) *Ao* 璫, a "large lithophone," apparently restricted to divine usage, as more holy than a mere *ch'ing* 磬. (See "The Yin-transmitting Lithophones," p. 2.)

104) "Hydra-drawn coach" is *ch'iu hsüan* 虯軒, connoting a noble conveyance drawn by wriggling serpents. (Cf. line 5 of no. 13 above.)

105) *Tzu chi* 紫極, the polar summit of the cosmos, and seat of the high thearch. For more, see E. H. Schafer, "Cantos on 'One Bit of Cloud at Shamanka Mountain'," *Asiatische Studien* 36 (1982), p. 120, n. 31.

106) That is, the site of the great palace at the summit of the Mountain of the Jade Capital.

3. The nephrite turf disperses singular aromas;
4. The rhodonite boughs stream with courtly tones.
5. A numinous wind is generated from the Grand Silence;¹⁰⁷
6. Whispering softly it blows through this person's lappets.
7. My bodily frame is homogenized – expanded with ineffable subtlety.
8. My soul is condensed – plunged deep in the Hollow of Space.¹⁰⁸
9. Austere and private – outside of Space and Time,¹⁰⁹
10. Self-possessed – in the heart of Potency and Latency.¹¹⁰

Paraphrase

1. I rise above the celestial pole.
2. There is the banqueting hall of the supreme deity.
3. A jade lawn exudes otherworldly incenses.
4. The wind in the gem-trees produces lovely music.
5. A divine afflatus arises.
6. It breathes around my body.
7. It transforms me utterly.

107) *T'ai mo* 太漠 (sometimes *ta mo* 大莫 "Great Silence") is referred to, *inter alia*, in several of Wu Yün's compositions; see, for instance, "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'," n. 152, where I have described it as "...a nullity beyond the cosmos itself – even beyond the *primum mobile*, so to speak."

108) *K'ung tung* 空洞. It is both a cosmogonic and a cosmographic term. See YCCC 3, 13. That text states, somewhat ambiguously, that the Primal Pneuma (*yüan ch'i* 元氣), which generated the physical world, "was born in the Hollow of Space, inside the Nebula Incognita (*miao-mang* 眇莽) – 'Universal Amnion' – outside of the Occult Tenebrosity (*yu ming* 幽冥)." Evidently the Primal Pneuma, the source of all entities, was precipitated in the empty region – although empty, still itself an entity – in the center of the shoreless cosmic sea, but enclosing a dark and invisible Stygia. That the adept's soul (*shen* 神) should condense in *k'ung tung* is analogous to the appearance of the formless source of being in the same place – it is an example of the identity of microcosm and macrocosm. The expression is evidently cognate to the holy place *k'ung-t'ung* 崑崙 of *Chuang tzu*, "Tsai yu" 在宥, with such graphic variants as 空桐, 空峒, and 空同, found in *Shih chi*, *Huai nan tzu*, and *Shan hai ching* (See Chu Ch'i-feng 朱起鳳, *Tz'u t'ung* 辭通 [Shanghai, 1934], p. 0043), semantically refined and given cosmological significance in the developed Taoism of the post-Han period.

109) *Yü chou* 宇宙, the cosmos as a spatial and temporal continuum.

110) *Ch'ien k'un* 乾坤, the supernal aspect of *yang* and *yin*, here reintegrated in the realm of non-distinction.

8. I am reborn — at one with the Primal Breath.
9. I am aloof from the corruptible world.
10. I possess total control of my being.

SEVENTEEN

1. At dawn I climb a thousand-fathom pass,¹¹¹
2. Look down to scan the four habitations of mankind below.¹¹²
3. Plains and countrysides interspersed with walled cities and towns;
4. Mountains and rivers separate villages and hamlets.
5. I focus my eyes there, on the dust and smut —
6. The struggling and running along the route to fame and profit.
7. At the age of a hundred, favor and degradation will both be used
up for you —
8. Your myriad affairs — all will be void!
9. Since antiquity none such as you has consummated a real achievement;
10. How is it possible that I should participate with you?
11. An appointment impends — I shall harness clouds and phosphors,¹¹³
12. I shall leave my troubles below, and ascend to the Cross-roads of
the Sky.¹¹⁴

Paraphrase

1. I ascend beyond the source of light.
2. I look down on the teeming world of men.
3. There are their cities, scattered far and wide.
4. There are their little country settlements too.
5. I peer through the dust they raise.
6. There they go, looking for acclaim and money.

111) The implication is that the adept, in his vision, is ascending the difficult route to the font of *yang* beyond the eastern verge of the world.

112) *I.e.* the world of men in its entirety, in all directions.

113) The accouterments of a space-traversing car. See "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'," n. 66.

114) *T'ien ch'ü* 天衢, an asterism consisting of four stars in Scorpio, situated in the belly of the Dragon, whose horns are Spica and Arcturus, and whose heart is Antares. The crossroads are the ancient intersection of the celestial equator and the ecliptic, that is, the spring equinox of antiquity.

7. Fools! The vain pursuit will soon be over.
8. You and your works will be extinct.
9. Which of you has ever done anything of lasting value?
10. Now I reject you.
11. A place in heaven awaits me.
12. It is my eternal home.

EIGHTEEN

1. My bones are refined — my frame is clarified throughout;¹¹⁵
2. My apprehension is luminous — all grime now separated from me.
3. Calm and unruffled: Time and Space in their majesty!
4. Refulgent and brilliant: the Celestial Light's penetration!
5. In my plumed costume I plunge into the hazy cosmic depths;
6. My youthful features are as candent as ice and snow.
7. My secret talismans — the thousand demons are affrighted!
8. My sounding jades — the myriad thearchs are pleased!
9. Thus causing, within our precincts [below],
10. The uncanny pneumas to be submerged and extinguished [for me] forever.

Paraphrase

1. My corruptible body has been replaced by an incorruptible one.
2. The meaning of everything is now clear.
3. I know the physical world for what it is.
4. I also know what lies behind it.
5. An angel, I fly into the far reaches of space.
6. I am now as white and pure as a star.
7. I have charms against all evil beings.
8. I have qualities that pleased good spirits.
9. These virtues have liberated me.
10. I am immune to the sources of decomposition.

115) "Refined" (*lien* 鍊) is an alchemical expression, originally metallurgical, here transferred to the purification of the dross from the corruptible person, to yield an immortal body, like gold. See "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'," n. 69.

NINETEEN

1. At morning I pass to the north of Nhak Water;¹¹⁶
2. At evening I rest on the summit of Bell Mountain.¹¹⁷
3. By the Clear Mystic Palace of Chuan-hsü,¹¹⁸
4. Yü Ch'iang sweeps the shrouded marches.¹¹⁹
5. The Candle Dragon emits divine starlight;¹²⁰
6. The Fields of Yin glitter in splendor throughout.

116) **Nhak* 弱 (Mand. *jo*) is the name of several rivers. It occurs prominently in the *Yü kung* 禹貢, placed in the northwestern desert. Other old texts have a river of this name in western Asia, in Great Ch'in (*Ta Ch'in* 大秦, possibly a Chinese rendering of *Mahācīna*, some part of India transmuted into a religious utopia in Chinese belief. See R. A. Stein, "Remarques sur les mouvements de Taoïsme politico-religieux au II^e siècle ap. J.C.," *T'oung pao* 50 [1963], 19 – 20). There is another river of this name in T'iao-chih 條支 (possibly = Greek Ταοκη, apparently referring to some portions of Syria and Mesopotamia. See E. G. Pulleyblank, "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese," *Asia Major* 9 [1962], 101). In any case, the reference is to fantastic geography, in which the river passes close to the lands ruled by Hsi Wang Mu. In medieval Taoism it was part of the landscape of K'un-lun. (Compare the **nhak* 若 sunflowers of poem no. 10 above.)

117) Chung Shan 鍾山 is the name of several Chinese mountains. In the present context it is another name for K'un-lun, especially considered as a source of jade. See *Huai nan tzu*, "Shu chen hsün" 叔真訓.

118) Chuan-hsü 顓頊, a mythical ruler of prehistoric China, found a place in the Taoist pantheon as "Mystic Thearch" (*hsüan ti* 玄帝). See WYT, p. 9b; *Chen kao* 真誥 (HY 1010) 12, 2a – 2b. For his special relationship with Mao Shan see E. H. Schafer, *Mao Shan in T'ang Times*, p. 1. "Clear Mystic Palace" (*ch'ing hsüan kung* 清玄宮) is the name of his residence.

119) Yü Ch'iang 禺強 is a powerful sea spirit mentioned in *Shan hai ching*, "Ta Huang pei ching" 大荒北經; *Lieh tzu*, "T'ang wen" 湯問; and *Chuang tzu*, "Ta tsung shih" 大宗師. According to the latter, which describes the transmission of the secrets of the Tao, after Chuan-hsü had secreted them in his dark palace, they were passed on to Yü Ch'iang, who was enabled thereby to establish himself at the Grand Culmen (*t'ai chi* 太極). After him the mystery is transmitted to Hsi Wang Mu, and so on. In this poem he has the rather menial function of purifying the ways that lead to the Mystic Palace. (From his name, I suspect that Yü Ch'iang was a simian: "Monkey the Strong.")

120) "Candle Dragon" (*chu lung* 燭龍) is a serpentine spirit of the northern waste; some say he holds a candle in his mouth, with which to illuminate a section of the great realm of Yin. See *Shan hai ching*, "Ta Huang pei ching," and *Huai nan tzu*, "Ti hsing" 地形. Here he is designated as a torchbearer or linkman for the approaching adept.

7. Conducted to this place, the Three Pneumas are in harmony;¹²¹
8. Chased away, the Six Heavens¹²² are immobilized.
9. Lofty halls of jade flash light on each other;
10. The misty visitors — what ripe and perfect blooms!¹²³
11. Give me but once the exudate of fluid aurora,¹²⁴
12. And a thousand years will occupy the short space of a moment.

Paraphrase

1. From take-off at K'un-lun, under the pole, the adept proceeds northward towards the realm of the dead.
2. First he rests on the high summit.
3. Then he goes on to the cold palace.
4. There ghostly mists cover the frozen ground.
5. Some light is shed by his astral steed.
6. The realm of *yin* glimmers icily.
7. But his new powers make him safe even here.
8. The Dark King remains below, inactive.
9. His own goal lies beyond, where the powers of *yang* are dominant.
10. There divine beings are clothed in every perfection.
11. There he shall drink of vitalizing nectars.
12. Immortality is his: not death, but transfiguration.

TWENTY

1. I raise the parasol — aim for the culmen of the chronograms;¹²⁵

121) "Three Pneumas" (*san ch'i* 三氣) are the vital plasmas which activate and invigorate the three "Cinnabar Fields" (*tan t'ien* 丹田) of the microcosm, i.e. the visceral analogues of the Three Heavens, Three Clarities, etc.

122) The realm of the unlucky ghosts who failed to perfect themselves (by Taoist disciplines) in their life-times. They are confined in "the cold palaces of the King of the North." See E. H. Schafer, "Li Po's Star Power," *Society for the Study of Chinese Religions Bulletin* 6 (fall, 1978), p. 9.

123) "Misty Visitors" (*yen k'o* 煙客) is a metaphor for transcendent beings who ride in cloud chariots and breathe divine mists. They exemplify the ultimate in organic perfectibility. A classical example occurs in Chiang Yen 江淹, "Kuo Hung-nung" 郭弘農, *Yu hsien* 遊仙 (in *Tsa t'i shih* 雜體詩), *Wen hsüan* 文選.

124) *Liu hsia chin* 流霞津, that is, the nectar of cosmic alchemy — an extract of the *yang* vapors which flow from the source of the dawn. See Schafer, "The Grand Aurora."

2. Riding the mists, I journey to Wind on the Fells.¹²⁶
3. The [Lady of] Highest Prime descends to the Jade Porch,¹²⁷
4. The Royal Mother opens her Sapphire Palace.¹²⁸
5. These celestial persons — how jolly a throng!
6. An exalted company within the cyan hall!
7. The attendant array presents its cloudland songs;
8. Their perfect tones fill the Grand Hollow.¹²⁹

125) The parasol is, by synecdoche, his sky chariot. The culmen of the chronograms (*ch'en chi* 辰極) is the summit of the starry firmament — that is, the celestial pole. The chronograms are the time-marking asterisms, above all the twelve Jupiter stations along the ecliptic. The *locus classicus* for *ch'en chi* is Chi K'ang 嵇康, "Ch'in fu" 琴賦, *Wen hsüan*, ch. 8.

126) "Wind on the Fells" (*lang feng* 闌風) is a high peak of K'un-lun, from which the adept may plunge up into the depths of space. See "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'," n. 80. In spite of the statement in YCCC 21, 332 that the "Mystic Metropolis of the Jade Capital" (*Yü ching hsüan tu* 玉京玄都) is the Palace of Purple Tenuity (*Tzu wei kung* 紫微宮), that is to say, the palace of the celestial pole, manifest in the asterisms clustered around Polaris (see *Pacing the Void*, pp. 45–46), the identity is not absolute. The polar palace is the partly visible other-identity of the Jade Capital far above it. There are three important points on the cosmic axis. The lowest is at "Wind on the Fells" on the earthly summit of K'un-lun; this is the adept's point of departure for the purple palace of the pole-star; ultimately he may aspire to visit, at the higher zenith, the jade towers of the ruler of the universe. This arrangement is made clear by the following: "Above Mount K'un-lun the Nine Pneumas are conjoined to make the wheel of Jade-cog and Armil (*hsüan chi* 璇璣, corresponding to two important stars of the Dipper, Merak [β Polaris] and Phecda [γ Polaris], symbolized as an archaic rotating astronomical device, located within the Grand Hollow [*t'ai k'ung* 太空]); as the Central Dipper lies above Mount K'un-lun, so the pylons of the Great Enveloping Heaven (*ta lo t'ien* 大羅天) lie above the Mountain of the Jade Capital." (*Ta tung yin chu ching* 大洞隱注經, in YCCC 21, 322. This source is evidently closely related to the *Shang ch'ing t'ai chi yin chu yü ching pao chüeh* 上清太極隱注玉經寶訣 of TT [HY 425], a Ling Pao-oriented text, containing much transmuted Buddhist vocabulary. The latter does not contain the passage translated here.)

127) The lady is *Shang yüan fu-jen* 上元夫人, a very important goddess, unique to the Mao Shan tradition, who plays a significant role in the *Han Wu Ti nei chuan*. The Jade Porch (*yü t'a* 玉闥) is a part of Hsi Wang Mu's palace at K'un-lun.

128) *Lin kung* 琳宮. For the palace of "blue sapphires" see also "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'," n. 112. "Sapphire" is hardly even a conjecture for the identity of the archaic gemstone *lin*.

129) *T'ai k'ung* 太空, "the locus of the stellar mansions"; see "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'," n. 67; cf. n. 126 above. Note also the statement

9. In a thousand years the purple crab-apple matures;¹³⁰
10. In four kalpas the numinous melon ripens.¹³¹
11. Such music as this is alien to untamed revels;
12. Its harmonious symphonies will never come to an end.

Paraphrase

1. My car is ready for the drive to the pole star.
2. Buoyed by magic mists, it takes me first to the summit of K'un-lun.
3. I am received there by a great lady.
4. She introduces me to the Queen of the West herself.
5. A sparkling company is assembled.
6. They crowd the sky-blue ballroom.
7. A divine orchestra performs for us.
8. Its impeccable music fills the sky.
9. Life-giving fruit is served to the audience.
10. Itself long-lived, it promises longevity for me.
11. The concert is quite unlike a mundane entertainment.
12. This is the music of eternity.

TWENTY-ONE

1. I groom the equipage – take leave of the Five Marchmounts;¹³²

in *Yüan shih ching* 元始經 (quoted in *YCCC* 2, 320), which places Grand Hollow at the bottom of a sort of cosmic *pousse café* – the layered spectral realms of the Five Auroras (*wu hsia* 五霞), the first being the Yellow Heaven, the next higher the Gray-green (*ts'ang* 蒼) Heaven, and above it the Blue Heaven.

130) "Purple crabapple" (*tsu nai* 紫奈) is somewhat conjectural. *Nai* commonly represents *Pyrus malus* of north China, but in texts influenced by Buddhism it sometimes stands for the night-blooming jasmine of India (*Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*). See E. H. Schafer, "Notes on a Chinese Word for Jasmine," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 68 (1948), 63. Here we have to do with a divine plant; it is listed among the "drugs of the transcendents" as the "purple crabapple of Circular Mound" (*yüan ch'iu tzu nai* 圓丘紫奈) in Tuan Ch'eng-shih 段成式, *Yu yang tsa tsu* 酉陽雜俎 (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* 叢書集成 ed.) 2, 12.

131) The numinous melon is listed among the life-giving plants offered at the banquet of Hsi Wang Mu and Han Wu Ti. See Schipper, *L'empereur Wou des Han*, pp. 23 and 84. The text has "Numinous melons of the Hollow of Space (*k'ung tung* 空洞; see no. 16 above), which fruit once in four kalpas."

132) *Wu yüeh* 五嶽. For "marchmount," see *Pacing the Void*, p. 6.

2. Pushing the mists aside, I burst through into the Nine Darks.¹³³
3. A prismatic tumult with the Grand Void,¹³⁴
4. Plumed festoons beckon me, each in its turn.
5. Now that I glimpse¹³⁵ my nearness to Tumbleweed Pot,
6. Who would say that I am far from the Fells of K'un?¹³⁶
7. In the dim distance — at last the security I need!
8. I look up — I approach the Levee of the Three Heavens.¹³⁷

Paraphrase

1. My sky car is ready to leave the world, bounded by its terminal peaks.
2. Up through the clouds, I drive into the remoteness of space.
3. There I see a colorful display of welcome.
4. They are the feathered tokens of the flying beings of this realm.
5. To the east I see P'eng-lai.
6. From my new perspective it is no great distance from K'un-lun in the west.

133) The "Nine Darks" (*chiu hsiao* 九霄) are the remote, esoteric aspects of the Nine Heavens. (For "dark" in this usage, see no. 1 above.) They are the cosmic analogues of the nine spirits in the compartments of the adept's brain, and also correspond to a long series of enneads: the "nine cinnabars" (*chiu tan* 九丹), the "nine pneumas" (*chiu ch'i* 九氣), the "nine stars" (*chiu hsing* 九星), and so on. For these, see the useful exposition in I. Robinet, "Metamorphoses in Taoism," *History of Religions* 19 (1979), 43. The basic form of the Ennead is stated in *T'ien chi ching* 天機經 (HY 1181), probably of the T'ang period: "In the sky it is the Nine Stars; on earth it is the Nine 'Islands' [habitable realms]; in men it is the Nine Apertures."

134) *T'ai hsü* 太虛. See "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'," n. 91.

135) I prefer the *p'an* 盼 of *CTS* to the *hsi* 眄 "scowl" of *TT*.

136) "Tumbleweed Pot" (*p'eng hu* 蓬壺), the floating seamount sometimes represented as a calabash enclosing a miniature universe, is one extremity of the world of men. It stands in opposition to the Fells of K'un-lun in the west, whence the adept may mount to the summit of the sky. See Pao Chao 鮑照, "Wu ho fu" 舞鶴賦, *Wen hsüan*, ch. 14, of a sacred crane dancing: "Pointing to Tumbleweed Pot it flutters its pinions; looking off to the Fells of K'un it raises a tune."

137) "Levee" is, of course *chao/ch'ao* 朝, the symbolic sunrise of the opening of a royal court, a concept that has analogues in many cultures, and was made famous in modern times by Louis XIV of France. "Three Heavens" implies "at the summit of the Three Heavens," for which see "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'," n. 80.

7. My salvation is far above all that.
8. Ahead lies the court of the heavenly king.

TWENTY-TWO

1. I call a friend from the Three Clarities;¹³⁸
2. We go very far out, above the Nine Heavens.¹³⁹
3. We meander easily, cutting across the midst of The Silence;¹⁴⁰
4. Fluttering swallow-like, we see something far off in the distance.¹⁴¹
5. The Grand Hollow yields constant light;¹⁴²
6. In the Eight Exteriors there are no hidden barriers.¹⁴³
7. Simurghs and phoenixes own unrestricted pinions –
8. Marvelously light, they whirl upwards.¹⁴⁴
9. Rarefied, beyond comprehension – such is the Occult Void;¹⁴⁵
10. The ultimate happiness lies with the Divine King!

Paraphrase

1. I invoke a celestial guide and friend.

138) Compare the first line of no. 15 above, where the friend is apparently Chou I-shan. "From the Three Clarities" seems to imply a very exalted personage, with access to all three of the blessed realms.

139) Compare the "Nine Darks" of no. 21. Basically these skies represent the eight directions plus the axial center.

140) Cf. "The Great Silence" of n. 107 above, a placeless place, as it were, neither in nor outside of the cosmos. The phrase *chüeh mo* 絕漠 "cutting across the silence" is used in other contexts for a route across the trackless waste of the Gobi Desert.

141) "Fluttering swallow-like" represents *tz'u-ch'ih* (**tr'i-dyǐě* 差池); the binom has its *locus classicus* in *Shih ching*, "P'i feng" 北風, "Yen yen" 燕燕, where it describes the flight of a swallow. It belongs to a family of words which connote "irregular, erratic, uneven."

142) For "Grand Hollow" see no. 20 above. The adept sees that space clearly now, not partially as erstwhile; now the great sky lights shine clearly and steadily, not subject to the vicissitudes of the earthly perspective.

143) The "Eight Exteriors" (*pa wai* 八外) are the far extensions of the eight directions.

144) The *locus classicus* of "marvelously light" (*ling jan* 泠然) is *Chuang-tzu*, "Hsiao-yao yu"; it is used of easy flight through the air.

145) *Hsüan hsü* 玄虛, a traditional characterization of the Tao as both immaterial and ineffable.

2. We depart together into the depths of space.
3. Our destination is beyond the starry universe.
4. As we fly we discern something far ahead.
5. Our way is lit by unimpeded starlight.
6. Nowhere is there a hindrance to my new impervious body.
7. Like divine birds our flight is uninhibited by gravity.
8. Like them we are quite weightless.
9. Ahead lies a place which cannot be described.
10. It is the realm of bliss.

TWENTY-THREE

1. I loose my person above the Grand Aurora;
2. In nebulous nowhere, to float in the midst of the void.
3. The Eight Daunters¹⁴⁶ go ahead of me, opening up the way;
4. The Five Elders¹⁴⁷ journey in my company.
5. The numinous sky-light¹⁴⁸ – how dazzling, how vivid!
6. The auspicious wind – truly rare and otherworldly!
7. Syrinx and song shake the length of space;
8. Unrestricted echoes – both clear and tender.
9. In my rambles and strolls there is no¹⁴⁹
10. When I glance to one side – all are realized peers.¹⁵⁰
11. We make good speed, but without hurrying:
12. The myriad heavens will shortly be encompassed.

146) *Pa wei* 八威. For this cosmic Highway Patrol, see “Wu Yün’s ‘Cantos on Pacing the Void’,” n. 72.

147) *Wu lao* 五老. These are anthropoid versions of the “germinal essences of the Five Stars [*i.e.* the five planets].” They are the same that stood in attendance at the birth of Confucius. See *Shih i chi* 拾遺記 (Ching ming k’o pen 景明刻本) 3, 4b.

148) *Ling ching* 靈景: the sun in its potent, cosmic aspect. See Tso Szu 左思, “Yung shih” 詠史, *Wen hsüan*, ch. 21, with commentary.

149) Here *CTS* has *i shang* 迹賞; *TT* has *chin shang* 近賞. Neither is very satisfactory. (A possible emendation, *chui shang* 追賞 “pursuit of reward,” is not entirely persuasive.)

150) *Chen ch’ou* 真僊. The ascending adept finds himself part of a happy company of perfected beings.

Paraphrase

1. I pass through the source of *yang*.
2. Through bewildering mists I reach a featureless region.
3. My passage upward is eased by eight directional spirits.
4. The way is lit by benevolent planetary gods.
5. The sun appears to me as it never does to earthlings.
6. A divine breath is wafted through this realm.
7. I hear celestial music.
8. It reverberates through space.
9. I move, uninhibited, without
10. I find myself surrounded by beings like myself.
11. We go easily on together.
12. Our goal lies beyond measurable space.

TWENTY-FOUR

1. I look back to the [time] prior to "Grand Antecedence";¹⁵¹
2. Stygian tenebrity¹⁵² was in utter unity¹⁵³ with the Tao.
3. The Hollow Space¹⁵⁴ congealed the realized germ,¹⁵⁵
4. This then made substance within the void.
5. Evolving or transmitting — it had a constant character;
6. Fitting together or dispersing — it lacked determinate stuff.
7. Without acting, it quickened the volant lightning;
8. While hiding its radiance, it lighted the white sun.
9. Perched in the occult, it was oblivious to the depths of the occult;
10. While it gained nothing, it surely lost nothing.

Paraphrase

1. I have a vision of the beginning of the world.

151) *T'ai ch'u* 太初. This cosmogonic era is described in *Pacing the Void*, p. 25, as "the germination of formal differentiation," i.e. "the age when the evolution of different forms became possible, but before their emergence and much before the appearance of (undifferentiated) substance."

152) *Ming* 冥.

153) *Chih i* 至一. This phrase occurs in *Chuang tzu*, "Shan hsing" 繕性, in reference to a past utopia or golden age, when all creatures lived together in peace and harmony. The sense in that context is something like "perfect unison."

154) *K'ung tung*. See no. 16 above.

155) *Chen ching* 真精.

2. Darkness enclosed the source of being.
3. But its germ lay in an enclosed emptiness.
4. It sprouted there: matter existed.
5. Substantially it was inalterable.
6. But it was in constant flux.
7. It was the unmoved source of motion.
8. It was the invisible source of light.
9. It was indifferent to its own nature.
10. Nothing was subtracted from it or added to it.

*

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While it is possible to describe the scenario of each of these poems separately – and indeed the sequence of events envisioned in them follows a pattern much like that to which Wu Yün's "Cantos on Pacing the Void" conform¹⁵⁶ – I have been unable to trace the outlines of a master plan that might reveal the sense of the entire set. Some larger patterns are identifiable. For instance, a few of the poems show a marked relationship to points of the compass, and it is possible to identify at least one small set of stanzas corresponding to the four cardinal directions, suggesting a ritual circumambulation of the sublunary world: no. 8 "East"; no. 9 "South"; no. 10 "West"; but no. 19 is "North", while no. 20 is "West" again. In addition, no. 7 is partly oriented. No. 24, the last of the whole series, provides an unusual glimpse of the birth of the cosmos – a revelation well suited to this climactic position. This is only the fragment of a scenario, but we may imagine that a more complete comprehension of the sequence has been prevented by the shuffling of the stanzas in transmission, so as to obscure or obliterate their interconnections.

The set is characterized by a marked tone of confidence on the part of the persona, who is identifiable as an idealized version of the

156) The reader is invited to consult "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void,'" p. 393, for a description of the sequence (1. Halfway House; 2. Departure; 3. Flight; 4. Arrival; 5. Revelation) which is partly exemplified in each of the ten cantos, and may also be traced, I believe, in the set of twenty-four poems treated in the present article.

poet, in the guise of a Taoist adept who has achieved his goal, or is on the point of doing so. He shows himself as responsible for his own glorious destiny, which is eternal life. This persona — transformed and ready for assumption into the astral world — has usually been represented in my translations in the first person, but this was not absolutely required by the text. Moreover, my choice of tense in these timeless episodes is arbitrary. Usually I have preferred the present, or a kind of optative, or a manner which might be styled "the anticipated future" to suggest the eager assurance of the adept.

This image reveals, as much as does the plotting, a strong affinity to Wu Yün's poems on "Pacing the Void." In both visions, the initiate becomes, in effect a space pilot — but not one who follows a definable flight plan, or travels measurable distances. His excursions are shaped by literary imagery, often dazzling, which gives a vivid impression of incredible galactic adventures. It is verbal magic, intended to transport the reader into realms which his own feeble imagination can hardly adumbrate.

In short, we are very far from the traditional *yu hsien* lyric — a difference detectable both in the general character of Wu Yün's fantasies, and in the specific imagery he employs. The occasional allusion to K'un-lun and P'eng-lai; a sprinkling of figures drawn from the book of *Chuang tzu* — these tokens are hardly enough to put a traditional label on these poems, despite their title. The old images and allusions have been totally transmuted by the intoxicating atmosphere in which Wu Yün has immersed them.

This novel treatment seems to have had little if any effect on later poets who wrote on this theme, even though, as contemporary evidence indicates, Wu Yün's verses were widely read and admired. In particular, Ts'ao T'ang, an acknowledged master of the genre, who wrote a century after Wu Yün, owes him no great debt. It is true that the former goes far beyond most of his predecessors in the introduction of medieval Taoist images into his "Saunters in Sylphdom," but the silky refinement of his illusions is far removed from the ecstatic fervor that invests Wu Yün's cosmic voyages. In the end, Wu Yün stands unique — and therefore unrivalled in his own exalted sphere.

Wu Yün's "Cantos on Pacing The Void"

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Wu Yün's "Cantos on Pacing the Void"

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THIS is an essay on medieval language and imagery, using poetic texts on religious themes, specifically the ten "Cantos on Pacing the Void" ("Pu hsü tz'u" 步虛詞) written by Wu Yün 吳筠 (died 778).

The following is a list of abbreviations used in the notes:

- ChTS* *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩 (Taipei, 1967)
CLWYT T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景, *Chen ling wei yeh t'u* 真靈位業圖 (*HY* 167)
CTS *Chiu T'ang shu* 舊唐書 (*SPPY* ed.)
CTW *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文 (Taipei, 1972)
HTC *Huang t'ing nei ching yü ching chu* 黃庭內景玉經注, with commentary of Po Lü-chung 白履忠, (Liang ch'iu tzu 梁丘子), in *Hsiu chen shih shu* 修真十書 (*HY* 263)
HY Weng Tu-chien 翁獨健, *Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature* 道藏子目引得 (Harvard-Yenching Institute Sino-logical Index Series No. 25, 1935), pp. 1-37
Pacing E. H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1977)
Preface Ch'üan Te-yü 權德輿, *Tsung hsüan hsien sheng wen chi hsü* 宗玄先生文集序 (*HY* 1045); also in *CTW*, 489, 19a-21a
TC *T'ung chih* 通志 (K'ai-ming 開明 ed.)
TS *T'ang shu* 唐書 (*SPPY* ed.)
TT *Cheng t'ung tao tsang* 正統道藏 (Taipei, 1976)
WSPY *Wu shang pi yao* 无上秘要 (*HY* 1130)
YCCC *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien* 雲笈七籤 (Taipei, 1973)

BIOGRAPHY

Instead of an introductory biographical essay, I offer translations of passages culled from contemporary or near contemporary sources, leaving the reader free to interpret them as he will.¹

The single most important source is a biography written by Ch'üan Te-yü 權德輿 (759–818), a distinguished scholar, writer, and statesman who became Prime Minister in 810. This is extant in three versions which show minor differences among themselves.² There is also a second official biography which is substantially different.³ Ch'üan Te-yü's preface to Wu Yün's collected writings constitutes a less formal one.⁴

Here is the patchwork:

Wu Yün, agnomen Chen-chieh 貞節, was a man of Hua-yin 華陰 in Hua County (Hua chou 華州).⁵ He was conversant with the meaning of the canons, and gave beauty to the literary language.⁶ He was selected for "Advanced Gentleman" (*chin shih* 進士), but did not attain it.⁷ By nature he was lofty and guileless, and could not endure plunging and drifting with the times.⁸

When his years were fifteen he aspired wholeheartedly to the Tao; he hid himself at I Ti Shan 倚帝山 in Nan-yang 南陽 with persons of like talents.⁹ He asked to be ordained as a "Gentleman of the Tao" (*tao shih* 道士), and dwelt in a house on the sunlit hills of Sung 嵩, applying himself to the equitable regulations of Revered Master Feng 馮, from whom he received the methods of Cheng I 正一. Previously, in Liang 梁, Lord T'ao 陶 [styled] Chen-po 貞白 bestowed this Way

¹ A biography of Wu Yün in one scroll, called *Wu T'ien shih nei chuan* 吳天師內傳, by the T'ang writer Hsieh Liang-ssu 謝良嗣, is listed in the bibliographies of *TS*, 59, 5b and *TC*, 67, 788c. It is also listed in *Sung shih* (K'ai-ming ed.), 205, 4996a as *Chung yüeh Wu T'ien shih nei chuan* 中岳吳天師內傳 by Hsieh Liang-pi 謝良弼. The biography is not extant.

² They are *CTS*, 192, 8a–8b; *CTW*, 508, 1a–2a; *TT*, immediately following *HY* 1046 (this is unnumbered in *HY*, but is listed as 1053 in K. M. Schipper, *Concordance du Tao-tsang*, Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. cii [Paris, 1975]).

³ *TS*, 196, 6a–6b.

⁴ *Preface*.

⁵ Hua-chou is in modern Shensi. *Preface* also gives Hua-yin as the place of registration of birth. The "ju-ist 儒 gentleman of Lu-chung 魯中", i.e., in Shantung, of *CTS*, seems unlikely.

⁶ *TS*.

⁷ *CTS*, representing, regularly, the Ch'üan Te-yü biography as incorporated in *CTS*.

⁸ *TS*.

⁹ *Preface*. I Ti Shan is the name of a gemmy mountain in the *Shan hai ching* 山海經. Nan-yang was also known as Teng-chou 鄧州 in southwestern Honan.

on Lord Wang 王 [styled] Sheng-hsüan 昇玄. Lord Wang bestowed it on Lord P'an 潘 [styled] T'i-hsüan 體玄. Lord P'an bestowed it on Lord Feng. This makes five generations from Lord T'ao to the Prior Born [Wu Yün]. All made use of *yin* 陰 achievements to rescue themselves from material things.¹⁰ During "Opened Prime" (K'ai-yüan 開元; 713-41) he journeyed southward to Chin-ling 金陵 to look for the Way at Mao Shan 茅山. Then, after a time, he journeyed to the east to T'ien T'ai 天台. Since Yün was particularly skilled at literary composition and narrative, he formed, while in Shan 剡, a poetry-cum-wine association with literary gentlemen of Yüeh-chung 越中. The books of songs he composed were transmitted to the capital city.¹¹ At the beginning of "Heavenly Treasure" (T'ien-pao 天寶; 742-56), Li Po 李白 wandered as a visitor into Kuai-chi 會稽. He secreted himself in Shan with Wu Yün, Gentleman of the Tao. Since he was addicted to wine, he walked about drinking with him daily, to become intoxicated in the wine bazaars.¹² [Wu Yün] was summoned to the capital city.¹³ Therefore [Li Po] also went to Ch'ang-an.¹⁴ The Mystic Ancestor [Hsüan Tsung 玄宗] despatched an emissary to summon [Wu Yün] to an interview in the Basilica of Great Identity (*Ta t'ung tien* 大同殿), where he conversed with him to his great pleasure. He proclaimed him "Attendant on Directives" (*tai chao* 待詔) in the Forest of Quills (Han lin 翰林). [Yün] offered his *Mystic Mainstays* (*Hsüan kang* 玄綱) in three books. The thearch asked him about the Tao, and he responded, "For profundity in the Tao, nothing compares with the *Lao tzu*, that text of five thousand words!¹⁵ All divergent verbiage and diffuse assertions [secondary to that] are no more than a waste of paper billets." Then [Hsüan Tsung] asked about such matters as the

¹⁰ *Preface*. A "Gentleman of the Tao" is a priest who has received orthodox credentials. Revered Master Feng of Sung Shan remains unidentified. The sequence of transmission of Cheng I doctrine, from the ninth Mao Shan patriarch (as later defined) T'ao Hung-ching, through Wang Yüan-chih 王遠智, the tenth patriarch, and P'an Shih-cheng 潘師正, the eleventh patriarch, to the mysterious Master Feng, and thence to Wu Yün, diverges from that recorded in the dynastic histories, in which the biographies of the twelfth patriarch, Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen 司馬承禎 (647-735), state that the latter received Cheng I methods from his master P'an Shih-cheng, to become himself the fourth after T'ao Hung-ching to master them. See *TS*, 196, 6b-7a; *CTS*, 192, 7a. For "*yin* achievements" see Canto One below.

¹¹ *CTS*. Shan was a township in Chekiang, attached to Kuai-chi County (Yüeh-chou 越州), approximately modern Shao-hsing 紹興.

¹² *CTS*, 190b, 4a (Biography of Li Po).

¹³ *TS*. This was also "at the beginning of Heavenly Treasure," i.e., 742 or soon after.

¹⁴ *TS*, 202, 8b (Biography of Li Po).

¹⁵ *TS*. The basilica was on the grounds of the Hsing-ch'ing Palace 興慶宮, scene of miracles associated with the accession of Hsüan Tsung. For instance, in 748 luminescent jade mushrooms grew on its pillars. (See Hiraoka Takeo 平岡武夫, *Chōan to Rakuyō: Shiriyō*, T'ang Civilization Reference Series No. 6. [Kyoto, 1956], p. 112 quoting *Ch'ang-an chih* 長安志, 9, 3a.) The poet's new position required that he lend his talents as a writer to the composition of official documents. For the treatise on "Mystic Mainstays," see under "Prose Writings" below.

Divine Transcendents (*shen hsien* 神仙), self-restoration, and refinement, to which he replied, "These are affairs for rustic persons, and require months, even years of dedicated application in their search—not things to which it is suitable that the Lord of Men direct his attention."¹⁶ Whenever the court vassals disclosed in their reports what he had presented in a session with the array of "black-dyed and yellow" (*tzu huang* 緇黃) there was nothing but "teachings on nomenclature" and everyday matters. But he had interspersed them with allusive comment on topical matters as a way of conveying his sincerity. Hsüan Tsung placed the utmost weight on these.¹⁷ He received exceptionally favorable regard. In consequence, he was envied by the whole company of Buddhist monks. Kao Li-shih 高力士, the Roan Rider (*p'iao ch'i* 驃騎) had always honored the Buddha, and once he belittled Yün in His Highness's presence: Yün was displeased, and sought to return to his mountain. It was for this reason that he was disparaging of the Shakyaites in the literary compositions he produced, and was in turn derided by erudite persons of liberal understanding.¹⁸ He was the teacher of the royal person for thirteen years.¹⁹ Then, by royal instruction, a separate cloister of the Tao was erected for him at the belvedere (*kuan* 觀) on the marchmount (*yüeh* 岳). When [An] Lu-shan 安祿山 was on the point of creating disorder, [Yün] sought to return to Mao Shan. This was authorized.²⁰ Bandits befooled the Three Rivers, so he drifted about "feather-garbed in an empty boat," until he descended to the east, to roost at K'uang Lu 匡廬. Then he ascended to Kuai-chi.²¹ For a period he came and went in Shan by T'ien T'ai where he wrote "courteous antiphons" to the lyrical books of the poets Li Po and K'ung Ch'ao-fu 孔巢父, and they wandered, fancy-free, through founts and rocks, with a great many persons in their suite.²² In the thirteenth year of

¹⁶ *CTS*. That is, wordly persons, even the most exalted, would do best to restrict themselves to pious readings of the *Lao tzu* which, despite its respectability, did not provide clear directions for the comprehension of the secrets that lead to the relinquishment of the flesh and, ultimately, astral elevation. Such attainments required devoted rustication, hardly possible for a head of state. For "self-restoration and refinement" *TS* has "techniques of smelting and refining"—somewhat more alchemical language.

¹⁷ *CTS*. "Black-dyed and yellow" is metonymous for "Buddhists and Taoists," referring to the colors of their costumes. Reports to the throne about Wu Yün's contributions to debates between the representatives of these two religions revealed nothing obvious about arcane matters.

¹⁸ *CTS*. "Roan Rider" is an honorary military title. "Shakyaites" means "devotees of Shakyamuni."

¹⁹ *Preface*.

²⁰ *CTS*. The belvedere was apparently a Taoist foundation at Sung Shan.

²¹ *Preface*. The Three Rivers constitute the region of Lo-yang 洛陽. Here the reference is to Sung Shan in particular. The image of "feather-garbed in an empty boat" refers to travel without identifiable purpose or destination, like a winged being of Taoism. "Empty boat" means (a) vessel without an assigned cargo, or (b) metaphorically, to journey without a scheduled destination. K'uang Lu is Lu Shan 廬山.

²² *CTS*. Li Po had left the capital at the time of An Lu-shan's rebellion. He wandered through many places, including the Chin-ling region (*TS*, 202, 9a). On the association between Li Po and K'ung Ch'ao-fu, see Tu Fu, "Sung K'ung Ch'ao-fu hsieh ping kuei yu

"Great Almanac" (Ta-li 大曆), when the year-star was in Quail Head (*ch'un shou* 鶉首), he was staying at a Taoist belvedere in Hsüan-ch'eng 宣城, burning aromatics. He reverted to the Real at the central gate of the House of the Void.²³ His "cadets and sons" awarded him the personal posthumous title of "Prior Born Genitor of the Mystery" (Tsung hsüan hsien sheng 宗玄先生).²⁴

Some biographical details may be gleaned from the titles of Wu Yün's poems. It is immediately apparent that most of them were written in the lower Yangtze watershed, specifically the reach from Lu Shan and Lake P'eng Li 彭蠡 (modern P'o-yang 鄱陽) eastward through Kiangsu and into Chekiang. Lu Shan is the single most frequently mentioned place in this zone. There are a few references to places outside it, such as mountains and holy spots in Shantung, Honan, and Kiangsi. Particularly prominent are allusions to the vistas from high places, looking out over great lakes and rivers. It is not likely that any significant chronological order can be imposed on these few specimens.

HAGIOGRAPHY

Two apparently fictional biographies of Wu Yün are appended to a scripture in the Taoist canon whose transmission is attributed to him, the *Nan t'ung ta chün nei tan chiu chang ching* 南統大君內丹九章經 (HY 1047). One of the biographies, which precedes the scripture, purports to be an extract from a preface composed by Wu Yün himself in 818—that is, four decades after the recorded death of the poet. It begins:

During "Opened Prime" I composed the *Hsüan kang lun* 玄綱論 and also the *Yang hsing lun* 養形論, which circulate in this generation.²⁵ A royal directive con-

Chiang-tung chien ch'eng Li Po" 送孔巢父謝病歸遊江東兼呈李白, *ChTS*, *han* 4, *ts'e* 1, *ch.* 1, p. 10a.

²³ Preface. The year is 778. "Quail Head" is the Jupiter station (in the solar cycle) which governs drought and death. The asterism includes stars in Gemini and Cancer. Hsüan-ch'eng is Hsüan-chou in Anhwei. "Reverted to the real" is a Taoist euphemism for "died." "House of the void" is a place of meditation.

²⁴ "Cadets and sons" is the common trope for adopted apprentices and disciples, with the duties, responsibilities and aspirations of junior males in any family.

²⁵ The first of these two is a well-known work, extant in *TT* and, in fragments, in *CTW*, 926. The second of the two may correspond to the section *Yang hsing* 養形 of *Hsing shen k'o ku lun* 形神可固論 in *CTW*, 926, 1a-8a.

ferred on me [the incumbency of] Notary Stimulant (*tz'u shih* 刺史) of Chiang 江 County, but I made excuses and did not accept it. I darkened my footsteps by hiding at Li Shan 驪山, where I cultivated "embryonic exhalation" (*t'ai hsi* 胎息). Midway in "Primal Harmony" (Yüan-ho 元和; 802-20) I journeyed into Huai-hsi 淮西,²⁶ just when the royal host was chastising the outlaw Wu Yüan-chi 吳元濟.²⁷ I avoided the disorders by going eastward to the marchmount.²⁸ There I met Li, the Ostracized Transcendent (Li Che-hsien 李謫仙),²⁹ who conferred this technique on me, saying "This is the gateway to life of the Great Lord of Nan-t'ung."

Li Po goes on to tell him that the true road to life is contained in the nine sections of the scripture, which reveal the essence of "Inner Cinnabar," and admonishes him not to reveal their contents to unworthy persons.

This preface, although it conveys a certain plausibility by mentioning two authentic works of Wu Yün, must be regarded as spurious, in the first place because its acceptance requires faith in the posthumous epiphanies of both Wu Yün and Li Po, and in the second place because the "preface" is clearly intended to guarantee the authenticity of a scripture which is not to be found among the attested writings of Wu Yün. In particular, it is not referred to—as it surely would have been—in the books and essays mentioned by Ch'üan Te-yü in his preface to Wu Yün's collected writings.³⁰

A short essay at the end of the scripture, partly expository, partly narrative, and like the preface purporting to be autobiographical, has an entirely different character. It begins with an enchanting description of the arrival of the perfected adept at the Gate of Heaven in the Jupiter station called "Longevity Asterism" (*shou hsing* 壽星), in our constellation Virgo. Then it goes on in words attributed to Wu Yün:

When I was in my fortieth year I went after a degree, but realizing that my chances were slim, I accordingly aspired to the search for self-realization. I made inquiries and researches into the scriptures of the transcendents, but in no case achieved the

²⁶ The coastal region north of the Yangtze.

²⁷ Wu Yüan-chi was executed at Ch'ang-an in 817.

²⁸ Presumably T'ai Shan.

²⁹ Evidently Li Po, after the death of his mortal body. The poet regarded himself as an "ostracized transcendent" and longed to regain his celestial home.

³⁰ *TC*, 67, 792b, lists the title in its roster of *nei tan* 內丹 books, with no attribution of authorship. It seems to be a work of the northern Sung.

system of life. So I sought out the traces of Lord Mao's consummation of self-realization in the south. I ascended Mao's summit, and went into a house of stone. First I obtained the *Realized Scripture of the Primal Tao* (*Yüan tao chen ching* 元道真經),³¹ that is, the system of the All-Highest Tao Lord (*T'ai shang tao chün* 太上道君)³² for returning to the root³³ and restoring the source, to be invoked with never-muted voice. Accordingly I held to that system for more than ten years, but attacking only "embryonic exhalation," and continuing to employ it until I was weary—alas! It was no eyelash before the eye!³⁴ Later, on another journey, I met an old gaffer who said, "Do you wish to study transcendence? For the student of transcendence to go from the dust to self-realization is like 'smelting gold while refining the ore.'³⁵ Why not first seek out the arts of destiny in order to extend your life? After that, perfect your *yin* virtue, making the ascent by gradual steps to heavenly transcendence: your achievements will induce Highest Heaven to direct that you be awarded the gift of life. Then, in consequence, you may rise lightly to become a transcendent person. But even though you attain the realm of transcendence, you must still refine your true breath. That breath will combine with divine-spirit: this is why one speaks of 'divine transcendence.' "

The old man goes on to disparage the "Realized Scripture of the Primal Tao" as a means of attaining this great objective. In its place he recommends "the life-giving arts of the Great Lord," which Lord Mao—presumably Mao Ying 茅盈—left in a stone chamber. He bestows nine strophes (*chang* 章), containing the essence of these arts, upon the deserving Wu Yün, along with the words "The Tao is not outside the body!" Yün writes down what he has heard, and awards the text the title of *Divine Valediction on the Inner Cinnabar* (*Nei tan shen chüeh* 內丹神訣).

This story is, of course, intended to validate the nine strophes of the Great Lord of Nan-t'ung, to which it is attached, as the very same text that the gaffer inherited from Lord Mao and later bestowed on Wu Yün.

An important aspect of this scripture is its emphasis on "*yin* virtue," elsewhere called "*yin* achievements," a concept which

³¹ *T'ai ch'ing yüan tao chen ching* 太清元道真經 (HY 1412).

³² Presumably to be equated with *Shang huang t'ai shang wu shang ta tao chün* 上皇太上無上大道君, high in the realm of Greatest Clarity (*t'ai ch'ing* 太清), just below Lord Lao himself. *CLWYT*, p. 20a. He is probably also the "Great Tao Lord" of the Cheng I scripture *T'ai shang san t'ien cheng fa ching* 太上三天正法經 (HY 1194).

³³ A cliché which occurs both in the *Lao tzu* and in the *Chuang tzu*.

³⁴ That is, it was not acquired quick as a wink—it took long and painstaking application.

³⁵ That is, to expect the desired outcome while still preoccupied with preliminaries.

appears in the authentic writings of Wu Yün. To this extent, then, there is an element of credibility in the attribution to that writer.³⁶

PROSE WRITINGS

1. *Nan t'ung ta chün nei tan chiu chang ching* (HY 1047). This is said to contain "the life-giving arts of the Great Lord," and to be superior to the *T'ai ch'ing yüan tao chen ching* 太清元道真經 (HY 1412). It recommends techniques for increasing one's *yang* by exploiting the power of *yin* as a foundation. In the course of these exercises there are visions of star-lights within the body, and a mystic act of reverence at the polar palace. An important outcome is the consolidation of the spirits in one's body to prevent the dissolution of physical substance. The improbability of Wu Yün's authorship or transmission of this text has already been asserted.³⁷ It is probably a work of the Northern Sung.

2. *Hsüan kang lun* 玄綱論 (HY 1046). Of the thirty-three strophes preserved in *TT*, only portions appear in *CTW*.³⁸ Ch'üan Te-yü, in his biography of Wu Yün, calls this work *Three Books on the Mystic Mainstays* (*Hsüan kang san p'ien* 玄綱三篇). He states that it was "acclaimed by gentlemen of advanced discernment," along with the *Discourse on the Feasibility of Studying Divine Transcendence* (see item 4 below) and other unnamed writings to the total of twenty scrolls.³⁹

3. *Chien chi hsien sheng Lu chün pei* 簡寂先生陸君碑.⁴⁰ This is a eulogistic memorial on Lu Hsiu-ching 陸修靜, the fifth-century codifier of the Ling Pao 靈寶 tradition. It is dated 15 October 761, under the authorship of Wu Yün, "Gentleman of the Tao of Central

³⁶ See Canto One below.

³⁷ *TC*, 67, 789b gives the following as works of Wu Yün: *Shen hsien k'o hsüeh lun*, *Hsüan kang lun*, *Hsin mu lun*, *Hsing shen k'o ku lun*, and *Fu ch'un hua lun*. For the last-named item, see no. 7 (with n.45) below.

³⁸ Namely "Tao te" 道德 (no. 1) in *CTW*, 926, 18b-19a; "Ch'ao tung ching" 超動靜 (no. 6), 15a (This piece forms the beginning of the introduction to *Hsüan kang lun* in the *CTW* version; the remainder of this introduction seems to be a condensation of the *Shen hsien k'o hsüeh lun* [no. 4 below].); "Hua shih su" 化時俗 (no. 8) in *CTW*, 17b-18b; "Tao fan yü su" 道反於俗 (no. 28), 21a-21b; "Chuan ching chih tao" 專精至道 (no. 29), 20a-21a; "Tao wu ch'i wu" 道無棄物 (no. 31), 19a-20a.

³⁹ *TS*, 60, 10b, puts his collected writings at only ten scrolls.

⁴⁰ *CTW*, 926, 21b-23b.

Marchmount and Deferential Contributor (*kung feng* 供奉) at the Forest of Quills.”

4. *Shen hsien k'o hsüeh lun* 神仙可學論 (HY 1045).⁴¹

5. *Hsin mu lun* 心目論 (HY 1045).⁴² Compare Ch'üan Te-yü's phrase “lamenting the remoteness from the Tao of a tumbleweed heart and a farsighted eye” in his preface to HY 1045, there using it to characterize the worth of the *Shen hsien k'o hsüeh lun*. The same authority assesses the quality of the *Hsin mu lun* and of the *Hsing shen k'o ku lun* (see item 8 below) as equally “fulfilling the honesty within one's breast with the approbation of the Lord of Heaven.”

6. *Chin Hsüan kang lun piao* 進玄綱論表 (HY 1046).⁴³ This is the manifesto of presentation to the throne of Wu Yün's *Discourse on the Mystic Mainstays*. It is dated 5 July 754. We also have a grateful acknowledgment of its receipt by Hsüan Tsung.⁴⁴

7. *Fu ch'un hua lun* 復淳化論. This title appears among Wu Yün's prose works listed in TC, 67, but no such discourse is extant. Probably it bore some relationship to the *Ssu huan ch'un fu* 思還淳賦 (HY 1045).⁴⁵

8. *Hsing shen k'o ku lun* 形神可固論 (HY 1045).⁴⁶ This *Discourse on the Consolidation of Form and Spirit* contains essays on subjects central to Wu Yün's metaphysics, with their apparent Cheng I orientation.

POETRY

What survives of Wu Yün's verse consists of four sets of poems (*shih* 詩), three of them in familiar Taoist modes; about twenty other *shih*; and eight rhapsodies (*fu* 賦).

Translations of the ten “Cantos on Pacing the Void” are provided below. The twenty-four poems on “Saunters in Sylphdom” (*yu hsien* 遊仙) are closely related to them in character. There is also a set of fifty odes which celebrate exalted beings of early Taoism (“Odes

⁴¹ YCCC, 93, 1288–89 (without attribution), and also CTW, 926, 2a–7b.

⁴² CTW, 926, 11a–14a.

⁴³ CTW, 925, 15b–16a.

⁴⁴ CTW, 37, 12b.

⁴⁵ CTW, 925, 1a–3b.

⁴⁶ CTW, 926, 1a–2a.

of High Gentlemen," *kao shih yung* 高士詠), and a set of fourteen entitled "Perusing the Past" (*lan ku* 覽古). The other lyrics are almost entirely devoted to reflections on his own experiences. With hardly any exceptions they exhibit one of a few characteristic themes: (a) mountains and the views from them over watery expanses; the mountains, of which Lu Shan is the most important, represent high places close to the abodes of the gods, while the lakes, rivers, and seas, especially Lake P'eng Li, symbolize or lead to the distant abodes of divine beings, above all to the Watchet Sea (*ts'ang hai* 滄海)—that is, the seas east of China—and the islands of P'eng-lai 蓬萊; (b) the more personal motif of leisurely travel by boat on the waters of the lower Yangtze, usually with a friend of similar sensibility and tastes—a sense of transition to a higher world is a common overtone; (c) the remaining poems are devoted to one or more aspects of the cluster of images which represent sacred places, solitude, wistful longings, and mystic aspirations.

The eight rhapsodies, which can hardly be commented on intelligently before they have been fully explicated, are all in some degree related to the life and dreams of an aspirant to transcendence in the tradition of Mao Shan meditation, to the visualization of divinity, and to the absorption of astral essences into the somatic microcosm. These *fu* share much of their imagery with the "Cantos on Pacing the Void"—especially the "Teng chen fu" 登真賦.

In addition to the extant poems, we have a few references to others which may or may not survive under different guises. For instance, Ch'üan Te-yü's preface to the collected writings refers to a "Laud on Binding Form and Spirit" ("Ch'i hsing shen sung" 契形神頌).⁴⁷ Ch'üan Te-yü also wrote a "Preface to the poem 'Lu Hsien Hostel at Hua-yüan' by Revered Master Wu" ("Wu tsun shih Hua-yüan Lu hsien kuan shih shü" 吳尊師華原露仙館詩序).⁴⁸ The poem referred to seems not to have survived.

CONTEMPORARY EVALUATIONS

Here again I provide only translations:

⁴⁷ Presumably this bears some relationship to his *Discourse on the Consolidation of Form and Spirit* (*Hsing sheng k'o ku lun*).

⁴⁸ CTW, 490, 10b-11a.

[Yün's] "Cantos on Pacing the Void," his compositions on "Saunters in Sylphdom," and "Unclassified Empathies" (*tsa kan* 雜感) sometimes lament the way of this world with far-ranging imaginings and reviews of antiquity, and sometimes they put "Ringed Pivot" (*huan shu* 環樞) in the shade with the Myriad Simulacra and with Infinity. He researched the chronicles of human destiny to arrive at the evolution of human affairs. In general, he made "miserliness of soul and crippling of acuity" his starting point, and so arrived at singular prismatics and the jingling and tinkling of uninhibited resonances—as if, while grazing the reversed phosphors, he were to strike a "cloudy *ao*" (*yün ao* 雲璈) with a pike. Lang 閩 [Park] at K'un 崑 [Mountain], and Sung 松 and Ch'iao 喬 stand darkly before one's eyes. He drew near to antiquity and sauntered beyond the quarters [of the world]. For those who speak about the Six Modules, the Prior Born [Wu Yün] was really "Master of the Covenant."⁴⁹

Both in his command of literary composition and in his contriving of correspondence, and whether in hymns, eulogies or announcements of departures, he used no words that were not of the Tao. But they were words that could be acted on: sedate in subtlety and in the miraculous, striking in their radiance and spaciousness.⁵⁰

He was broadly conversant with the structuring of language; the prismatic texture of his composition flashed with iridescence. Each time he fashioned a book, everyone passed it along for copying. Whatever was free and unfettered in Li Po and lusty and ravishing in Tu Fu—Yün was the sole person who had the ability to conjoin them.⁵¹

It is said that there is little to choose [literally, marginal basis for grading "A" or "B"] between the songs and lyrics of K'ung Ch'ao-fu and Li Po, with whom he was on good terms, and his own.⁵²

⁴⁹ *Preface*. "Ringed Pivot" is an asterism in Boötes, near Arcturus, closely related to the Dipper, which marks the seasons with it. This passage means that Yün's astral verses outshine even important polar constellations. The "myriad simulacra" (*wan hsiang* 萬象) are the constellations collectively. The mysterious "cloudy *ao*" is a divine musical instrument, evidently a lithophone, mentioned in *Han Wu Ti nei chuan* 漢武帝內傳. The "reversed phosphors" (*tao ching* 倒景) are the sun and moon seen shining *below* by the sky-climber. Sung is Ch'ih Sung tzu 赤松子 and Ch'iao is Wang Ch'iao 王喬, two mythological beings who were apotheosized in the *Shang ch'ing* pantheon. The "Six Modules" are the six genres of the *Shih ching*, Ya 雅, Feng 風, et al.

⁵⁰ *Preface*.

⁵¹ *CTS*.

⁵² *TS*. K'ung Ch'ao-fu has biographies in *TS*, 163, 1a–1b and *CTS*, 154, 1a–1b. *CTS* mentions an association with Li Po early in his life, but both biographies are largely restricted to his career in the military and political worlds, especially during the reign of Te Tsung.

“CANTOS ON PACING THE VOID”

Generalities

The origins of the choral dance called “Pacing the Void” are buried in obscurity. As a ritual performance, especially in imitation of an adept’s ramble through the powerful stars of the northern dipper, it seems, from an early but yet to be determined period, to have been closely related to the ancient shamanistic “Pace of Yü” (“Yü pu” 禹步).⁵³ It is not now my purpose to recount all of the known history of the rite, nor to reveal all of the discoverable antecedents of the chants that accompanied it. Suffice it to mention a few basic facts about the texts of these chants from various epochs—facts which may serve as the nucleus of some future study in liturgical history that will make all clear. What I offer is the most accessible evidence for the early development of the genre by medieval writers—some dedicated Taoists, some apparently not—in religious odes without great pretensions to artistic merit, a development culminating in the completely personal and highly contrived literary versions of Wu Yün in the eighth century.

It was a natural belief that the music that accompanied these performances, and probably also the original texts and choreography, had a supernal origin. This assumption was certainly made at least by the fifth century, as is suggested by the following story:

Ch'en Ssu-wang 陳思王 of Wei 魏 strolled in the mountains, where suddenly he heard the sound of scriptures being intoned up within the sky-vault—clear and remote, relaxed but brilliant. Being a person who understood literary composition, he transcribed an imitation of it. As these were the sounds of divine transcendence, Gentlemen of the Tao reproduced them to make “Pacing the Void.”⁵⁴

Whatever modicum of truth underlies this wonderful tale, we know that “Pacing the Void” ceremonies were already an integral part of the fabric of Taoist practice in the fifth century, since Lu Hsiu-ching

⁵³ See *Pacing*, pp. 238–40, especially the illustration of *T'ien ti chiao t'ai Yü pu fa* 天地交泰禹步法 (1116) on p. 240. For a full account of the origins and development of the idea of walks among the stars in the Taoist scriptures, the reader is urged to consult Isabelle Robinet, “Randonnées extatiques des Taoïstes dans les astres,” *MS*, 32 (1976), 159–273.

⁵⁴ Liu Ching-shu 劉敬叔 (d.ca. 468), *I yüan* 異苑, quoted in Yeh T'ing-kuei 葉庭珪 (fl. 1140), *Hai lu sui shih* 海錄碎事 (1969 ed.), ch. 13a, p. 21a (p. 1765).

left a set of "Cantos on Pacing the Void" for use in public ceremonies.⁵⁵ Conceivably these were the "numinous strophes" (*ling chang* 靈章) which Lu Kuei-meng (d. ca. 881) alluded to as forming part of the "Purgation of Numen and Gem" (*ling pao chai* 靈寶齋) held on Mao Shan on the second day of the twelfth month in honor of the annual epiphanies of Mao Ying.⁵⁶

Before T'ang times, at any rate, the title "Cantos on Pacing the Void" came to be accepted as a regular "Music Archive" (*yüeh fu* 樂府) theme, and a fair number of literary compositions classified under this rubric have come down to us. That a considerable proportion of these were composed by writers with a predilection for the Taoist religion is probably not to be wondered at. The recognized corpus⁵⁷ consists of examples by Yü Hsin 庾信 (513–81), Yang Kuang 楊廣 (569–618), Ch'en Yü 陳羽 (fl. 806), Ku K'uang 顧況 (ca. 725–ca. 814), Liu Yü-hsi 劉禹錫 (772–842), Wei Ch'ü-mou 韋渠牟 (749–801), Chiao-jan 皎然 (fl. 760), Kao P'ien 高駢 (d. 887), and Ch'en T'ao 陳陶 (fl. 841), as well as those by Wu Yün himself.

Even a superficial reading of these variations on a theme brings quick recognition of a great difference between Wu Yün's ten poems and those of his predecessors, contemporaries, and successors. Although this difference is best exemplified in the total effect of each poem, it can also be illustrated with a sampling of diction and imagery. I have put together four arbitrary groups of phrases that characterize "Pacing the Void" poems *not* written by Wu Yün.

1. Expressions that display closer similarity to "Saunters in Sylphdom" (*yu hsien*) poems than do the versions of Wu Yün. Prominent among these are the word *hsien*, used either alone or in

⁵⁵ Lu Hsiu-ching, *Pu hsi tung chang* 步虛洞章. The title is listed in the bibliographic section of *TC*, and also in *Mao Shan chih* 茅山志 (*HY* 304), ch. 9, p. 11b. I do not know whether the ten cantos preserved in the scripture entitled *Tung hsüan ling pao yü ching shan pu hsü ching* 洞玄靈寶玉京山步虛經 (*HY* 1427) bear any relation to the master's own set. A different set of ten survives in *Yü yin fa shih* 玉音法事 (*HY* 607). The latter have been sung in Taiwan in the twentieth century (oral communication of K. M. Schipper).

⁵⁶ Lu Kuei-meng, "Kou-ch'ü Shan ch'ao chen tz'u" 句曲山朝真詞, *ChTS*, han 9, ts'e 10, ch. 5, p. 8b, translated in E. H. Schafer, *Mao Shan in T'ang Times*, Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, Occasional Monograph No. 1 (1980), p. 41.

⁵⁷ Collected, for instance, in *Yüeh fu shih chi* 樂府詩集 (*SPTK* ed.), 78. The majority of them were written during the T'ang period, and these may be consulted readily in *ChTS*, han 1, ts'e 7. Wu Yün's cantos can be found in *ChTS*, han 12, ts'e 6, pp. 7a–8b.

such combinations as “transcendent’s palace” (*hsien kung* 仙宮), along with expressions from proto-Taoist mythology—such terms as “thousand-year [old] crane” (*ch’ien nien ho* 千年鶴), “Weaving Woman’s home on the Sky Ho” (*t’ien ho chih nü chia* 天河織女家), and “the ten continents” (*shih chou* 十洲).

2. Abundant allusions to the Hsi Wang Mu 西王母, K’un-lun 崑崙, and P’eng-lai 蓬萊 chain of tropes, such as “Mystic Orchard” (*hsüan pu* 玄圃), “blue bird” (*ch’ing niao* 青鳥), Han Wu 漢武, “isles in the Watchet Sea” (*ts’ang hai tao* 滄海島), “mulberry fields” (*sang t’ien* 桑田) under the eastern sea, “Metal Mother” (*Chin Mu* 金母) and the like.

3. More solid, physical, visual, and sensuous images (in contrast to Wu Yün’s rich vocabulary of vapors, hazes, twinkles, glints, unidentifiable essences, and impalpable emanations). Examples are “an auroral pink couch, curtained with the Dipper in pearls” and “storax is their numinous aromatic.”⁵⁸ The first of these two verses refers to the bed of a Female Realized Person (*nü chen* 女真), whom Wu Yün would surely have placed in a more ethereal setting. The second tells of the parlor of other high divinities, reeking of storax rather than—as would be more natural to Wu Yün—vibrating with celestial light.

4. More references to ritual procedures and furniture shown in terrestrial settings, such as “the moon shines over the altar,” and “he looks up and regards the starry dipper—does reverence to the hollow void.”⁵⁹ Both of these verses allude to typical midnight ceremonies focused on the powers that reside in the Great Dipper. Even more liturgy-bound are such lines as Ku K’uang’s reference to a “cosmodrama (*chiao* 醮) for the starry chronograms.”⁶⁰

The personas of Wu Yün’s sacred stanzas aspire to much higher realms than the stratosphere inhabited by the *hsien*, and they no longer need the ritual drama to boost them into the far reaches of space. They are not satisfied to fly up through the air, or even to penetrate the void—Wu Yün’s adepts dash like rockets into the “Great Silence.” Where the “flying transcendents” are proud to

⁵⁸ Wei Ch’ü-mou, “Pu hsü tz’u,” nos. 12 and 13, in *ChTS*, *han* 1, *ts’e* 7, *ch.* 13, pp. 9b–10a.

⁵⁹ Ch’en Yü, “Pu hsü tz’u,” *ChTS*, *han* 1, *ts’e* 7, *ch.* 13, p. 8b.

⁶⁰ Ku K’uang, “Pu hsü tz’u,” *ChTS*, *han* 1, *ts’e* 7, *ch.* 13, p. 8b.

harness the sun and moon, Wu Yün's space-rovers take charge of the cosmic generator.

Here is a specimen culled from Wei Ch'ü-mou's set of nineteen "Cantos on Pacing the Void"—rather crudely rendered—to illustrate the contributions of Wu Yün's rivals, if such they really are.⁶¹

All at once feathered insignia push aside the haze—
Lord Su has at last achieved transcendence!
He commands the wind, goads on both sun and moon—
Shrinking the land, he runs over mountains and rivers.

In how many places shall I linger by cinnabar crucibles?
In what season shall I plant my fields of jade?
That, on a certain morning, I may straddle the White Tiger—
And rise straight up to the Heaven of Purple Tenuity.

I would interpret the canto as follows:

The winged emblems of divine beings appear through the swirling clouds:

Lord Su has broken through the barrier to the supernal world.

He rises in a divine carriage, powered by an astral pneuma, and speeds up the passage of time, represented by the markers of days and nights;

Similarly he gains control of space, dwarfing the landscape into a mere bonsai.

But still I potter hopeless around my laboratory, a failed Faust.

When shall I achieve a crop of the elixir which will unite me with the jade maidens in their crystalline sky palaces?

On that day I may be swept upward by "White Tiger" (alchemist's jargon for quicksilver)—

To traverse the skies in an instant, and to begin eternal life in the Palace of the Pole Star.

(Wei Ch'ü-mou's "Pacing" poems are notab'y rich in alchemical imagery.)

⁶¹ No. 5. Wei Ch'ü-mou has left us more of them than any other single author.

Now a doggerel parody:

Now peacock wands dispel the clouds and mist—
 Invite the Master Meteorologist;
 He rushes upward with the speed of light,
 While lands and oceans shrink beneath his flight!

But here I heat my athanor in vain—
 No indication of Divine Cocaine.
 Yet still I trust that some day I may fly
 Up to my magic mansion in the sky!

On the average then, "Pacing the Void" cantos not written by Wu Yün⁶² are simpler in conception than his; they are more obviously liturgical or alchemical, and directed towards priestly demonstrations and exhibitions—or else they are little more than rhymed versions of ancient fairy tales. At their worst they may seem pedestrian and even paltry when compared with those of Wu Yün, whose confections are not so closely tied to the ritual arena or to alchemical models of cosmic process. Wu Yün's poems are more private, more ecstatic, even to the point of incredibility and extravagance. To put it just in terms of vocabulary, where other poets in this mode draw on such books as the *Shen hsien chuan* 神仙傳 and older *yu hsien* poetry, Wu Yün exploits the Taoist arcana, above all the prime Mao Shan handbook, *Huang t'ing ching* 黃庭經.⁶³

The Decad of Wu Yün

Each of Wu Yün's ten cantos exploits some segments of an underlying plot or scenario, while minimizing or omitting others. Each is a partial realization, in the form of a specific libretto, of this ideal structure. The problem of describing the complete skeleton is susceptible of various solutions. The following program in five scenes should serve fairly well:

Scene One, Halfway House: briefing at the world-mountain

⁶² In this group we must also include anonymous examples in *TT* and those used in modern Taiwan. For an example of the latter, see K. M. Schipper, *Le Fen-teng; Rituel Taoïste*, Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. ciii (Paris, 1975), p. 19.

⁶³ For a preliminary characterization of the breathless style which Wu Yün attains, see *Pacing*, pp. 244–46. This estimate is based solely on the evidence of his *yu hsien* poems.

K'un-lun, usually with initiatory banquets and other pleasant passage rites. (This initial phase is shared with most *yu hsien* poems, in which it is dominant.)

Scene Two, Departure: lift-off, usually from K'un-lun, but once from the lower sky-palace *T'ai wei kung* 太微宮 (Palace of Great Tenuity).

Scene Three, Flight: the transit of lower levels of space, sometimes figured as a voyage through the interior of the adept's own body; the repulsion of evil spirits may enliven the safari.

Scene Four, Arrival: introduction to the glorious company of realized beings at the palace of the universal king at the celestial pole.

Scene Five, Revelation: ultimate secrets are discovered; things beyond conception are explored towards the vanishing point.

My analyses of the ten poems follow. Each consists of a fairly literal translation, followed by a prosaic paraphrase and an interpretation in poems of mock heroic couplets. A formulaic indication of which one of the five scenes is prominent in the canto is appended.

CANTO ONE

The host of transcendents looks up to the Numinous Template.⁶⁴
Dignified equipages—to the Levee of the Divine Genitor.⁶⁵
Golden phosphors shed astitial light on them.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ "Numinous Template" (*ling fan* 靈範) is evidently the master pattern of the cosmos, a kind of Platonic prototype of the phenomenal world, displayed as the array of asterisms.

⁶⁵ "Divine Genitor" (*shen tsung* 神宗) is an ancient term for a royal ancestor. It occurs in *Shu ching*, "Ta Yü mu" 大禹謨, where it represents, by metonymy, the ancestral temple in which Shun bestowed supreme secular authority on Yü. Here, the sense of personified divinity has been stripped away; the reference is to the sublime author and governor of the universe.

⁶⁶ "Phosphor" stands for *ching* 景, a spectacular and auspicious light in the sky (*Pacing*, pp. 6 and 182). Hence *erh ching* 二景 "The Two Phosphors": the sun and the moon in their noumenal aspect. These are examples of the "external phosphors" (*wai ching* 外景), other-identities of the material concentrations of spiritual energy in the microcosm—the "internal phosphors" (*nei ching* 內景) of the human body. (*Ching* is cognate to *ying* 影 "light-produced replica; silhouette; etc.") See Rolf Homann, *Die wichtigsten Körpergott-heiten im Huang-t'ing ching* (Göppingen, 1971), and Max Kaltenmark, "'Ching' yü 'pa ching'" 景與八景, *Fukui hakase shōju kinen tōyō bunka ronshū* 福井博士頌壽記念東洋文化論集 (1969), pp. 1147–54. It is gradually becoming apparent that Wu Yün's vision is not only of the transit of outer space, but of a mystical journey through the adept's own body.

By a long, circuitous route, they ascend to the Grand Hollow.⁶⁷

The Seven Occults have already flown high.⁶⁸

Refinement by fire is engendered in the Vermilion Palace.⁶⁹

The "golden phosphors" of our text—the stars and the planets—are reflected in the carriage-lights. They also have their somatic equivalents. For this particular journey to the ultimate palace, the suitable conveyance is an "Eight Phosphor Palanquin" (*pa ching yü* 八景輿), with each phosphor corresponding to one of the eight directions—beacons shining, as it were, into all corners of the universe. These divine lamps are also sources of motive power, as Wu Yün tells us in his "Yu hsien shih" 遊仙詩 No. 8: "Eight phosphors move the flying palanquin." The carriage is enveloped in purple, green, and white clouds, the heraldic colors of the three immaculate ladies of the dawn. See Canto Six below, and especially *Shang ch'ing pa tao pi yen t'u* 上清八道秘言圖 (HY 430).

⁶⁷ "Grand Hollow" (*t'ai k'ung* 太空), like *t'ai hsia* 太霞 "Grand Aurora" and others, appears to have a cosmographic reference, albeit an imprecise one by our standards. (In this it is unlike such cosmogonic expressions as *t'ai shih* 太始 and *t'ai chi* 太極. See *Pacing*, pp. 25–30.) The term occurs in one of the songs of the Lady of Ts'ang-lang ("Ts'ang lang yün lin yu ying fu-jen" 滄浪雲林右英夫人) in *Chen kao* 真誥 (HY 1010), 4, 5b, where the goddess imagines dancing (incomprehensibly) on the mountain passes of Grand Hollow. It is the space that must be traversed to reach the royal palaces in the stars of the Dipper. (*T'ai shang fei hsing chiu shen yü ching* 太上飛行九神玉經, in *YCCC*, 20, 306–11). A grand musical entertainment at the K'un-lun palace, attended by Hsi Wang Mu and Shang yüan fu-jen 上元夫人, is said to fill the Grand Hollow (see Wu Yün, "Yu hsien," No. 20 in *ChTS*, *han* 12, *ts'e* 6, p. 3b). Note especially: "The entire cycle of simulacra [i.e., asterisms] revolves in the Grand Hollow"; *Wu shang miao tao wen shih chen ching* 無上妙道文始真經 (= *Kuan yin tzu* 關尹子) (HY 667), 2. In short, Grand Hollow is the locus of the stellar mansions.

⁶⁸ "Seven Occults" (*ch'i hsüan* 七玄) occurs in *HTC*, section 33. It represents, on the macrocosmic level, the "Seven Primes" (*ch'i yüan* 七元), that is, the seven stars of the Dipper, and in the human microcosm, the "Seven Orifices" (*ch'i ch'iao* 七竅) of the body. The analogy is based on the belief that the stars are illuminated apertures in the firmament.

⁶⁹ "Refinement by fire" (*huo lien* 火鍊) is a common theme in Wu Yün's writing. See, for instance, his *Hsüan kang lun*, whose fourteenth strophe bears the title "Refining *yin* by means of *yang*," and begins with the definition "*yang* is fire." "Refine" is either *lien* 煉 or *lien* 鍊, in either case an image taken from metallurgy, denoting the removal of the dross from the ore, to leave only the pure and precious metal behind, as in the removal of the lead and sulphur from galena—that is, rejecting the bulk of the mineral to leave the minute but valuable trace of silver behind. It is purgation by fire: the burning away of the dross. (For more on *lien*, whose cognate is *lien* 練 "to whiten raw silk by cooking," see E. H. Schafer, "Three Divine Women of South China," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 1 [1979], 33, n. 9.) The application of this expression to religious discipline appears to be very old, and particularly characteristic of the Ling Pao scriptures, although by no means incompatible with Mao Shan practices and beliefs, as Wu Yün's writings demonstrate. The point was particularly well made in Michel Strickmann, "The Taoist Renaissance of the Twelfth Century" (unpublished paper presented at the Third International Conference of Taoist Studies, Unterägeri, Switzerland, Sept. 3–9, 1979). This compatibility of dogmas, already noted by a number of scholars, is illustrated for the T'ang by the fact that Wei

The surplus of felicity extends from sky to loam.⁷⁰
 Tranquillity and harmony infuse the Kingly Way.⁷¹
 The Eight Daunters clarify the roving pneumas.⁷²
 The Ten Distinctions dance in the auspicious winds.⁷³
 They permit *me* to scale the font of *yang*.⁷⁴

Ching-chao 韋景昭, the fourteenth Mao Shan patriarch, a contemporary of Wu Yün, had been a dedicated Ling Pao practitioner before moving to Mao Shan.

"Vermilion Palace" (*chu kung* 朱宮) is, in the macrocosm, the palace of the universal sovereign on Jade Capital Mountain (*yü ching shan* 玉京山) at the Metropolis of the Grand Arcana (*t'ai hsüan tu* 太玄都). According to the Highest Clarity tradition, the vermilion palace was also, in the microcosm, the human heart with its supply of red blood, irradiated and enriched by the fiery *yang* plasmas emitted by the stars, which purge and vitalize it. There is a different emphasis in the Ling Pao tradition in which the high deities convene at the Vermilion Palace on the 24th day of each month, to review charges against souls languishing in the bleak northern realms of the dead. (See *Tung hsüan ching* 洞玄經, quoted in *WSPY*, 22, 15b-16a.)

⁷⁰ "Sky and loam" (*t'ien jang* 天壤) are heaven and earth. The term is analogous to *t'ien ti* 天地), but lays greater stress on composition and contents: ethereal depths and fruitful soil; to be contrasted with a plain topographical expression: the blue cupola above and the varied terrain below.

⁷¹ The *locus classicus* of "Kingly Way" is *Shu ching*, "Hung fan" 洪範; the chapter title is undoubtedly the source of Wu Yün's *ling fan* above. *Yung* 融 "fuse," an image of smelting, refers obliquely to refining by fire.

⁷² "The Eight Daunters" (*pa wei* 八威) are the spirits of the Eight Trigrams (*pa kua* 八卦), and the policemen of the eight directions. See *Lao tzu chung ching* 老子中經 (*HY* 1160; also *YCCC*, 18, 274). See also *HTC*, section 4, where, in the microcosm, the octet clears the throat to make easy the passage of the saliva down into the red palace of the heart. In short, the Daunters are cosmic sergeants-at-arms, a divine Highway Patrol, flushers of the celestial flyways, reamers of the conduits of the human body. They facilitate passage and also purify the path. They are given the status of Highest Clarity divinities of the fourth rank in *CLWYT*, p. 16b. Compare Wu Yün's own usage in his "Yu hsien" No. 23 (*ChTS*, *han* 12, *ts'e* 6, p. 4a): "Loosing your person above the Grand Aurora, beyond comprehension—floating in the midst of the void," immediately followed by "The Eight Daunters open up a passage ahead," in a context where it is clear that their function is to facilitate the adept's transit of the stars. (The Grand Aurora is discussed in my unpublished paper "Taoist Cosmology: The Example of the Grand Aurora (*T'ai hsia* 太霞)," presented at the Third International Conference of Taoist Studies, Unterägeri, Switzerland, Sept. 3-9, 1979, p. 36.)

⁷³ "Ten Distinctions" represents *shih chüeh* 十絕. I use "distinction" in its heraldic sense. These are the insignia of the Soters of the Ten Directions in the Ling Pao pantheon, and, by metonymy, those mystic entities themselves. (See *HTC*, section 28, and *Tu jen ching* 度人經 (*HY* 1), 6a-7a.) Compare the usage of Lu Kuei-meng in his "Sui san yüeh shih pa jih . . ." 歲三一月一八日 . . . , *ChTS*, *han* 9, *ts'e* 10, *ch.* 5, p. 8b, which tells of a divine assembly at Mao Shan: "The bänderoles of the Ten Distinctions wave."

⁷⁴ *TT* has *yüan* 原 "plain"; *ChTS* prefers *yüan* 源 "font." I find an example of *yang yüan* 陽原 in Wang Ch'iu 王丘 (8th century), "Feng ho sheng chih . . . Shu ch'üeh ku chih

This comes from my *yin* achievements.⁷⁵

Footloose and fancy-free—above the Grand Aurora.⁷⁶

tso” 奉和聖製 . . . 鼠雀谷之作, *ChTS*, *han* 2, *ts'e* 6, p. 4a, in the mundane sense of “sunlit plain.” I have a comparable instance of “*yang* font.” It appears to be equivalent to the Font of the Fashioner of Mutations (in Canto Nine below). The “me” of this verse is decidedly emphatic, as if the adept was expressing wonder at his elevation.

⁷⁵ The expression *yin kung* 陰功 is prominent in the writings of Wu Yün, both the authentic ones and the possibly spurious ones, particularly (among the latter) the *Nan t'ung ta chün nei tan chiu chang ching*. The need for “*yin* virtue” (*yin te* 陰德) was stated emphatically by the Lady of Cloudy Forest (Yün lin yu fu-jen 雲林右夫人), one of the female spirits who appeared to the visionary Yang Hsi 楊羲. (See Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭, *Yung ch'eng chi hsien lu* 壺城集仙錄 [*HY* 782], 5, 2a and 4b, in *YCCC*, 98, 1347a). The admonition follows an oburgation against sexual passion. T'ang sources make this kind of achievement prerequisite for elevation in the world of spirits, a special feature of the Cheng I adepts at Sung Shan, where Wu Yün was first trained. P'an Shih-cheng was its most celebrated advocate (*TS*, 196, 7a; *CTS*, 192, 7a). Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen, priest, poet, politician, and twelfth Mao Shan patriarch, was given the honorific title “Prior Born of Cheng I” 正一先生, although his activities were chiefly associated with Wang Wu Shan 王屋山. (For more on Cheng I in T'ang see E. H. Schafer, *Mao Shan in T'ang Times*, pp. 39–40.) Wu Yün himself, in “Yu hsien shih” no. 5, wrote, “How can he not be distinguished for his *yin* achievements, and so be made to ascend in the day's white light?” Comparable to this is the assertion of Sun Ssu-miao 孫思邈 that when *yin* achievements, which are attained before *yang* virtues, are sufficiently amassed, registers (*chi* 籍) will descend from the Northern Dipper. (“Ssu yen shih” 四言詩, in *ChTS*, *han* 12, *ts'e* 7, pp. 1a–1b). Without being any more specific about the nature of these techniques, the anonymous preface to the *Nan t'ung ta chün nei tan chiu chang ching* outlines the procedure in very general terms, beginning with the study of the arts of fate-control (*ming shu* 命術) in order to prolong one's earthly life; then the cultivation of *yin* virtues as a precondition of separation from the material world. Tuan Ch'eng-shih 段成式 describes these gradual achievements in terms of generations of rebirth, with terms of service in the underworld. (See *Yu yang tsa tsu* 酉陽雜俎 [*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.], 2, 9. Cf. Michel Strickmann, “The Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching,” in *Facets of Taoism* [Yale Univ. Press, 1979], pp. 182–83, which points out the antiquity of the belief that the Mao Shan adept could choose to spend a ghostly term in the underworld of T'ai Yin 太陰 in order to build up an immortal body.) The art of gaining control of one's status and perfection in the world of matter takes a somewhat different turn in Wu Yün's essay, “Hsing shen k'o ku lun,” where the exploitation of *yin* power is a prerequisite of graduation to the world of pure *yang*. Here *yin* is correlated with body (*hsing* 形), and *yang* with spirit (*shen* 神); there are also explicit sexual references, such as “man needs woman.” (See especially the sections “Yang hsing” 養形 and “Shou shen” 守神.) Evidently the uses of *yin* took more than one form.

⁷⁶ “Footloose and fancy-free” is, of course, Chuang-tzu's *hsiao-yao* 逍遙. The ethereal realm named “Grand Aurora” is perfused by the energetic radiation emitted from the source of sunlight (*yang*). “On this nebulous frontier the adept may perceive supernal beings seemingly clothed in the illusory colors that characterize the world of the senses . . . small, fleeting ejecta—torn loose, as it were, from the Grand Aurora itself, that vast, almost ineffable kingdom of light” (Schafer, “Taoist Cosmology: The Example of The Grand Aurora,” pp. 36–37).

The Speculum of Truth penetrates everywhere.⁷⁷

The persona envisages throngs of divine beings approaching the nucleus of the universe; they look up with awe at the starry firmament; in trance he becomes one of their number. The heavenly retinues, shining with magical lamps, converge on the high court of the Heaven-honored Prime Initiator (*Yüan shih t'ien tsun* 元始天尊). The mysterious asterisms, emblems of invisible powers, illuminate his passage. They proceed through the intricate network of astral paths towards the realm of the most powerful star deities. The adept's corporeal apertures have merged with their other-identities—the stars of the Dipper: he can now draw freely on the astral fires. His heart is united with the glowing star-palace at the celestial pole. All mortal dross is melted away. Macrocosm and microcosm become identical. So much spiritual energy is developed that its benefits expand through the cosmos, like the ejecta from a supernova, to the equal profit of the houses of the gods and the farms of men. The divine plan is realized with the perfect balance and harmonization of *yin* and *yang* along the heavenly king's highway and its earthly replica; this is both the Road taken by the exalted adept—and also the Tao. The divine way-purgers clear discordant vapors and plasmas from his path. The sublime potentates approach from the summit of heaven, attended by orderly and refreshing ethers. These supreme powers give access to the ultimate source of vitality. Elevation to the high world of *yang* comes as the result of a life dedicated to the mastery of *yin*. The adept is free to traverse the shining world of pure *yang* without hindrance. The universe is revealed to him as it really is.

Angelic hosts approach the starry dome;
 Their goal—the Cosmoplast's eternal home.
 Their way is lit by lamps of shining gold;
 Their road is long through Space's utter cold.
 The Heav'nly Wain shows seven orbs above;
 My heart is fired with self-consuming love.
 Ethereal grace pervades the universe;
 Unruly spirits, mortified, disperse.
 The Stern Octet sweeps barriers away;
 The Tenfold Phalanx makes a brave display.
 I now approach the fount of all that's blest;
 I win the prize of my devoted quest.
 I wander free beyond the morning light,
 To seek the truth within the realm of night.

Realized Scenario: flight; revelation.

⁷⁷ "Speculum of Truth" (*chen chien* 真鑑), like "Numinous Template," appears to be a hapax legomenon—but appearances can be illusory.

CANTO TWO

Reins relaxed, I mount to Purple Clarity;⁷⁸
 Borne by the light—overtaking the fleet lightning.⁷⁹
 “Wind on the Fells” is sundered from the Three Heavens;⁸⁰
 But looking aloft, they seem to be visible.
 The porch of jade! whence effulgences stream out widely;
 The rose-gem forest—a jungle of fresh, rich verdure.⁸¹
 Unless one is conspicuously golden-boned,⁸²
 How may one be accordant with the long-standing wish?
 My realized comrades—what a dense crowd!⁸³

⁷⁸ The Palace of Purple Clarity is, according to an early source, the residence of the Realized Lady named Wang 王, younger sister of Wang Ch'iao 王喬, divine lord of the hidden palace of T'ien T'ai, in his Highest Clarity transmogrification (*WSPY*, 22, 13b, citing *Tung chen ching* 洞真經 and *Tao chi ching* 道跡經; *CLWYT*, p. 7a). “Purple Clarity” also forms part of the titles of at least two other Highest Clarity deities—one male and one female (*CLWYT*, pp. 3a and 6a). The epithet “purple” in this hierarchical designation signifies, as usual, polar centrality. Evidently we have to do with a Highest Clarity aspect of the multifaceted and many-mansioned condominium encircling Polaris.

⁷⁹ Here light, as amply shown in Canto One, supplies motive power.

⁸⁰ “Wind on the Fells” (*lang feng* 閭風) is one of the heights of K'un-lun; some sources say it corresponds to the Mystic Orchard (*hsüan pu* 玄圃). Here the visionary is shown poised on this loftiest of earthly summits, about to ascend into the divine realms above. The Three Heavens are the Heaven of Clarified Tenuity (*ch'ing wei t'ien* 清微天), corresponding to the realm of Jade Clarity; the Heaven of Yü's Leavings (*Yü yü t'ien* 禹餘天), corresponding to the realm of Highest Clarity; and the Heaven of Great Redness (*ta ch'ih t'ien* 大赤天), corresponding to the realm of Great Clarity.

⁸¹ “Rose-gem” stands for *ch'ung* 瓊, an archaic gem name, whose precise reference was lost by medieval times. A number of glosses and contexts indicate that before Han it was a semiprecious red stone, possibly an old name for carnelian (cf. *Yü p'ien*: “a red gemstone” [*ch'ih yü yeh* 赤玉也]). The common pair *ch'ung yao* 瓊瑤 is one of many elegant substitutes for the basic *tan ch'ing* 丹青. But some medieval writers appear to be unaware of this ruddy connotation. For some it has been bleached to the sense of “fine, white precious stone, such as the most precious jade.” One Taoist source makes the Palace of the Rose-gem Forest the residence of the divinity Hua ying t'ien wang 化應天王 (*WSPY*, 21, 2b, citing *Tung chen ching*). Here it probably represents the jewelled gardens surrounding the complex of celestial mansions.

⁸² Golden (or possibly metallic) bones are characteristic of adepts whose immortal body is already near completion, and are accordingly about to shed their mortal flesh, to be reborn among the stars. Perfected beings are physically more like inorganic crystalline substance (especially precious stones and metals) than like organic creatures.

⁸³ Cf. Wu Yün's “Teng chen fu” 登真賦 (*Tsung yüan hsien sheng wen chi* [HY 1045], and *CTW*, 925, 6b), in which the transfigured adept, achieving the Golden Pylons of the Illustrious One of the Void, discovers “realized comrades densely crowded—beyond counting.”

The paired phosphors allow indulgence in picnics and parties.⁸⁴
 Forgetful in such goodly company, I protract my stay.
 A thousand ages—only an eye's wink.⁸⁵

The adept envisages himself borne, without needing to guide his vehicle, towards the polar palace. The source of both power and direction is a form of light, swifter than lightning. He has taken off from the most exalted spot on earth—the tip of the world-axis. He is confident that his celestial goal lies just ahead. He seems to see the radiation of *yang* from the high palace. He pictures the palatial homes of the gods, with gardens like diadems, in the holy capital. If he had not finished the smelting and welding of his new incorruptible frame, he could hardly have aspired to this destiny. Now, having arrived at the paradisaean court, he is treated as an equal by the throng of transcendent courtiers. Here sun and moon shine unceasingly—illuminating uninterrupted festivities. He forgets the passage of time in this delightful ambience—and indeed time has no meaning in the realm of eternity.

My robot guide points to the Purple Pole;
 Speedy as light, my motive aureole.
 Wafted aloft, earth's central peak below,
 I seem to see the Triple Heavens' glow.
 A jewelled porch discharges glorious rays;
 A gemmy parkland meets my dazzled gaze.
 My body, turned to everlasting gold,
 Will flourish here, as sacred books foretold.
 Around me stands a packed transcendent throng;
 Here unknown suns our happy days prolong.
 Among these ageless saints I long to stay,
 While eons pass—to us, one idle day.

Realized Scenario: flight; arrival.

CANTO THREE

The Three Palaces emit luminous phosphors;⁸⁶
 So brilliant that they are equal to "Steaming Regalia."⁸⁷

⁸⁴ For "paired phosphors" see n. 66 above.

⁸⁵ The trope of the compressibility of both time and space for the perfected person is a constant in Taoist imagery.

⁸⁶ They are the palaces of the three heavenly demesnes, for which see Canto Two. They also correspond to the three primary regions in the human organism.

⁸⁷ "Steaming Regalia" for *yü i* 鬱儀 is hardly more than a mere possibility as a translation, being quite uninformed. This esoteric expression is the name of the spirit who courses with the sun. His mate is "Knotted Spangles" (*chieh lin* 結璘) who runs with the moon. (See *HTC*, section 36; this seems to be the *locus classicus*. See also the detailed ac-

I guide the impetuous tempest in motley tumult,⁸⁸
 And pluck a panicle of hollow bice from above.⁸⁹
 It causes me to be permeated with the color of gold;
 A radiant rose-gem figure in these latter-day skies.⁹⁰
 My heart is in harmony with the quiet of the Grand Void:⁹¹

count in *YCCC*, ch. 23, especially pp. 350–51.) Isabelle Robinet has commented rather fully on these two entities who, by metonymy, become emblems of the pneumas of the sun and moon inhaled by the adept, and so represent “true fire” and “true water” respectively. The exercises which lead to their inspiration, so important in the Highest Clarity tradition, occupy a section of the *Chiu chen chung ching* 九真中經 which survives in part in *HY* 1356 and 1366. (The relevant section is known elsewhere as “Hidden Text on Coursing the Two Phosphors, Sun and Moon” [Pen jih yüeh erh ching yin wen 奔日月二景隱文].) This technique enables the adept to learn the names of the solar (male) and lunar (female) divinities. This form of meditation is closely associated with the name of Lord P’ei (*Ch’ing ling chen jen P’ei chün* 清靈真人裴君) and the body of doctrine associated with his name, venerable in Mao Shan belief and practice. See Isabelle Robinet, “Introduction au Kieou-tchen tchong-king,” *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Chinese Religions*, No. 7 (Fall, 1979), pp. 30–32.

⁸⁸ The reference is to a “tempest car” (*piao ch’e* 飈車) that transports divine beings to a celestial rendezvous in a swirl of prismatic vapors. The “tempest” is a manifestation of the white pneuma of the moon, which invigorates the breath in the adept’s lungs; in iconography this double breath takes the form of a pair of dragons that pull the adept’s vehicle up into the sky. See Robinet, p. 34.

⁸⁹ “Hollow bice” (*k’ung ch’ing* 空青) is gem azurite in hollow nodules; here they constitute the flowers of a divine tree, displayed overhead in drooping fronds. In accordance with the law of correspondences, these cavities are external manifestations of the seven apertures of the head—which in turn correspond, at least metaphorically, to the seven holes of a flute. See *HTC*, section 4. The stars, in Taoist thought, were also holes, and here, ultimately, we have the seven powerful stars of the Dipper. (Compare Yü Hsin, in one of his “Pacing the Void” cantos: “Hollow bice makes up an entire forest.” See *Yüeh fu shih chi*, 78, 5b.)

⁹⁰ For “rose-gem,” see n. 81 above. Possibly we have to do here with an image of pure whiteness, symbolic of the element Metal, rather than phenomenal gold; or possibly both at once, at different levels of imagery. “Latter-day skies” is *hou t’ien* 後天, representing the universe since the differentiation of the *t’ai chi* era, before which only the eternal deities existed—the era of *hsien t’ien* 先天.

⁹¹ “Grand Void” (*t’ai hsiü* 太虛), or possibly “Grand Barrens”—an expression which connotes “unoccupied; deserted; etc.”—is one of the many phrases plundered from the pre-Han classics and given a new sense in medieval Taoism (see *Pacing*, p. 29). The *locus classicus* in *Chuang tzu*, “Chih pei yu” 知北遊 suggests a remote wasteland, not necessarily beyond the sky. Already by the fourth century it referred to the indescribable reaches of outer space, or even to a particular aspect of them. But some writers continued to use the expression in a rather careless way, as if it were synonymous with *t’ai k’ung*, or even with *t’ien*. But the more sophisticated usage is suggested in the commentary of Li Chou-han 李周翰 (fl. 718) on the term as it is used in Sun Ch’o 孫綽, “Yu T’ien T’ai fu” 遊天臺賦. He glosses it “coalesced pneumas” (*hun ch’i* 渾氣) (*Liu ch’en chu wen hsiüan* 六臣註文選, 11,

Rarefied and inscrutable—in the end, how to be conceived?
 Within this Mystery there is the utmost happiness;⁹²
 Calm, at rest—from beginning to end, no artifice.
 Only in the company of a perfectly realized friend,
 A wind-born waif, I am free to ramble at pleasure.⁹³

Preternatural light streams down from each level of heaven. The sky palaces are as dazzling as the sun itself. The adept is whisked aloft in a vehicle powered by divine breaths. From his new lofty position, control of cosmic sources of energy is an easy matter; he can grasp them as negligently as a stroller on earth who reaches up to a berry-laden branch. The emanations from the celestial furnaces refine his organism to its quintessential purity, as gold is refined in a crucible. So, despite his mortal origin, he joins the ranks of incorruptible, timeless beings. He is assimilated to the mysterious creative source of being; although he is united with it, it is beyond his or anyone's conception. But in this ineffable state lies the joy he has always longed for. In the realm of pure light, the distinctions that characterize the created world do not exist. With beings of like perfection, total liberation is at last possible.

A spectral radiation from on high
 Outshines the solar disk that lights our sky.
 Prismatic auras raise my weightless car
 Past spangled fronds—each sapphire bloom a star.
 The constellations pour out golden flame:
 Immortal tinctures fortify my frame.

6a). This sense is evident in many T'ang poems, as when Meng Hao-jan 孟浩然 writes "Grand Void gave birth to the lunar nimbus," and Li Ch'ün-yü 李羣玉 writes of "idle clouds out in the Grand Void" (translations from *Pacing*, p. 30). Many examples such as these indicate that "Grand Void" is not merely a stylish substitute for "Grand Hollow" (*t'ai k'ung*), for which see n. 67 above. The latter, as noted, represents the roomy emptiness populated by the stars. In contrast, Grand Void has an active, generative character: it secretes, precipitates, or exudes pneumas (*ch'i*), which appear to men as clouds, mists, solar haloes, and other such tenuous phenomena; it is this same rarefied stuff which congeals into stars, comets, and other inhabitants of the void. This creative aspect of Grand Void, which we understand to be a kind of eternal reservoir of the Primal Pneuma (*yüan ch'i* 元氣), the building material of the Fashioner of Creatures (*tsao wu che* 造物者), is shown by its association with the *yang* energy; it is the polar opposite of Grand Vortex (*t'ai yüan* 太淵), which bears the same relationship to *yin* energy. A scripture example is provided by *T'ai shang fei hsing chiu shen yü ching* 太上飛星九神玉經 (YCCC, 20, 300–302; corresponding to HY 428, in which the *shen* of the YCCC title is replaced by *chen* 真), which is a guide to the spirits of the stars of the Dipper and their residences. It tells us repeatedly that the energy of these star-spirits, in its own unique fashion, traverses the Grand Void (*ch'ien t'ung t'ai hsü* 潛洞太虛).

⁹² *Hsüan* 玄 "mystery" (from "murk") suggests impenetrable either by the senses or by the mind.

⁹³ For "free to" I follow the *tsung* 從 of *TT* rather than the *san* 散 of *CTW*.

Harmonious ethers penetrate my breast;
 But their high source still lies beyond my quest.
 Mysterious though this fair demesne may be,
 Unalloyed joy and rest have come to me.
 Accompl'ied by a true, eternal friend
 I tread galactic meadows without end.

Realized Scenario: flight; arrival.

CANTO FOUR

My quiddity is transmuted, congealing the genuine Pneuma;⁹⁴
 I have refined my form, made myself a realized transcendent.⁹⁵
 My oblivious heart tallies with the Primal Genitor;⁹⁶
 I have reverted to my roots—in harmony with spontaneity.⁹⁷
 The Thearchic Monad perches in his Rose-gold Palace;⁹⁸

⁹⁴ That is, the adept's reconstituted being, free of dross, is now only a condensation of the Primal Pneuma as the latter is manifest in the present world.

⁹⁵ For "refined" (*lien* 鍊), see n. 69 above.

⁹⁶ "Tallies with" (*fu* 符) means to match exactly, like the two halves of an official tally. "Primal Genitor" (*yüan tsung* 元宗) doubtless refers to the same creative entity as does the "divine genitor" of Canto One.

⁹⁷ Compare verse ten of Canto Three, which says this in a different way.

⁹⁸ "Rose-gold [or flame-orange] Palace" (*chiang kung* 絳宮) is the microcosmic palace of the heart. See Homann, p. 58. "Rose-gold" represents the elevated and specialized use of the word *chiang* 絳 in Taoist literature. Originally this was the name of a pigment made by mixing a red substance with yellow gambodge—in short, it corresponded to some hue between "orange" and "scarlet." But the word has also been defined in Chinese as "like the color of the emerging sun." This flamelike color appears repeatedly both in Taoist poetry and in the canonical scriptures, where it tends to replace such active images of "red" as *tan* 丹 "cinnabar" (alchemical overtones) and *hsia* 霞 "auroral pink" (cosmic overtones). For instance, the Heavenly Thearch of Prime Initiation (*Yüan shih t'ien ti* 元始天帝) can be identified by his costume, which has lappets of *tan Chiang* 丹絳 ("cinnabar-orange") and an "auroral pink" (*hsia*) cloak, sewn with pearls (*T'ai chi chin shu* 太極全書, in *T'ai p'ing yü lan* 太平御覽, otherwise known as *Yü p'ei tang ching* 玉珮瑤經 [HY 56], an important early scripture, quoted in WSPY.). *Chiang* represents, in the symbolic language of religion, a rutilant, divine color, the visible energy of the solar energy *yang*. The "Thearchic Monad" of this verse (*ti i* 帝—) is the astral version of the supreme deity, particularly active in the human microcosm, where his role is that of a unifier; he coordinates the astral energies operating in the adept's body into a harmonious unit. He appears prominently in a section of a basic Highest Clarity text, as preserved in YCCC, 42, the *Ts'un Ta tung chen ching san shih chiu chang fa* 存大洞真經三十九章法, where he is styled "Realized Lord of the Thearchic Monad" (*ti i chen chün* 帝—真君) and "Revered Lord of the Thearchic Monad" (*ti i tsun chün* 帝—尊君). Inter alia, this text offers a tempting vision: "I [the adept] shall ascend to [the realm of] Jade Dawn (*yü ch'en* 玉晨) in the

Streaming light issues from Cinnabar Murk.⁹⁹

"Nonpareil" along with "Lord Peach,"¹⁰⁰

[Sing] brilliant odes from the folios of long life.

The Six Archives glitter with a luminous aurora;¹⁰¹

The Hundred Junctions are netted in purple mist.¹⁰²

My tempest car traverses the endless expanse;¹⁰³

Slowly and steadily I am transported, mounted on the phosphors.¹⁰⁴

I am unaware of the distance on the clouded road;¹⁰⁵

company of the Thearchic Monad" (ibid., p. 603). The *ch'en* of this expression is the first flush of dawn in the dark eastern sky; it symbolizes the ultimate source of *yang* energy, which itself appears as the auroral flush (*hsia*). "Jade Dawn" occurs in the titles of the very highest deities, with the implication of "seated at the very source of creative power"; for instance, it occurs among the epithets of the supreme ruler of the demesne of Highest Clarity, "The Great Tao Lord of Mystic Glory at the Jade Source of Light" (*Yü ch'en hsüan huang ta tao chün* 玉晨玄皇大道君) (CLWYT, p. 2a). The Thearchic Monad has alternate external residences in Kochab (β Ursa Minoris), a star usually known simply as "Thearch" (*ti* 帝), or alternately as "Grand Monad" (*t'ai i* 太一), and in Alcor (80 Ursae majoris, the companion of Mizar), known as "Thearchic Star" (*ti hsing* 帝星) and "All-highest Resplendent Deity" (*kao shang huang shen* 高上皇神), with a female alter ego named "Primal Mistress of the Void of Eight Phosphors" (*pa ching hsü yüan chün* 八景虛元君). (See *Pacing*, p. 45; *Hsüan men pao hai ching* 玄門寶海經 in YCCC, 24, 361. For "eight phosphors" see n. 66 above. For "primal mistress" see Schafer, "The Capeline Cantos," *Asiatische Studien*, 32 (1978), 26, n. 61.)

⁹⁹ The Palace of Cinnabar Mystery (*tan hsüan kung* 丹玄宮), a name which suggests both alchemical transformation and the mysterious workings of *yang*, is situated in the cranium, one inch above the Palace of Cinnabar Field (*tan t'ien kung* 丹田宮) (see *HTC*, section 2).

¹⁰⁰ Nonpareil (*wu ying* 無英) is one of the lords known collectively as the Seven Primes (*ch'i yüan* 七元), for whose astral aspect, see n. 68 above. Lord Peach (*t'ao chün* 桃君) is the name of a spirit "below the Cinnabar Field," who controls the operations of *yin* and *yang* in the body, and therefore its sexual functions (see *HTC*, section 15).

¹⁰¹ The Six Archives (*liu fu* 六府) are the somatic repositories of vitalizing fluids that we know as the gall bladder, the stomach, the bladder, the "three ducts" (of stomach and bladder), and the larger and smaller intestine.

¹⁰² "Hundred Junctions" (*po kuan* 百關): I have found this expression in *P'ei wen yüan fu* 佩文韻府, as from YCCC, without being able to trace it in the latter. In the citation the proto-Taoist sage Kuang Ch'eng Tzu 廣成子 is reported to have said, "Now inside the human frame there are one hundred junctions. . . ." In this usage, a *kuan* is a customs station in the body, at the border between two realms. The whole hundred together constitute a network of transition points on the roads connecting the bodily organs. Purple mists are emanations of the polar palace—powerful *yang* plasmas.

¹⁰³ For "tempest car" see n. 88 above.

¹⁰⁴ For "phosphors" see n. 66 above.

¹⁰⁵ Possibly the "clouded road" (*yün lu* 雲路) is the Sky River itself—often called "Cloudy Han [River]" (*yün Han* 雲漢).

In an instant I journey through a myriad of heavens.¹⁰⁶

The inner being of the adept is at last substantially identical with the divine, uncontaminated, creative breath. This new entity is ready for the supernal life, free of worldly attachments and illusions, its heart concordant with the ultimate purpose of creation. His nature is purged of unnatural distortions and deformities. The lord of the universe is now established in the adept's heart, which is now united with the polar palace; he controls his whole being. The deities that animate him and protect his life are fully energized. Two of the most powerful of them suffuse his spirit with harmonious evidence of his transformation. Starlight gleams in the secret chambers of his body, as all his vital channels are freed of obstructions, allowing the purple electricity discharged by the celestial pole to permeate every part of his person. His space-traversing equipage, guided by its automatic searchlights, drives up towards the ultimate source of vitality. Distance is obliterated along the nebular highway, as the very meaning of time is dissolved.

My reborn self is clotted cosmic breath:
A perfect protoplasm, exempt from death.
Spurning the world, my bitter spirit thaws;
Unshackled now, it turns to its great Cause.
The Polar Monad, on his ruby throne,
Shines from my heart, a palace like his own.
Two guardian spirits, embodied *yang* and *yin*,
Chant hymns of everlasting life therein.
My body's crypts are swathed in purple mist;
My inner ducts are lustrous amethyst.
Transformed, I mount to join my counterpart,
Propelled by potent lumens in my heart.
My meteoric transit conquers space;
Defeating time, through endless skies I race.

Realized Scenario: flight.

CANTO FIVE

Fu-sang diffuses the first phosphor-glow;¹⁰⁷
The feathered canopy grazes the dawn aurora.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ In this final couplet the poet reiterates the concept of the compressibility of space and time, a power available to advanced adepts and to the gods. This whole canto, in addition to its emphasis on the human microcosm, may contain clues to hallucinations caused by elixir poisoning.

¹⁰⁷ Signs of dawn in the east are, in fact, radiation from the Fu-sang 扶桑 Palace of Blue Lad, below the far edge of the eastern sea.

¹⁰⁸ A "feathered canopy" (*yü kai* 羽蓋) is a gorgeous parasol over an aristocratic car-

Swift and sudden we attain the Western Enceinte;
 Joyfully I roam the house of Metal Mother.¹⁰⁹
 Cyan exudate—fathomless in the Vast Font—¹¹⁰
 Vivid and dazzling, is spread with lotus flowers.¹¹¹
 Resplendently glowing—the palace of blue sapphires;¹¹²
 Sparkling, scintillant—the arrays of jade blossoms.
 The pneumas of truth overflow the Rose-gold Treasury;¹¹³
 In Spontaneity, my mind is free of perversion.
 Looking down, I pity the gentlemen in that tract:
 Their sky is blurred—how very much to be regretted.¹¹⁴

My ecstatic journey away from this world is heralded by streamers of light from the *yang*-energy of the still invisible sun. I am magically borne close to the source of

riage. There are several notable occurrences of the phrase in ancient literature, as in Chang Heng 張衡, "Tung ching fu" 東京賦. A gloss by Hsüeh Tsung 薛綜 (d. 243) describes it in this language: "a feathered canopy is a canopy of halcyon (kingfisher) feathers covering a carriage." Naturally such a plumed emblem was fitting also for flying cars. For example, Lo Pin-wang 駱賓王 matches "feathered canopy" with "transcendent's dress" (*hsien i* 仙衣) in a poem about hallucinatory permutations of a cloud formation (Lo Pin-wang, "Po yü pao yü shih" 白雲抱幽石, *ChTS*, *han* 2, *ts'e* 3, *ch.* 2, p. 7b). The contrast between the blue umbrella and rosy clouds is another variation on the common contrast between pigments of cinnabar and azurite, for which see n. 81 above. Here there is also an analogy between the halcyon-blue canopy and the blue dome of the sky (cf. "Yu hsien shih" no. 1).

¹⁰⁹ She is an aspect of Hsi Wang Mu as mistress of the West, whose active power is that of Metal. Some Mao Shan texts give this version of the goddess a distinct personality. So *Tung chen ching* and *Tao chi ching* (quoted jointly in *WSPY*, 22, 6a) describe the palace of the Mistress of the Grand Immaculate Triple Prime and Mother of Metal (*chün mu t'ai su san yüan chün* 金母太素三元君) separately from that of the Kingly Mother of the West upon the Turtle Mountain of White Jade (*po yü kwei shan shang hsi wang mu* 白五龜山上西王母) (in *WSPY*, 22, 12a). "Yu hsien shih" no. 10 states: "On my pilgrimage to Metal Mother, my flying canopy passes above the western culmen."

¹¹⁰ "Cyan exudate" (*pi chin* 碧津) is the macrocosmic counterpart of saliva, which was itself believed to have powerful invigorating properties. Here it makes up the blue lake ("Azure-gem Pool" *yao ch'ih* 瑤池) traditionally associated with Hsi Wang Mu's residence at K'un-lun. The phrase is the first of a sequence of blue images in this poem. (Compare the use of "cyan exudate" in Canto Ten below.)

¹¹¹ Either supernaturally blue lotuses, or their earthly simulacra—blue water lilies, as we may suppose.

¹¹² "Sapphires" for *lin* 琳 is purely fanciful. The Chinese word stands for an unidentified archaic blue gemstone, apparently superseded in post-Han times by some now more familiar word. This palace is also referred to in Wu Yün's "Yu hsien shih" no. 20.

¹¹³ "Rose-gold Treasury" (*chiang fu* 絳府), like Rose-gold Palace (see n. 98 above).

¹¹⁴ See the commentary on *HTC*, section 8: "Pneuma is born on obtaining *yang*; if it is clear, the eyes are luminous; if it is blurred, the eyes are dark." "Blurred" (*cho* 濁) implies "muddled by alien matter."

cosmic energy. Powered by this, the divine vehicle carries me away from the morning towards the palace of Hsi Wang Mu. I am a happy guest there. The sacred lake in the West is a reservoir of vital fluid, on whose surface float concretions in the form of flowers of heavenly blue. I savor all of the wonders of the paradise of the western goddess; it is a garden of jewelled plants, unlike those I knew. My person is perfected: the treasury of my life is full. My being is no longer deformed by partial and corrupt influences. From my lofty vantage I can see plainly the evil condition of men in the mortal world. Their view of heaven is, alas! obscure and imperfect, unlike my own.

The orient verge exhales a rosy lawn;
 My wingèd car lifts lightly o'er the dawn.
 Speeds to the mountain castle in the west;
 There I rejoice—the great Queen Mother's guest.
 A blue elixir gushes from a mere,
 Where lotuses their azure blooms uprear.
 Towers of crystal, seeming sapphire ice,
 Loom in this sparkling, floriate paradise.
 The golden glow of truth now fills my heart,
 As vice and error from my soul depart.
 Discerning far below the plight of men,
 I grieve that Heaven lies beyond their ken.

Realized Scenario: halfway house.

CANTO SIX

The Rose-gem Estrade—its fathoms are by kalpas;¹¹⁵
 Glinting in solitude, beyond the Great Envelope.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ That is, it is so tall that ordinary numbers do not suffice to measure it. For "rose-gem" see n. 81 above. The name Rose-gem Estrade has been given to a number of royal and divine platforms, that is, to the high foundations of palaces. Here it refers to the supreme palace beyond the sky, the "Estrade of a Kalpa of Fathoms" (*chieh jen t'ai* 劫侶臺) of the Jade Clarity realm. The expression "a kalpa of fathoms" occurs in the context of the Great Enveloping Heaven (*ta lo t'ien* 大羅天) which wraps even Jade Clarity, in the basic Ling Pao scripture, evidently referring to this platform (*Tu jen ching*, 1, 6a). A twelfth-century anthology quotes the same scripture, commenting that in that most exalted realm, "they use 'kalpas' to count 'fathoms'" (*ibid.*, as quoted in *Hai lu sui shih*, 13a, 19a [p. 1761]).

¹¹⁶ For "Great Envelope" see n. 115. It encloses the layered realms of the Three Clarities, and is the residence of the Prime Inaugural Heavenly Revered One. See, for instance, *Yu yang tsa tsu*, 22, 9; *Tao men ching fa hsiang ch'eng tz'u hsü* 道門經法相承次序 (HY 1120), ch. A, 14b; and *Pacing*, pp. 37–38.

It is constantly provided with the clouds of the Three Immaculates;¹¹⁷
 Clotted light flies freely around it.
 Plumed phosphors drift in the luminous auroral clouds;¹¹⁸
 Rising and falling—how haunting and ethereal.¹¹⁹
 Simurghs and phoenixes pour forth courtly tunes;
 They perch, they soar—over the Rose-gold Forest.¹²⁰
 In the Jade Void there is neither day nor night;¹²¹
 The numinous phosphors—how candent they shine.¹²²
 One look at the all-highest capital,
 Then I know how small are all the Heavens.

The lofty platform that raises the palace complex of the supreme deity is immeasurable by human reckoning. A unique beacon, it is poised in the utter emptiness beyond even the worlds of the star-gods. Cosmic vapors mark its supreme rank and power. Condensed astral emanations envelop it. Flashing space-cars convey immortal beings around the towers of the heavenly palace. These divine boats swoop like butterflies through astral winds. Unearthly birds sing divinely: these spirit-fowl are models for all accomplished space-travellers. This is the world of eternal light: here sun, moon and stars do not shine intermittently—but eternally. When I contemplate this incredible manse, I recognize it as the ultimate “place,”

¹¹⁷ The Three Immaculates (*san su* 三素) are visible as the pure auroral colors of the morning sky in spring—white, yellow (or green), and purple (or scarlet). (*Su* 素 connotes “simple constituent” as well as “innocent, unblemished.”) They can be drawn on by the adept to nourish his inner self. They are personified as the three daughters of the Primal Mistress of the Three Immaculates (*san su yüan chün* 三素元君). (See especially *San yüan yü chien pu ching* 三元玉檢布經 quoted in *WSPY*, 17, 3b–4a. This important Mao Shan scripture is *HY* 354, and is also summarized in *YCCC*, 9, 110.)

¹¹⁸ “Plumed phosphors” (*yü ching* 羽景), metonymous for the illuminated flying carriages of the divinities, is the language of *TT*, instead of the “plumed pennants” (*yü ch’uang* 羽幢) of *ChTS*. The expression occurs also in Canto Eight.

¹¹⁹ “Haunting and ethereal” is *p’iao-miao* 縹緲, which combines the images “light and airy” and “hazy in the distance; nebulous and not quite identifiable.”

¹²⁰ For “rose-gold” see n. 98 above.

¹²¹ “Jade Void” (*yü hsiü* 玉虛) appears to be an aspect of the realm of Jade Clarity, on the verge of the empyrean. The most remote of the Taoist deities have titles indicating their intimate relationship with this energetic zone, close to the universal motor (cf. n. 91); for instance, the regal divinity named “Lord of the Jade Void of Highest Splendor” (*shang huang yü hsiü chün* 上皇玉虛君) whose scripture follows immediately after that of the “All-highest Tao Lord of the Splendor of the Void” (*kao shang hsiü huang tao chün* 高上虛皇道君) in *Shang ch’ing ta tung chen ching* 上清大洞真經 (*HY* 6), 2, 3b–5b. There are many comparable titles in the Jade Clarity group of *CLWYT*.

¹²² The final clause is simply *ho chiao-chiao* 何皎皎: the linguistic image is of the pure, supernal, shining white of the full moon.

beyond our conceptions of space, and admit that the "heavens" of our highest philosophy are limited and limiting images.

An adamantine terrace looms on high,
 A beacon at the bound'ry of the sky.
 Triple soft-tinted plasmas are amassed
 Where ectoplasmic lights drift idly past.
 Unearthly cars, like wingèd chandeliers,
 Flit lightly in, through nacreous atmospheres.
 Celestial fowl, in polished, courtly throngs,
 From gilded forests chant their holy songs.
 Hyaline ether knows not nights or days:
 But ceaselessly bright girandoles displays.
 This mighty manor, now within my view,
 Teaches how paltry were the skies I knew.

Realized Scenario: arrival.

CANTO SEVEN

Vividly bright—the Forest of Blue Flowers;¹²³
 Numinous winds shake rose-gem branches.¹²⁴
 The Three Lights have neither winter nor spring;¹²⁵
 The totality of pneumas is both clear and concordant.
 I turn my head—I am approaching "Knotted Spangles."¹²⁶
 I turn my pupils downward—I am neighbor to the asterial net.¹²⁷
 "Free Fall" constrains the Six Heavens.¹²⁸

¹²³ Perhaps this is an allusion to the "white tangerines with blue flowers" presented, along with other wonderful plants, to King Mu of Chou by Hsi Wang Mu (*Shih i chi* 拾異記 [*Ku chin i shih* 古今逸史 ed.] 3, 2b-3a). It appears that the transmuted adept is beginning his journey upwards from the summit of K'un-lun, represented here by a royal garden.

¹²⁴ The rush of wind is regularly an indication of unseen presences, even in non-Taoist poetry. Here the particular reference must be to the rush of his ethereal dragon-borne tempest-car.

¹²⁵ "Three Lights" (*san kuang* 三光) follows the *ChTS* version. They are the sun, moon, and asterisms. *TT* has "Three Primes." But there is, of course, the usual correlation between these triads.

¹²⁶ See n. 87 above. (*ChTS* has "knotted numina" [*chieh ling* 結靈].)

¹²⁷ The asterial net (*yao lo* 曜羅) is the web of stars.

¹²⁸ "Free Fall," *huo lo* 豁落, is the name of a powerful astral talisman. For a discussion of this and other charms which utilize stellar energies to subdue demoniac forces, that is, the work of the ghostly subjects of the Lord of the Six Heavens, see Schafer, "Li Po's Star Power," *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Chinese Religions*, No. 6 (Fall, 1978), pp. 5-15.

"Streaming Folly-bell" daunts the hundred demons.¹²⁹
Threaded through space and time: felicity without limit;¹³⁰
Who says that the seniority of the cedrela is so much?¹³¹

I am launched into infinity from the earthly paradise. The cosmic breath that draws me upward stirs harmonious tinkles in the branches of gemmy trees. In this perfect and changeless realm the great sky lights blaze with equal intensity at all times and seasons. All cosmic energies are harmonized, both internally and externally. On my upward flight I see that I am passing the cold, crystalline moon. Then I go beyond the starry envelope into the empyrean. Armed with an apotropaion that acts through space like lightning, I need not fear the forces of hell. Another talisman, clangorous and comet-like, will hold the dark army at bay. Happiness, unconfined by space or time, is now mine. Even the venerable cedrela will not live forever—as I shall!

Aloft from blue-groved K'un-lun's holy peak,
Past gem-trees, tossed by heav'nly breaths, I streak.
The triune sky-lights, changeless through the year,
Prove cosmic forces quite congenial here.
I fly beyond the silver-spangled moon;
Pass through the crystal sphere where stars are strewn.
My astral cantrip quells demoniac hosts;
My fiery talisman daunts raiding ghosts.
Beatified—my life an endless thread—
I leave behind the precincts of the dead.

Realized Scenario: departure; flight.

CANTO EIGHT

In this high clarity there is neither waste nor dissipation:¹³²

¹²⁹ "Streaming Folly-bell" is *liu ling* 流鈴. This is another demonifuge, comparable to "Fiery Folly-bell" (*huo ling* 火鈴). Both are variants of "the folly-bell of streaming fire" (*liu huo chih ling* 流火之鈴), of which the *Ta yü ching* 大有經 (HY 1303), 15b-16a, an early Highest Clarity scripture, says: "It is a red light without substance; agitate it and its sound is audible over ten myriads of *li*." I owe this reference to Donald Harper.

¹³⁰ "Threaded through space and time" is an attempt to approximate *mien-mien* 縣縣 (cf. *mien-miao* 縣邈).

¹³¹ The reference is to a passage in *Chuang tzu*, "Hsiao-yao yü," in which great age is attributed to the tree *Cedrela sinensis* (*ch'un* 椿). For a study of this trope, see Schafer, "Li Kang, A Rhapsody on the Banyan Tree," *Oriens*, 6 (1953), 344-53.

¹³² "High Clarity" (*kao ch'ing* 高濤) follows *TT. ChTS* has *kao ch'ing* 高情, although it notes the possible alternative. Evidently the latter version appealed more to the conventional anti-religious sensibilities of the Ch'ing editors.

The beings I meet generate florescent light.¹³³
 For the ultimate music—neither syrinx nor song:
 Tones of jade tinkle spontaneously.¹³⁴
 I may ascend the Platform of Light and Truth,¹³⁵
 And feast in that Hall of Plumed Phosphors.¹³⁶
 Obscure cumuli knot into treasure-clouds;
 In thin flurries they dispense numinous aromas.
 As a sky person, truly my time and space are unbounded;¹³⁷
 My joy is grand—not possibly to be measured.

In this perfect realm no energy is wasted; the supernal world is self-contained and self-perpetuating. Like fireflies, the creatures of interstellar space produce cool phosphorescent light, without effort and without loss. Divine orchestras do not depend on the modulations of individual breaths. Here inorganic materials generate tunes without the intervention of living creatures. The high and holy source of celestial music is now accessible to me; and I partake of divine sustenance in the celestial caravanserai where the gods convene. Undifferentiated vapors shape themselves into auspicious forms. Sprays of spiritual perfumes emanate from them. Here mortal limitations on movement and endurance are irrelevant; and my whole being is perfused with happiness.

No energy is wasted in this zone;
 Its people glow from inner fuels alone.
 No mortal breaths produce these charmed songs;
 Spontaneous melodies excite these gongs.
 I see the Music-maker's secret bow'r;

¹³³ Although the word is "florescent" (*hua* 華), not "fluorescent," there are overtones of the latter in this luminescent couplet.

¹³⁴ This translation follows *TT*. *ChTS* has "gold and jade [or precious metals and stones]—their sounds are tinkling."

¹³⁵ Of this high terrace (*ming chen t'ai* 明真臺), an early scripture reports: "[It is where] the Kiang 江 springs from the midst of Heaven; the inner tones (*nei yin* 內音) are written on its top" (*Tung hsüan ching* 洞玄經, cited in *WSPY*, 22, 20a. The "inner tones" represent the music of the thirty-two heavens in an old Ling Pao tradition influenced by Buddhism. See *T'ai shang ling pao chu t'ien nei yin tzu jan yü tzu* 太上靈寶諸天內音自然玉字 [*HY* 97].) The expression "light and truth" also occurs in the title of ceremonial rubrics (*ming chen k'o* 明真科) addressed to the lord of the northern underworld (*Yu yang tsa tsu*, 2, 10).

¹³⁶ Early sources put this hall in the Court of Greatest Nullity (*t'ai wu chih t'ing* 太無之庭), where the Jade Lord and Highest Thearch (*shang ti yü chün* 上帝玉君) sometimes entertains and banquets his vassals (*Tung chen ching* and *Tao chi ching*, cited in *WSPY*, 22, 10b). For "plumed phosphors" as divine sky-cars see n. 118 above.

¹³⁷ A plausible rendition, I hope, of the *ChTS* version: *t'ien jen ch'eng hsia k'uang* 天人誠遐曠. *TT* has *t'ien jen ch'eng to hsia* 天人誠多暇, "as a sky person, truly I have much leisure." This trite alternative does not fit the context.

I scale the winged guests' convivial tow'r.
 Glorious sky-domes from the mists condense,
 And through the air divine perfumes disperse.
 No bounds inhibit my renascent self;
 Elysian bliss awaits this blooming elf!

Realized Scenario: arrival.

CANTO NINE

I make the ascent all the way from Grand Tenuity,¹³⁸
 For an interview, finally, with His Reverence, the Resplendent
 One of the Void.¹³⁹
 The Eight Phosphor Palanquin that bears me upward¹⁴⁰
 By long, circuitous ways, enters the Gate of Heaven.¹⁴¹
 Once I have mounted to the court of Jade Dawn,¹⁴²
 In all solemnity, looking up to the Purple Balcony,
 I presume to ask, "At the end of Dragon Han,¹⁴³
 How was it that [He] opened the way for Potent and Latent?"¹⁴⁴
 Agreeably, they suspend the cloudy *ao*;¹⁴⁵

¹³⁸ "Grand Tenuity" (*t'ai wei* 太微) is the southern palace of the polar sovereign, represented to our eyes as a constellation at the autumnal equinox, partly in Virgo, partly in Leo. It is an astral administrative center more than a grand hall of audience (which is the Palace of Purple Tenuity at the celestial north pole).

¹³⁹ The title (*hsü huang tsun* 虛皇尊) abbreviates the double appellation *hsü huang tao chün, yüan shih t'ien tsun* 虛皇道君元始天尊, the full title of the Lord of All at the summit of Jade Clarity.

¹⁴⁰ For the Eight Phosphor Palanquin, see n. 66 above.

¹⁴¹ The great gate of the polar palace is named **Ch'ang-ghap* 閭闔; it is north of our constellation Boötes.

¹⁴² Evidently a lodging reserved for distinguished visitors to the polar palace. (One of the perfected beings in the realm of Highest Clarity is named Esquire of Jade Dawn [*yü ch'en lang* 玉晨郎], among whose extra titles is "Attendant on the Thearch" [*shih ti* 侍帝] [*CLWYT*, p. 5b]. Conceivably he is in charge of this guest-house.)

¹⁴³ "Draconic Han" or "Dragon Han" (*lung han* 龍漢) was the era of the Resplendent One of the Void, at the beginning of time, before the differentiation of matter.

¹⁴⁴ "Potent and Latent" represents *ch'ien k'un* 乾坤, the universal generative and conservative powers respectively, whose interaction within the formerly homogeneous Potentiality ultimately produced the phenomenal world, firmly embedded in the river of time.

¹⁴⁵ The *ao* 璫 is a large species of lithophone, chiefly associated with divine Taoist concerts. Besides "cloudy *ao*," we also read about "jade *ao*," "golden *ao*," "*ao* of the nine pneumas," "dragon *ao*," and various others. They are abundantly referred to in the songs of the goddesses who visited Yang Hsi in the fourth century. (See *YCCC*, 96–98, *passim*.)

And inform me with speech about the Ineffable.¹⁴⁶
 I am fortunate to hear the system of the Ultimate Germ;
 Then to see the font of the Shaping Mutator.¹⁴⁷

I begin my space voyage at the business office of the universal lord, on the celestial equator, ninety degrees from the pole. I proceed to an audience with him in his exalted hall. I am conveyed in a carriage wreathed in auroral clouds, flashing with the eight spectral lights that illuminate the remote quadrants of the cosmos, as well as the chambers of my own body, to which they correspond, past starry mansions and along nebular roads to the entrance of the palace above the north pole. I am lodged in the Hostel of the Dawn in the realm of Jade Clarity. I can contemplate the indescribable glory of the Palace of Purple Tenuity. I ask the company of angelic beings to inform me about the day of creation: "How did the fertile pair of cosmic gametes come into being and begin their work?" Affably my new companions interrupt their concert of otherworldly chimes; they condescend to tell me what mere human ears could never comprehend. I learn about the germination of our cosmos. Ultimately I may behold the crucible of the Cosmic Alchemist, whose firing yielded the Big Bang.

Leaving behind the Equinoctial court,
 I seek the northern pole's resplendent port.
 My phosphorescent car accelerates
 Through many ambits up to Heaven's gates.
 Politely roomed in this dawn-flushed hotel,
 I contemplate the Purple Citadel.
 I ask the lodgers how the cosmic birth
 Led to such rich diversity on earth.
 They gladly stop a musical soirée,
 And all my philosophic doubts allay.
 They tell me how the primal semen spawned;
 They show me where the mouth of nature yawned.

Realized Scenario: departure; flight; arrival; revelation.

See also K. M. Schipper, *L'Empereur Wou des Han dans la légende Taoïste; Han wou-ti nei-tchouan*, Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (Paris, 1965), p. 75, n. 3. These instruments are usually played by celestial ladies, but even the Resplendent One of the Void does not disdain to play the wonderful lithophone as an accompaniment to the ritual chants of the assembly of realized beings in his high hall. (See *Tung hsüan ling pao yü ching shan pu hsü ching* 洞玄靈寶玉京山步虛經 [HY 1427]; the allusion is in one of the ten odes on "Pacing the Void" in that scripture.)

¹⁴⁶ *Hsi-i* 希夷, or *hsi-wei* 希微, refers to the ineffable character of the Tao.

¹⁴⁷ For "Shaping Mutator" or "Fashioner of Mutations" (*tsao hua* 造化), see Schafer, "The Idea of Created Nature in T'ang Literature," *Philosophy East and West*, 15 (1965), 543-50; *Pacing*, pp. 23-25.

CANTO TEN

The Two Energies sow the Myriad Beings;¹⁴⁸
 The transmuting motor never stops its wheels.¹⁴⁹
 While it is *I* who grasp its key;¹⁵⁰
 So I can go forth from the Potter's Wheel.¹⁵¹
 Through inconceivable mystery I ascend the Great Silence;¹⁵²
 Everything I encounter is clear and perfect.
 Limpid and hyaline, embodying the Primal Harmony,¹⁵³
 The Pneumas are conjoined in spontaneous affinity.
 Rose-gold trees crystallize cinnabar fruit;¹⁵⁴
 The purple aurora lets cyan exudate flow.¹⁵⁵
 My wish is to use it to conserve youth and infancy;
 I shall employ it forever to transcend both form and spirit.¹⁵⁶

The interaction of the energies of *yin* and *yang* brings about the dissemination of all creatures through the universe. The operations of the nuclear engine never cease. Now I control the Alpha that leads to its Omega: with my new grasp of the cosmic trigger, I can liberate myself, a finished and perfectly realized being, from the con-

¹⁴⁸ "Myriad Beings" is *wan yu* 萬有.

¹⁴⁹ "Transmuting motor" is *hua chi* 化機; but *chi* might also be rendered "trigger." It refers to the cosmic generator, the ultimate source of energy, the dynamo at the heart of things which powers the transformations of nature.

¹⁵⁰ *Tuan* 端, here translated "key," means "point of true beginning."

¹⁵¹ "Potter's Wheel" (*t'ao chün* 陶鈞) is a standard metaphor for the creative principle. Compare "Shaping Mutator" in Canto Nine.

¹⁵² Here I follow *TT*. *ChTS* has "above the Great Silence," and notes as an alternate reading "I ascend the Great Han." "Silence" stands for *mo* 漠, cognate to *mo* 寞 (as in *chi-mo* 寂寞 "forlorn; desolate"). The Great Silence appears elsewhere in Wu Yün's writings, for instance, in "Yu hsien shih" no. 16, and in "Lan ku" no. 1. There is some explicit detail provided in one of his prose works: "To go out beyond the Transmuting Motor (*hua chi*) and enter the country of Great Silence" ("Shen hsien k'o hsüeh lun," *ch. b*, p. 15b). From this it appears to be a nullity beyond the cosmos itself—even beyond the *primum mobile*, so to speak. (In secular literature, "Great Silence" is a common name for the Gobi Desert.)

¹⁵³ Or "The Primal Harmonizer" (*yüan ho* 元和); it is the principle of eternal adjustment and accommodation (see *Pacing*, p. 207).

¹⁵⁴ For "rose-gold" see n. 98 above. Here I adopt the "fruit" of *ChTS*; *TT* has *pao* "treasure." This verse takes us from abstraction to vivid if conventional metaphor.

¹⁵⁵ See n. 110 for "cyan exudate." It is there represented as nectar from a font; here it is an ichor condensed from the auroral plasma—*yang* fluid from the purple palace at the pole.

¹⁵⁶ Form (*hsing*) and spirit (*shen*), whose nurture is so significant to the aspiring adept (see n. 75), are now both irrelevant—all such distinctions have been obliterated.

straints of natural process and the restrictions of the cosmic mold. I rise through unknowable and inexpressible environments into a condition of unalloyed equanimity and perfection, which can not be modified by any particular event. Everywhere is transparent perfection and crystalline homogeneity—where even such basic oppositions as that between *yin* and *yang* have been eliminated. The two energies are reunited as they were in the Primal Pneuma (*yüan ch'ü* 元氣), before their separation at the epoch of Grand Culmen (*t'ai chi* 太極). The hermetic egg of the cosmos gives birth to the fruit of eternal life. I am infused with the liquor of eternity: it will always nourish the immortal babe constructed and nourished within my mortal frame by the inhalation of ethers from the stars, and will maintain my transcendence forever.

Conserving *yin* and potent *yang* engender Every Thing;
 The Generative Kernel sprouts throughout an endless spring.
 But now, at last, I know the truth—I hold the Master Key;
 No longer Product—Engineer from transience ever free.
 Propelled through enigmatic worlds I come to utter peace;
 Where all is still, and all complete, and all distinctions cease.
 This silent kingdom, now my home, a seamless crystal sphere,
 Preserves the ancient harmony—an unsplit chromosphere.
 The nucleus of the cosmic egg—the vital vermeil core—
 Distills the purple exudate that feeds me ever more.
 This quintessential theriac, which also heats the sun,
 Will cure me of mortality: my final goal is won.

Realized Scenario: revelation.

Conclusion

Certainty about how Wu Yün's writing was evaluated by the most discriminating persons of his age is out of the question—perhaps a serious inquiry would be meaningless. The evidence is erratic; our conception of “discrimination” is only ours. To me, his style can be characterized as ecstatic, visionary, fantastic—it seems also to show signs of metaphysical and devotional preoccupations, but such indications are of little worth in judgments of literary merit. The few traces of contemporary opinion that survive are highly favorable. They themselves need to be evaluated. That is all we know—except for the evidence of the poems themselves.

What Wu Yün has done, I believe, is to congeal, refine, and distill the essence of Highest Clarity—that is, of T'ang Taoism—into skilfully constructed verses. His distillate should not be confused with anything else called “Taoist,” whether it be the impenetrable and

infinitely exploitable text attributed to the divine Lord Lao—that is, the book called *Lao tzu*—or the textual relics of the Later Han sectarians variously related to the rule of the Celestial Master of the Chang family, or the novel scriptures of the secular theocrats of Sung, or the doctrines of the black- or red-hat prelates of twentieth-century Taiwan. We must always discriminate—as much as we discriminate among the writings of the church fathers, the tracts of the monophysites of Byzantium, the poems of John Donne, and the pious effusions published by some American Protestant sects.

TAOIST TECHNICAL TERMS FINDING LIST

(reference is to footnote number)

- | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| ao 璈 145 | lin 琳 112 | t'ai wei 太微 138 |
| chen chien 眞鑒 77 | ling fan 靈範 64 | t'ai yüan 大淵 91 |
| ch'i ch'iao 七竅 68 | liu fu 六府 101 | tao ching 倒景 49 |
| ch'i hsüan 七玄 68 | liu ling 流鈴 129 | t'ao chün 陶鈞 151 |
| ch'i yüan 七元 68 | lung Han 龍漢 143 | tuan 端 150 |
| chiang 絳 98 | nei ching 內景 66 | wai ching 外景 66 |
| chiang fu 絳府 113 | pa ching 八景 66 | wan hsiang 萬象 49 |
| chiang kung 絳宮 98 | pa wei 八威 72 | yao lo 曜羅 127 |
| chieh lin 結璘 87 | pi chin 碧津 110, 155 | yin kung 陰功 75 |
| ch'ien k'un 乾坤 144 | piao ch'e 飈車 88 | yin te 陰德 75 |
| ching 景 66 | po kuan 百關 102 | ying 影 66 |
| ch'ung 瓊 81 | san su 三素 117 | yü ch'en 玉晨 98 |
| erh ching 二景 66 | san t'ien 三天 80 | yü ching 羽景 118 |
| hsüan 玄 92 | shen tsung 神宗 65 | yü hsü 玉虛 121 |
| hua chi 化機 149, 152 | shih chüeh 十絕 73 | yü i 鬱儀 87 |
| huan shu 環樞 49 | ta lo 大羅 115 | yü kai 羽蓋 108 |
| huo lien 火鍊 69 | ta mo 大漠 152 | yüan ho 元和 153 |
| huo lo 豁落 128 | t'ai hsia 太霞 72, 76 | yüan tsung 元宗 96 |
| k'ung ch'ing 空青 89 | t'ai hsü 太虛 91 | yün ao 雲璈 49 |
| lien 煉, 鍊, 練 69 | t'ai k'ung 太空 67 | |



Blue Green Clouds

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BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Blue Green Clouds

At the time when the *Shih ching* and the other glorious classics were written, the word *ch'ing* referred to a broader segment of the spectrum than do either of our words "green" and "blue." In later periods the word *lǜ*, a dye-name, took over the yellower (i.e., greener) portion of this range, leaving the remainder to *ch'ing*.¹

There were two notable exceptions to this rule. *Ch'ing* meant (a) "green" with reference to vegetation, in deference to classical precedent;² and (b) "blue + green" with reference to a class of mineral pigments, especially the copper carbonates malachite (green) and azurite (blue); in these cases it corresponds best to English "verditer; bice," and one of the common Chinese names for malachite *lǜ ch'ing* means precisely "green verditer."³ But even commoner names for these two minerals were *shih ch'ing* "stone blue" (azurite) and *shih lǜ* "stone green" (malachite).⁴ These meanings were not restricted to mineral pigments: they came also to be used of the colors of dyed fabrics. For instance, the court costumes of T'ang officials included *lǜ i* "green dress" for the seventh class, and *ch'ing i* "blue dress" for the eighth and ninth classes.⁵

In short, *ch'ing* is regularly restricted to "blue" in post-"classical" literature.⁶ This usage, so contrary to that of

revered antiquity, was as puzzling to Chinese readers as it often is to modern students of their language. But one scholar of Ming times resolved their perplexity neatly in terms of traditional "Five Activities" (*wu hsing*) metaphysics. He wrote:

It may be asked, 'Why is it that while the color of Vegetation (*mu*)⁷ is ultimately Blue (*ch'ing*), herbaceous and woody plants alike are all green (*lǜ*)?' Doubtless because green (*lǜ*) is a color between blue (*ch'ing*) and yellow (*huang*). Vegetation will not grow up in the absence of Earth (*t'u*).⁸ Hence Blue, being dependent on Yellow, becomes green."⁹

Now that it is settled that *ch'ing* is, in essence, "blue," we can turn to a semantic problem that has been the bugbear of translators of Chinese poetry for generations: what are we to understand by the expression *ch'ing yün*? Few translators have been willing to risk "green clouds" or "verdant clouds"—but I have seen the noncommittal "glaucous clouds." Some have tried the evasive "dark clouds," even where the context clearly indicates fluffy white cumuli drifting through sunny weather. Others have not blushed to employ the embarrassing "azure clouds," whatever that may mean.

The phrase is indeed an attributive one, but the *ch'ing* does not describe the color of the clouds, rather the color of their background. Formally it is analogous to *t'ien shang* "above in the sky" (not "above the sky"), or, more briefly, "up in the sky." *Ch'ing yün*, accordingly, means "clouds in the blue," in which *ch'ing*, like our "blue," serves, as frequently, as a synecdoche for "unclouded sky."

This common expression has a number of interesting analogues. Let me mention just one which is structurally identical: *ch'ing Han*, as it occurs in a verse by Chia Tao: "The Gate of Swords leans on the Han in the blue" (*chien men i ch'ing Han*).¹⁰ Interpreted, this means, "the famous high pass in Szechwan called 'gate of Swords,' seems, at that

¹ For a solid philological introduction to the word *ch'ing*, especially in its classical chlorophyllous aspects, see P. A. Boodberg, "On Chinese *ts'ing* 'blue-green'," *Cedules from a Berkeley Workshop in Asiatic Philology*, reprinted in Alvin P. Cohen, ed., *Selected Works of Peter A. Boodberg* (University of California Press, 1979), pp. 178-179.

² But distant hills, especially when cloaked in haze, were said to be *ch'ing*; the sense appears to have been "bluish."

³ But unless modified by *lǜ* "green," *ch'ing*, as the name of a pigment, is regularly "blue"; e.g., in the painter's color *ta ch'ing* "great blue," which is a synonym of the medieval *k'ung ch'ing* "hollow blue," both denoting azurite blue.

⁴ "Stone blue" was obviously another synonym of "hollow blue," i.e., azurite. See, *inter alia*, "... hollow blue and stone green from Hsüan-ch'eng" (*Hsüan ch'eng k'ung ch'ing shih lǜ*), in *T'ang shu* (*Szu pu pei yao* ed.), 134, 3a. Cf. note 3 above.

⁵ *T'ang shu*, 24, 5a.

⁶ I am not here concerned with such refinements as symbolic blues (cf. Wallace Stevens' "blue guitar"), metaphorical blues (cf. our "bluenose"), or approximate blues (cf. our "blue fox" and "blue goose"). As for the latter, we, as well as the Chinese, sometimes call hoary or gray (perhaps with bluish glints) color phases of certain animals "blue."

⁷ *Mu* used it its broadest classificatory sense, and as one of the Five Activities.

⁸ Here as one of the Five Activities. Its color aspect is Yellow.

⁹ Wang K'uei, *Li hai chi* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.; Ch'ang-sha, 1939), p. 14.

¹⁰ Chia Tao, "Sung Mu shao fu chih Mei chou," *Ch'üan T'ang shih* (ed. of Fu-hsing shu-chü, Taipei, 1967), han 9, ts'ê 4, ch. 3, p. 15a.

dizzy height, to rest against the Silver Han [or 'Sky Han,' i.e., our Milky Way] in the blue vault."

This *ch'ing* series is paralleled by a more intense one, using *pi* "deep blue; indigo; cyan" (occasionally "dark green" in context, following the pattern of *ch'ing*). In this set we find not only such obvious constructions as *pi yün* "clouds up in the indigo [sky]," but also the like of *pi hsia*, common in Taoist poetry, which signifies "aurora in cyan," that is, "faint pinkish clouds of dawn set against the deep blue firmament." Other comparable sets using different substitutes for *ch'ing* "blue" occur (e.g., *ts'sang*).

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GLOSSARY

Chia Tao 賈島

chien men i ch'ing Han 劍門倚青漢

ch'ing 青

ch'ing Han 青漢

ch'ing i 青衣

ch'ing yün 青雲

Ch'üan T'ang shih 全唐詩

Hsüan-ch'eng 宣城

huang 黃

k'ung ch'ing 空青

Li hai chi 蠡海集

lū 綠

lū i 綠衣

mu 木

pi 碧

pi hsia 碧霞

pi yün 碧雲

shih ch'ing 石青

shih lū 石綠

Sung Mu shao fu chih Mei chou 送穆少府知眉州

ta ch'ing 大青

t'ien shang 天上

ts'ang 蒼

Wang K'uei 王逵

wu hsing 五行



THE GRAND AURORA

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THE GRAND AURORA

Edward H. SCHAFER

The subject called "cosmology" has come, in recent times, to enjoy a new respectability and even enthusiastic study in the western world. This enthusiasm has not, with a few rare exceptions, caught the imaginations of students of the history of Chinese science. However, now that the serious study of the great reservoir of canonical Taoist texts has become a fact of sinological scholarship, it seems obvious that the speculations—whether traditional, imaginative, or based on empirical study—that are abundantly embodied in the Canon, and also in Taoist poetry, a potential bonanza, should be treated as a resource for reconstructing the vision or visions of the universe held by the men of medieval China.

There are many reasons why scriptural and poetical sources should be studied together. I shall allude only to the chief one. The pages of the "Complete T'ang Poetry" provide us, over and over again, with observations of nature—from garden to galaxy—along with opinions and evaluations couched in vivid and precise language.

There is a real affinity between the linguistic imagery of speculative Taoist texts and the language of poetry. Indeed it seems fair to say that the astral worlds formulated in Taoist literature owe as much to linguistic imagery as they do to observation and experience, to say the least. Poetic metaphor is deeply involved with the terminologies of physics and metaphysics. The men of T'ang expressed the inexpressible, as we do, by analogy or by arbitrary images: some sub-atomic particles have charm, some do not.

My specimen, the term *t'ai hsia* 太霞, which I have translated "Grand Aurora," must first be considered linguistically, since our only clues to the image it presented to men's minds in medieval China come inevitably from the contemporary connotations of its constituents.

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¹This article is an abridgment and revision of "Taoist Cosmology: The Example of the Grand Aurora (*T'ai hsia* 太霞)" presented at the Third International Conference of Taoist Studies, held at Unterägeri, Switzerland, 3-9 September, 1979. The following abbreviations are used in footnote references:

- | | |
|------|--|
| CTS | <i>Ch'üan T'ang shih</i> 全唐詩 (ed. of Fu-hsing shu-chü 復興書局, Taipei, 1967) |
| HY | Weng Tu-chien, <i>Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature</i> (Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series No. 25; Peiping, 1935), pp. 1-37, which enumerates the contents of the <i>Tao tsang</i> 道藏 serially. (My pagination refers to the reprint of the Cheng T'ung version of the canon, published by the I-wen yin-shu-kuan 藝文印書館, Taipei, 1976) |
| WSPY | <i>Wu shang pi yao</i> 无上秘要 (HY 1130) |
| YCCC | <i>Yun chi ch'i ch'ien</i> 雲笈七籤 (ed. of Tzu-yu ch'u-p'an-she 自由出版社, Taipei, 1973) |

We begin with the word *hsia* (Middle Chinese **ghǎ*)—an alternate graph is 緋—itself.² It connoted the faintly pink blush of dawn, made visible by haze, dust or thin films of cloud. It referred also to similar chromatic displays in the sunset sky, but less often, since these usually lacked the same refined pallor. These attractive rosy effects, ranging chiefly through the lighter shades of red and yellow, were, as we shall see, regarded as evidence of otherworldly presences, either abstract or personified. Clues to the history of the word are supplied by other members of the family to which it belongs—that is, other words sharing the same “primitive” or root element, misleadingly reduced in conservative philological tradition to a mere “phonetic” role. An obvious cognate is *hsia* (**ghǎ*) 瑕, which *Shuo wen* 說文 defines as “jade, slightly reddened.” Since the finest jade was then the purest white, this reddening was considered a defect, and so the word came more and more to be generalized to the sense of “flaw,” but its graph was used interchangeably with the now standard graph for “aurora.” To this we should probably add *hsia* (**ghǎ*) 蝦 蟹 “shrimp; lobster, etc.” (i. e. pink or red crustacean). Another probable cognate is *hsia* (**ghǎ*) 暇 “interval; (hence) leisure,” representing another aspect of the semantic cluster embodied in our auroral word—that of a gap, or fissure. Specifically, it suggests the belief that pinkish streamers appearing in the dark firmament were fine vaporous extrusions through rifts in the sky-dome from an unimaginably radiant world beyond. Indeed, the early Chinese believed that the apparition we style the aurora borealis was produced in just this way.³

Unavoidably we progress to the question of the appropriateness of “aurora” as a reasonably exact translation of *hsia*. The application of the English word to the “northern lights” is, of course, secondary. Ultimately it refers to the rosy light of dawn, personified as the Roman goddess of the dawn, an avatar of *rhododaktylos Eos*.⁴ This is precisely what the Chinese word means. As a general color word, we use “aurora” for a color “yellowish-red in hue, of high saturation and high brilliance,” a description which also fits the standard definitions of “coral” and “tangerine” in respect both to hue and saturation, but “aurora” is more “brilliant” than these.⁵ This color, or range of hues, is of the greatest importance in Taoist imagery and iconography—a distinction it shares with a number of other Chinese color words, such as *chiang* 絳 “scarlet/orange” and *tan* 丹 “cinnabar; vermilion.” In Taoist poetry the expression “aurora in cyan” (*pi hsia* 碧霞)—the streaky pink glow of the dawn, suggesting a divine presence set against the indigo of deep space—is an exalted metaphor for the basic “cinnabar and azurite” of the

²The asterisked form is Middle Chinese, based on Karlgren’s romanization, as simplified in E. H. Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird: T’ang Images of the South* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 267-268.

³See, *inter alia*, E. H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void: T’ang Approaches to the Stars* (Berkeley, 1977), p. 86: “With a shortage of *yang* the sky is split.” There are other members of the *hsia* (**gha*) word-family whose semantic affiliation with these words is probable, even if the evidence is meager.

⁴See *Oxford English Dictionary*, quoting Caxton. Gold, Leg. (1483), 430/4: “On the thyrd nyght after, nygh the rysyng of aurora.”

⁵*Webster’s New International Dictionary of the English Language*, second edition (1959).

commonplace world of minerals and mineral pigments. A typical stanza tells of the almost unimaginable paradises through which the perfected adept may saunter at will.⁶ Basically, the term is merely an enhancement of the common figure "clouds in the blue" (*ch'ing yun* 靑雲), so common a cliché as hardly to deserve the epithet "poetic,"⁷ transferred to the ethereal colors of the upper regions of air, themselves presented as intimations of a divine world beyond.

Ultimately, the signs of life-giving red pneumas, revealed phenomenally as *hsia* "auroral, wispy hazes," are leakages through the indigo abyss of emanations from the remote palaces of the gods. This dark kingdom is often represented by the word *hsiao* 宵, a close cognate of *hsiao* 宵 "nighttime." The latter word conjoins a number of connotations appropriate to a misty, nocturnal abyss beyond the dome of the firmament. It is important in the terminology of Taoism: it occurs, for instance, in the titles of a number of important scriptures, and therefore itself deserves monographic treatment. I do not propose to attempt a full elucidation of it here. Suffice it to observe that in color imagery it is, on the most exalted level, the counterpart of the elemental blue, just as *hsia* "aurora" represents the primitive red.

In the technical language of Taoism one word recurs often in intimate association with *hsia* "aurora." This is *ch'en* 晨, which signifies the first faint appearance of sunlight in the dark eastern sky, heralding the fullness of dawn. The word has significant cognates in *ch'en* 辰 "the zodiacal position of the sun; hence, the cosmic marker of time," and in *ch'en* 宸 "divine source of light or enlightenment; hence, the palace or throne-room of a god or divine king."

The wedding of *ch'en* "source of morning light" with *hsia* "auroral gossamer in sky" is a natural and inevitable one. Since *hsia* "auroral wisps" represents the active aspect of *ch'en* "source of the dawn" from which it emanates, it follows that the word "aurora," whether or not it appears in conjunction with the word "dawn-source" (whose presence is implicit in any case), has the sense of "precursor or harbinger of a divine presence." It is a heraldic gleam from a palace in the depths of space—a spray of vital essence from the ultimate font:

Masked and screened—the prime transmutation begins:

Minute and muted—the protogenic aurora spreads.⁸

(Here "protogenic aurora," for *ch'en hsia*, is a condensed locution standing for "auroral emission from the ultimate source of divine light.") The signalled Presence becomes partly visible in hallucinatory phenomena of light. The fortunate initiate can detect, but only faintly, the glowing canopy of the sky-borne carriage of a great deity brushing the pink streamers of the dawn.

⁶The example is taken from Ts'ao T'ang 曹唐 (fl. 860-873), "Hsiao yu hsien shih" 小遊仙詩, no. 63, CTS, *han* 10, *ts'e* 2, ch. 2, p. 6b.

⁷See E. H. Schafer, "Blue-green Clouds," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1982, 102: 91-92.

⁸*T'ai ti chün tsan ta yu miao ching sung i chang* 太帝君譜大有妙經頌一章, in YCCC, ch. 96, p. 1321.

The word *hsia* “aurora” has had a very important role in metaphor. The common extension from the dawn sky to other aspects of experience is by no means restricted to the language of cosmology and religion. The basic sense of “transparent colored films in the sky” was easily transferred to thin reddish tissues and rose-colored gossamers in the world of men. Above all, the name was applied to the distinctive peach-like hue of the fine cottons that, at this time, were popular among peoples of Indochina, Indonesia, and India: for the Chinese, these dawn-flushed cotton costumes were most often seen at court performances of the exotic dances of Champa and India.⁹

The ideal concatenation of denotations is supplied by descriptions of the formal costumes of Taoist priests and priestesses. In the iconography of medieval Taoism the word “aurora” symbolized the garments of divine beings whose filmy dawn-drenched robes and trailing skirts were imitated by the dedicated aspirants who aimed to reach the same higher realms inhabited by these super-beings, themselves only occasionally revealed as rosy ectoplasm. Here is a quatrain on that theme by Wang Chou 王周, who held office in Szechwan in the tenth century but is otherwise virtually unknown. It is called simply “Aurora”:

A lambent brushing gives birth to crumbling flares,
In layered lamina, like stammel rent apart.
Heaven's wind scissors it into strips,
Doubtless to make a dress for a transcendent person.”¹⁰

It was also important to the adept to be able to recognize and identify these divinities, when they were actualized in visions, from the details of their costumes. Only then could he initiate the proper gestures and incantations. Moreover, fine net-weaves, gauzes, and chiffons were cut into copies of the pale flamelike mists which cloaked celestial beings to provide suitable raiment for the priestesses who trod sacred measures on the high altars of the Pole Star in the hours preceding the dawn. In this, iconography became effectual as imitative magic. Indeed, in the dreams of neophytes who aspired to perform ecstatic dances among the constellations, an auroral costume was *de rigueur*:

My feathered sleeves flourish cinnabar phoenixes;
My auroral kerchief trails painted rainbows.¹¹

But dawn-tinted garments were most characteristic of the radiant ladies called “Jade Women,” who had crystallized out of the Primal Pneuma. One of them was the “Jade Consort of Eastern Hua” (*tung hua yü fei* 東華玉妃), the younger sister of the great lord of Fu-sang, the source of the rising sun. The poet Ts'ao T'ang 曹唐 wrote of her:

⁹E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley, 1963), pp. 206-207.

¹⁰Wang Chou, “Hsia” 霞, CTS, *han* 11, *ts'e* 6, p. 3a.

¹¹Wei Ch'ü-mou 韋渠牟 (749-801), “Pu hsu tz'u” 步虛詞, no. 15, CTS, *han* 5, *ts'e* 7, pp. 2b-3a.

"Eastern Consort dons at leisure her skirt of halcyon and aurora."¹²

(Note here the typical contrast between "halcyon" [kingfisher blue] and "aurora" [dawn pink], representing the primitive blue/red antithesis embodied in the flush of dawn against the blue sky—and, at the same time, the bird-like flight of the goddess.)

Even the most exalted deities—conceived as masculine—were adorned with the glow of dawn. For instance, the "Yellow Thearch of the Center Point" (*Chung yang huang ti* 中央黃帝) could be visualized riding splendidly in his "flying palanquin of the yellow aurora."¹³ The same attribute signalized the high god styled "Supreme Lord of the Tao, the Great Thearch of Cinnabar Forest in Fu-sang of the Eastern Aurora of Grand Tenuity" (*T'ai wei tung hsia Fu-sang tan lin ta ti shang tao chün* 太微東霞扶桑丹林大帝上道君).¹⁴ But here we have left symbolism and iconography behind, and come back full circle to the orient source of vitality itself.

The word *hsia* "aurora" has a natural affinity with certain qualifying words. The one which concerns us here—on the very verge of the sky—is *tzu* 紫, usually translated "purple," but covering a larger part of the visible spectrum than does the English word. It has a range of reference from reddish browns to the true amethystine—pale reddish blue. In short, some element of red is always present. Hence, in the end, *tzu* "purple" is yet another substitute for "vermilion," "orange," and their equivalents, with the added overtone of "mana; magic power." This latter connotation is regularly present in descriptions of divine swords, celestial apparitions, and the palaces of the gods—all regularly invested with a numinous purple glow. Most specifically, purple is the color of the celestial pole, expressed, for instance, in the name of the polar palace of the universal sovereign, "The Palace of Purple Subtlety" (*Tzu wei kung* 紫微宮).¹⁵ Accordingly, it was quite fitting that the Realized Person of the Clear Void (*Ch'ing hsu chen jen* 清虛真人) should carol joyfully of "purple auroras dancing in murky space."¹⁷ "Purple Aurora" is also the name of a holy region, which an advanced adept might hope to visit. So it was conceived by the ambiguous Lü Yen 呂巖, supposed to have lived in the ninth century, whose name has attracted a heavy burden of apocrypha:

"Straddle a tiger—mount a dragon! a pilgrimage to Purple Aurora."¹⁸

¹²Ts'ao T'ang, *op. cit.*, no. 20, p. 2b. She is listed in T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景, *Tung hsuan ling pao chen ling wei yeh t'u* 洞玄靈寶真靈位業圖 (HY 167), p. 6b.

¹³"San chiu su yü yü ching chen chueh ts'un szu fa" 三九素語玉精真訣存思法, in YCCC, ch. 44, p. 636.

¹⁴T'ao Hung-ching, *op. cit.*, p. 3b.

¹⁵Represented to our eyes by two constellations, the eastern and western walls of the palace (*tzu wei yuan* 紫微垣), corresponding chiefly to stars in our constellation Draco, along with some others in Camelopardalis, Cepheus, etc. *Pacing the Void*, p. 47.

¹⁶That is, Wang Pao 王褒, the preceptor of Lady Wei Hua-ts'un 魏華存, founder of the earthly tradition of Highest Clarity.

¹⁷"Ch'ing hsu chen jen ko erh chang" 清虛真人歌二章, YCC, ch. 96, p. 1327.

¹⁸Lü Yen, "Ch'i yen" 七言, CTS, *han* 12, *ts'e* 6, ch. 1, p. 2b. There are alchemical overtones in this verse.

Like other varieties of the aurora, the purple one was readily detected in the delicate, swirling garments worn by divine beings.

Auroral plasmas also merge with the vermilion powders and tinctures of the alchemists' crucibles. Indeed, Taoist elixirs could rightly be considered to be more than mere exudates and effusions of natural minerals. The austerities and purifications that necessarily preceded their conjunctions and sublimations induced the extraction of potent plasmas—vermilion, rosy, purple—from celestial reservoirs. These invaded the mundane reagents, transforming them into semi-divine substances, without parallel in the natural world. A first step in this process is adumbrated in a couplet by the Taoist poet Wu Yun 吳筠:

As scarlet trees give form to cinnabar fruits,
So purple auroras make cyan exudates flow.¹⁹

This is the language of cosmic alchemy, which earth-bound adepts aimed to reproduce in a sublunary and often imperfect form.

Alchemical elixirs were the synthetic equivalents of heavenly nectars and ambrosias. They were divine foods which inhibited malignant agencies in the mortal body, and nourished the embryonic immortal body which, at last, might shed its corruptible husk as a flying insect abandons its exuviae, ready to ascend to higher realms of air.

Some of these elixirs partook of the nature or substance of the auroral emanations from the eastern birthplace of the sun. Ts'ao T'ang 曹唐, in one of his ninety-eight stanzas on "Little Saunters in Sylphdom," two of which have been quoted already, states this plainly:

If starving, dine on the aurora—worries will instantly depart;
At the entire sounding of a 'long whistle'—the myriad hills will
become verdant.²⁰

Similarly, Ma Tai 馬戴, whose verses are also preoccupied with Taoist themes, promised a priestly friend whom he was seeing off to T'ien t'ai that there he would

Dine on the aurora within the marches of morning.²¹

This imagery can be traced back to the early Han period, in the "Rhapsody on the Great Man" (*Ta jen fu* 大人賦) of Szu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如:

He sucks the cold night damps:
He dines on the auroras of morning.

These phrases, suggesting chilly northern mists (**ghang-ghai* 沆瀣) in the first instance, and warming solar rays in the second, have their classical pairing, corre-

¹⁹ Wu Yun, "Pu hsu tz'u 步虛詞, no. 10, CTS, *han* 12, *ts'e* 6, p. 8b.

²⁰ Ts'ao T'ang, *op. cit.*, no. 19, p. 2b. The long whistle was a magical technique of whistling by which adepts could call up the wind, tame animals, and affect other aspects of nature and the realm of the divine. On whistling see among others Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穂, "口蕭の源流," *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教, 1974, 44: 1-13.

²¹ Ma Tai, "Sung tao yu ju T'ien t'ai shan tso", 送道友入天台山作, CTS, *han* 9, *ts'e* 2, ch.2, p. 14b.

sponding to *yang* and *yin*, in "Saunter Afar" (*Yuan yu* 遠遊) of the *Ch'u tz'u* 楚辭 *Ghang-ghai*, as a sort of refined night-fallen dew, was set out on Taoist altars in T'ang times during winter ceremonies.²²

The noble nutriment called "fluid aurora" (*liu hsia* 流霞) is mentioned in the text of *Pao p'u tzu*, where it describes a divine liqueur which immediately banishes hunger and thirst.²³ It was given orthodox status in early Highest Clarity (*shang ch'ing* 上清) scriptures, where it refers more specifically to an infusion drawn from beyond the stars by the rapt adept than to any beverage imbibed from an earthly beaker.²⁴

A number of epigene elixirs whose names suggest an affinity with this exalted original are described in alchemical texts. For instance, there was the "Mystically Realized Scarlet Auroral Powder" (*hsuan chen Chiang hsia sha* 玄真絳霞砂), which included mercury as an essential ingredient (*sha* 砂 "powder" is short for *tan sha* 丹砂 "cinnabar powder," the common name for cinnabar as prepared for laboratory and medicinal use). This "powder" was one of the chemical "frosts," that is, a crystalline efflorescence of great luster and brilliance.²⁵ This was the material equivalent of the solar essence that was revealed to the adept who scanned the sky at dawn, and, as the epithet "Mystically Realized" indicates, was also identical with the solar plasma breathed into the mouth of the initiate directly from the lips of the jade maiden who bore the same title.²⁶

A number of other alchemical preparations of the T'ang period had auroral aspects. Of these the one of the greatest interest in the present context was the "Cinnabar of the Fluid Aurora" (*liu hsia tan* 流霞丹), also styled "Cinnabar of Eightfold Divinity" (*pa shen tan* 八神丹). Mei Piao 梅彪, the lexicographer of T'ang alchemy, records a "Cinnabar of the Diffused Colors of the Dawn Aurora" (*chao hsia san ts'ai tan* 朝霞散彩丹), also called "Cinnabar of the Snow of [the trigram] *ken*" (*ken hsueh tan* 艮霞丹), and a "Cinnabar of Congealed Aurora" (*ning hsia tan* 凝霞丹), otherwise known as "Lesser Returned Cinnabar of the Grand Monad" (*T'ai I hsia huan tan* 太一小還丹), a "Cinnabar of Ascending Auroras" (*sheng hsia tan* 昇霞丹), and a "Cinnabar of the Five Auroras" (*wu hsia tan* 五霞丹), whose other name "Cinnabar of the Five Stones" (*wu shih tan* 五石丹) refers to the five mineral pigments of the traditional palette—azurite (blue), malachite (green), cinnabar (red), ceruse (white), and carbon (black).²⁷

²²E. H. Schafer, *Mao Shan in T'ang Times* (Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, Monograph No. 1; Boulder, 1980), p. 42, comment on line 4.

²³*Pao p'u tzu nei p'ien* 抱朴子內篇 (P'ing chin kuan 平津館 ts'ung-shu ed.), ch. 20, p. 6b.

²⁴See WSPY, ch. 94, p. 2b, quoting the *Tzu shu chueh* 紫書訣, that is, the scripture variously called *Tung chen shang ch'ing ching yao tzu shu chin ken chung ching* 洞真上清精要紫書金根象經, *Ch'ing yao tzu shu* 青要紫書, or simply *Chin ken ching* 金根經 (HY 1304). Similar techniques are described elsewhere in the *Tao tsang* 道藏, e.g. in *Huang t'ien shang ch'ing chin ch'ueh ti chün ling shu tzu wen shang ching* 皇天上清金闕帝君靈書紫文上經 (HY 639).

²⁵See "Ch'i fan ling sha lun" 七反靈砂論 in YCCC, ch. 69, pp. 979-980; cf. *Wei Po-yang ch'i fan tan sha chueh* 魏伯陽七反丹砂訣 (HY 887).

²⁶See E. H. Schafer, "The Jade Woman of Greatest Mystery," *History of Religions*, 1978, 17: 387-398.

²⁷Mei Piao, *Shih yao erh ya* 石藥爾雅 (HY 900), ch. b, p. 2b, 2a, 2b, and 3a.

These last names exemplify once more the close affinity between the divine substances of the celestial realm and their terrestrial analogues: thus the advanced initiate may “actualize and visualize the fluid auroras in five colors within the sun, which will all come and merge with his body, descending to both of his feet.”²⁸

Of special importance in the Highest Clarity tradition, possibly ranking with the Fluid Aurora, to which it was closely related, was the ethereal fluid known as “Jade Aurora” (*yü hsia* 玉霞), a name more important in the technology of solar inhalation than in alchemy properly speaking. The technique is described as the “Superior Method for [Inward] Observation of Purple Glints and Jade Auroras of Grand Clarity (*T'ai ch'ing yü hsia tzu ying [nei] kuan shang fa* 太清玉霞紫映[內]觀上法). After purification by fasting, washing and the like, the adept meditates in a secluded chamber, gradually eliminating all awareness of the outer world. He sits facing south, and actualizes a purple pneuma above his head, gulps this down thirty-nine times, opens his eyes, clashes his teeth thrice, and recites a prayer which begins with the words “Fluid Aurora of Highest Clarity . . .” A similar actualization technique, which leads to the direct absorption of the *yang* essence, is one called “The Way of Inward Observation of Purple Glints and Jade Auroras of Highest Clarity” (*Shang ch'ing yü hsia tzu ying nei kuan chih tao* 上清玉霞紫映內觀之道). This procedure requires that the devotee capture the reflection of the sun in a dish of holy water, producing an effect of “fluid auroras” in many colors. *Inter alia*, the adept invokes the “Red Lad of Cinnabar Aurora” (*tan hsia ch'ih t'ung* 丹霞赤童), evidently the personification of the *yang* plasma. The auroras flow into the adept's body; he then actualizes the disc of the sun, within which is the figure of a transcendent being clad in red, scarlet and vermilion vestments—the solar lad himself—indicating the presence within the adept's body of the ultimate vitalizing element from the very source of *yang* below the dawn horizon.²⁹ Both of the above procedures belong to the class of “Purple Text” arcana (*tzu shu chueh* 紫書訣).³⁰

In summary, the divine aurora was the occasionally visible ethereal emanation from the font of *yang* essence, which gives birth to the sun and nourishment to the human soul. This agrees with the revelation to Yang Hsi which states, “The sun is the fruition of the aurora; the aurora is the germination of the sun.”³¹ To earth-bound witnesses it sometimes affords a peripheral, tantalizing, but still enchanting glimpse of the divine life—represented on the simplest level as the flicker of a pink sleeve through the sky at the end of night:

Within the Void—a sidelong glimpse of auroral garments.³²

“The Grand Aurora” is the ultimate manifestation of these glimmers and intimations of what lies beyond ordinary experience. The phrase may be better

²⁸WSPY, ch. 94, p. lb., citing *Tung chen ling shu tzu wen* 洞真靈書紫文. See note 24 above.

²⁹YCCC, ch. 53, pp. 750-751.

³⁰See note 24 above.

³¹*Chen kao* 真誥 (HY 1010), 2, 6a.

³²“Chung hsien pu hsu tz'u” 眾仙步虛詞, YCCC, ch. 99, p. 1357.

understood if examined in the context of the class of phrases—part of the terminology of metaphysics, religion, and cosmology—which have the word *t'ai* “grand; greatest” as their first component. That word implies “greater than great,” “greatest of all,” as when we speak of a “grand duke” or a “grand ball.” We know such expressions from early Taoist literature; for instance, *T'ai p'ing* 太平 “Grand Tranquillity” and *T'ai ch'ing* 太清 “Grand Clarity,” implying the ultimate and final peace, and the perfect condition of clarity—that is, of non-contamination.

Many phrases of this type represent critical cosmogonic stages—eras of cosmic evolution. Such are those in the standard sequence beginning with the undifferentiated “Primal Pneuma” (*yuan ch'i* 元氣) and concluding with “Grand Culmination” (*t'ai chi* 太極), the age of the bifurcation of the primitive substance. Some of these terms have a special significance in Mao Shan Taoism. “Grand Initiation” (*t'ai shih* 太始), for instance, is, in an important Taoist text, not merely an abstract cosmogonic term, but takes on a marked theological tinge: “At the time of Grand Initiation, Lord Lao descended to become its Master, and from his mouth he emitted the ‘Scripture of Grand Initiation’.”³³

Even more complex is the case of “Grand Simplicity” (*t'ai su* 太素), which inaugurated, in the grand cosmogonic scheme, the era of simple unshaped substance, homogeneous and undistributed. For the Taoist mythographers the name referred to a separate epiphany of Lord Lao, equipped with a new cabala. In this system it is no longer simply a question of unshaped matter, but rather of a golden age when all creatures lived in utter purity and simplicity, and men were immortal, subsisting on sweet dew and natural fountains of wine.³⁴

Some other terms beginning with “grand,” however, are *cosmographic*, that is, they represent cosmic regions or conditions, without temporal reference or a position in the cosmogonic sequence. An example is “Grand Hollow” (*t'ai k'ung* 太空), which is the space which must be traversed to reach the great palace of the lord of the universe at the celestial pole. This starry reach sometimes echoes to the music performed at divine entertainments there. Another example is “Grand Void” (*t'ai hsu* 太虛) which, unlike the inactive “Grand Hollow,” has a generative character, and precipitates pneumas (*ch'i* 氣) which may appear to men as clouds, mists, solar haloes, and comparable phenomena.³⁵

As for Grand Aurora itself—like a number of similar terms of great significance—it has been surprisingly neglected, even in Chinese sources. For instance, it does

³³The complete sequence, following the condition of Primal Pneuma, is “Grand Interchangeability” (*T'ai i* 太易), the potentiality within the Pneuma of formal differentiation; “Grand Antecedence” (*T'ai ch'u* 太初), the germination of formal differentiation; “Grand Initiation” (*T'ai shih* 太始), when formal distinctions are realized; “Grand Simplicity” (*T'ai su* 太素), the emergence of matter as undifferentiated substance; “Grand Culmination” (*T'ai chi* 太極), when *yin* and *yang* polarized out of the primitive stuff, and by further subdivision produced the Myriad Creatures (*wan wu* 萬物). *T'ai shang Lao chün k'ai t'ien ching* 太上老君開天經 (HY 1425); *Pacing the Void*, p. 28.

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵I have treated these concepts somewhat more fully in my article “Wu Yun’s ‘Cantos on Pacing the Void,’” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1981, 41: 377-415.

not figure in the cosmographic sections of the early Sung Taoist compendium "The Cloud Portfolio with Seven Index-Labels" (*Yun chi ch'i ch'ien* 雲笈七籤).³⁶ This fact alone justifies the present study.

In an elegant metaphor the Lady of Cloudy Forest (*Yun lin fu-jen* 雲林夫人) described to the rapt Yang Hsi 楊羲 the domain of the Grand Aurora as seen from outside:

The pylons of the dawn—a frame for the Grand Aurora!³⁷

We envisage a celestial city whose splendors are concealed behind the bastions of night. At the beginning of the day the great gates open, and beams of golden rose—a kind of celestial phosphorescence—stream out between the great towers that flank that entrance. They show forth a fleeting trace of the promised glory—not fully revealed to any mere mortal—of a perfect world, where the Realized People (*chen jen* 真人) exist eternally. The same goddess allowed her enchanted pupil another partial view of it:

Look up—a glimpse of the Palace of the Grand Aurora,
Its golden galleries radiant in the purple clarity!³⁸

Sometimes the Grand Aurora appears as a mountain—and indeed the palaces of the gods and of divine kings are, in many times and cultures, symbolic representations of the world mountain, itself a cosmic palace. Notable examples were the *Śailarāja*—"kings of the mountain"—of medieval Indonesia. A Taoist instance, from an early Highest Clarity scripture, states: "At the court of Grand Nullity (*T'ai wu* 太无) is the Marchmount (*yueh* 嶽) of the Grand Aurora, which is named 'Mountain of the Five Interstices'. This is where the Lord within the Dawn of Grand Nullity dwells."³⁹ Even the mountains of our world are illusory disguises, concealing well the intricate shapes of the true and glorious cities they cover, as the Taoist poets well knew. Here is Hsu Hsuan 徐鉉 in the tenth century:

Once you come into Transcendent Town, you take it to be an old mountain.⁴⁰

As to the location of the auroral citadel—it was the shining focus of the empyrean that constituted the orient kingdom of Blue Lad, the monarch who presides over the infinite pool of vitality, a warming, healing, creative volcano that spouts a small portion of its energy over the edge of the world of men with every sunrise. That deity has himself sung of his domain:

³⁶ *T'ien ti pu* 天地部 and *Jih yueh hsing ch'en pu* 日月星辰部.

³⁷ *Chen kao* 真誥 (HY 1010), ch. 3, p. 6b.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10b.

³⁹ *Yü chen t'ai tung yü ching* 玉真太洞王經, quoted in WSPY, ch. 4, p. 8a. There is also the "Mountain of the Yellow Aurora," the dwelling place of the Five Thearchs, and the "Mountain of Flying Auroras," in the Heaven of the Jade Void, which can be visited by adepts who master the Scripture of the Grand Grotto (*T'ai tung ching* 太洞經). See *ibid.*, p. 7a.

⁴⁰ Hsu Hsuan, "T'i po ho miao" 題白鶴廟, CTS, *han* 11, *ts'e* 5, ch. 5, p. 3a.

The Grand Aurora fans out flashes of the dawn,
Where the Nine Pneumas have no constant contour.⁴¹

And what is the way to this magical place? The route was chanted by the Lady of Highest Prime (*Shang yuan fu-jen* 上元夫人), the incomparable handmaiden of the Mother of the West:

Long ago one trudged the Mystically Realized Way—
Then ascended, with bounding steps, the Grand Aurora.⁴²

The “Mystically Realized Way” is the sunglade, the jet of sunlight whose micro-cosmic counterpart is the breath of the jade woman who injects eternal life into the trance-bound Taoist adept.⁴³

Should one ask for more precise information about the location of this distant demesne, relative to other regions of space, the evidence is clear only on a single point: the Grand Aurora does not envelop the universe. The texts make it plain that adepts may aspire to the transit of the Grand Aurora to attain a vast, often characterless region beyond.⁴⁴ This was stated to Yang Hsi in the fourth century by the Lady of Purple Subtlety (*Tzu wei fu-jen* 紫微夫人):

Let your wheels go above the Grand Aurora;
Gather your reins on reaching the Purple Hill.⁴⁵

Similarly, an entertainer at one of Hsi Wang Mu's celebrated dinner parties sang:

Through Jade Clarity—go out from the Nine Heavens;
From the Divine Hostel—fly out beyond the Aurora.⁴⁶

These directions were followed faithfully by Taoist poets of the T'ang period. Wu Yun, notably, in one of his “Pacing the Void” poems, wrote of upward flight “footloose and fancy free” above the Grand Aurora,⁴⁷ and in one of his “Saunters in Sylphdom” poems he told of

Loosing your person above the Grand Aurora,
In nebulous nowhere, floating in the midst of the Void.⁴⁸

It appears, then, that the Grand Aurora is a realm or condition on the verge of a perfect world, beyond the powers of human speech to describe. Parts of this

⁴¹“Fang-chu ch'ing t'ung ko i chang” 方諸青童歌一章, YCCC, ch. 96, p. 1327.

⁴²“Hsi Wang Mu yen Han Wu Ti Shang yuan fu-jen t'an yun lin chih ao ko pu hsu chih ch'ü i chang” 西王母宴漢武帝上元夫人彈雲林之璫歌步之曲一章, YCCC, ch. 96, p. 1325. “Mystically Realized Way” is *hsuan chen tao* 玄真道.

⁴³See above, p. 27, and n. 26.

⁴⁴A worthy candidate for such a universal envelope is the “Great Netting Heaven” (*Ta lo t'ien* 大羅天), the site of the residence of the Supreme Lord (*Yuan shih t'ien tsun* 元始天尊), but this would need systematic verification. See *Tao men ching fa hsiang ch'eng tz'u hsu* 道門經法相承次序 (HY 1120), ch. a, p. 14b; *Yu yang tsa tsu* 西陽雜俎 ch. 22, p. 9.

⁴⁵*Chen kao*, ch. 3, p. 6b.

⁴⁶“Shuang li chu t'an yun ao erh ta ko i chang” 雙禮珠彈雲璫而大歌一章, YCCC, ch. 96, p. 1326. I assume that “Aurora” here stands for “Grand Aurora.”

⁴⁷Wu Yun, “Pu hsu tz'u” 步虛詞 no. 2, CTS, *han* 12, *ts'e* 6, p. 7a.

⁴⁸Wu Yun, “Yu hsien” 遊仙, no. 23, CTS, *han* 12, *ts'e* 6, p. 4a.

marchland become faintly visible, like the *fata morgana*, when circumstances are just right. On this ambiguous frontier the adept may perceive supernal beings seemingly clothed in the illusory colors that characterize the world of the senses. It is a region of transition, where the phenomenal is fading into the noumenal. The phantoms detected there may be compared to transient apparitions of the dead, who become faintly visible as filmy, transparent entities hovering between their world and ours. But these pink streamers and orange filaments are no more than small, fleeting ejecta—torn loose, as it were, from the Grand Aurora itself, that vast, incomprehensible kingdom of light.

From the example of the Grand Aurora, at least, it appears that Taoist cosmology was not abstract, geometrical, or rational. It was concrete, qualitative, and sensible. It was indifferent to measurement and computation. All descriptions of it were profoundly dependent upon analogy, similarity, and metaphor. The operations, both ritual and meditative, based upon these descriptions were ultimately an expression of the great Principle of Correspondences, basic to Chinese metaphysics.⁴⁹

In short, the medieval Taoists treated cosmological speculation and the hopes fed by it as a kind of linguistic enchantment. In the end it was imitative magic.

⁴⁹For a short statement of its astral implications see *Pacing the Void*, pp. 55-56; for a fuller exposition see Manfred Porkert, *The Theoretical Foundations of Chinese Medicine. Systems of Correspondence* (Cambridge, 1974).



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Hallucinations and Epiphanies in T'ang Poetry

"For Auden as for Nabokov, 'art is a game of intricate enchantment and deception.'" (John Bayley, review of Edward Mendelson, *Early Auden*, in TLS, 11 December 1981)

Literary transformations are like perceptual transformations.

A large number of T'ang poems have the quality of illuminating hallucinations. In them concrete objects or whole scenes are transformed into visions of their astral or celestial "counterparts."¹

For instance, a lunar halo may assume the aspect of a crystal palace in the sky, or of a radiant mist-swathed goddess. Such an epiphany is analogous to the vision of a Taoist adept who experiences a mystical transformation of the world his senses reveal to him into a higher or eternal semblance of itself. The poet's skill in verbal magic is best displayed when he contrives this transformation between the first and last couplet of his artifact, the poem—especially when this is a simple quatrain. Then a close succession of interlocking images leads the reader, in a short verbal space, to an inevitable perception of the unity and coherence of the vision embodied in the poem. At its best, the transformation is effected continuously, like the gradual illumination of a stage. Every word, every interrelation between words, every highlighting of one word by contiguity or interaction with another, must be consistent with the texture and design of this carefully designed gestalt. No single word is chosen idly or fortuitously: in a good poem each word has a vital part and

its exact nuances must be understood perfectly in order to decipher the whole message. This admonition must be kept in mind when reading *any* poem. It is all the more necessary to do so when the artful illusionist is contriving an illusion within an illusion—that is, a phantom within a poem.

Often these hallucinatory images are identified as such by the writer. They are defined by similes, explicit comparisons, or even proclaimed identities. A flight of cranes becomes a bevy of moon-maids; a lamp-lit geisha street becomes a sylphine paradise; a patterning of frost is an array of sword blades; drifting snow is jade sand washed from the Sky River, or it is a show of white flowers, then ashes of jade from a sacred mountain, and finally a procession of moon fairies; pine trees become magic sky-rafts; a misted pine-clad mountain is Nü Kua's skirt; rain is water dripping from the Sky River.² "Evening on the Kiang," the second of the poems translated below, belongs in this group.

In more challenging poems, the writer does not give the whole show away: he requires that the reader detect a veiled transformation, guided by a subtle sequence of clues. For instance, an apparent priestess is in fact a goddess; a house can be seen as a mansion on the Sky River; a window becomes a constellation; a mist becomes a rain spirit; a round mirror becomes the full moon, and a curtain hook its crescent phase; the Lo River is transmuted into the Sky River; Mount Sung becomes a celestial palace of white jade; frost becomes apricot flowers; a geisha house becomes Ch'ango-o's glittering

¹ For the pervasiveness of the doctrine of correspondences, the basis of Chinese astrology, but also very significant in religion, magic, medicine and other aspects of medieval culture, see E. H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 55–56, where a simplified version of the concept is outlined: "Celestial events are the 'counterparts' or 'simulacra' of terrestrial events, sky things have doppelgängers below, with which they are closely attuned. 'In the sky are formed counterparts (*hsiang*); on the earth are formed contours (*hsing*).'" Hence asterisms are "mystic simulacra" (*hsüan hsiang*) and have macrocosmic roles analogous or identical with those of things and events which, in the microcosm of the physical world or human body, are in sympathetic harmony with them. See Manfred Porkert, *The Theoretical Foundations of Chinese Medicine: Systems of Correspondence* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1974), for an elaborate statement of this theory.

² All of the examples are from my own publications, in the following order: E. H. Schafer, "The Cranes of Mao Shan," in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*, Vol. 2, ed. M. Strickmann (Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques; Brussels, 1983), p. 392; "Notes on T'ang Geisha, 3. Yang-chou in T'ang Times," *Schafer Sinological Papers*, 6 (19 March 1984), 11; *Pacing the Void*, p. 153; "The Snow of Mao Shan: A Cluster of Taoist Images," in *Myth and Symbol in Chinese Literature*, ed. N. J. Girardot (forthcoming); *Pacing the Void*, p. 266; *The Divine Woman: Dragon Ladies and Rain Maidens in T'ang Literature* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1980), p. 92; "The Sky River," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94 (1974), 406.

pavilion in the moon.³ The third of the poems translated below falls in this category.

The position of my first specimen is harder to define, probably because of its somewhat whimsical tone.

SPECIMENS

"I strive for the transcendental
mountain"
(Mei Niang)⁴

I

The Gallery at Scorched Cliff
Wei Chuang⁵

1. Li Po once sang "The Shu Road is hard."⁶
2. [I have] heard: "In white sun[light one may] ascend to the blue sky."
3. Now at sunrise, having passed to the Gallery at Scorched Cliff by night,
4. I begin to believe that the Starry Ho lay in front of my horse.

Comments

1. In the course of his poem, Li Po uses the words "the hardship of the Shu Road—harder than the ascent of the blue sky!" three times, putting much emphasis on the comparison between the ascent of the pass and the ascent to heaven. Wei Chuang echoes this motif in his first couplet.
2. But there is this difference: the interposition of "in white sunlight" adds a specifically Taoist element. It was well

³ E. H. Schafer, "The Capeline Cantos: Verses on the Divine Loves of Taoist Priestesses," *Asiatische Studien* 32 (1978), *passim*; "Two Late T'ang Poems on Music," *Literature East and West* 16 (1972), 993; "Supposed 'Inversions' in T'ang Poetry," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 96 (1976), 121; "Cantos on 'One Bit of Cloud at Shamanka Mountain,'" *Asiatische Studien* 36 (1982), 111–112; "A Trip to the Moon," *Parabola* 8/4 (Fall 1983), 79–80; *Pacing the Void*, p. 259; "Notes on T'ang Geisha, 3. Yang-chou in T'ang Times," *Schafer Sinological Papers*, 6 (19 March 1984), 12.

⁴ Mei Niang, "Ho Cho Ying-ying Chin-ch'eng ch'un wang," *Ch'uan T'ang shih* (Taipei: Fu-hsing shu-chü, 1967), han 12, ts'e 6, p. 3b (hereafter *CTS*); translated in E. H. Schafer, "Three Divine Women of South China," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 1 (1979), 37.

⁵ Wei Chuang (fl. 900), "Chiao yai ko," *CTS*, han 10, ts'e 9, ch. 5, pp. 3a–3b.

⁶ Li Po, "Shu tao nan," *CTS*, han 3, ts'e 4, ch. 2, pp. 1b–2a. See the translation in Arthur Waley, *The Poetry and Career of Li Po, 701–762 A.D.* (3rd impression, London: Allen & Unwin, 1969), pp. 38–40.

known that Li Po aspired to transcendence, and had even been initiated into the lower arcana. In one of his own poems he expresses his delight at receiving a sacred register.⁷ Adepts of the highest level could expect to ascend into the sky "in white sunlight"—a simultaneous transfiguration and assumption—a feat here attributed to Li Po, either in Wei Chuang's belief or in his fancy. Indeed, it was believed that Li Po had been appropriately stellated in the asterism "Wine Star" (Chiu Hsing) in our constellation Leo (ξ , ψ , ω Leonis), as was recognized by the late T'ang poets Li Ho, P'i Jih-hsiu, Cheng Ku, and P'ei Yüeh.⁸

3. After a harrowing climb by night, Wei Chuang's persona finds himself at the summit just at sunrise, where he can inspect the path below, with its narrow ledges and hanging trellises. (I cannot identify either "Scorched Cliff" or its gallery. The latter may have been an actual rest-house, or a natural rock formation.)

4. There are stars in Li Po's "Shu Road is Hard" as well: "I feel my way past Triaster, and I traverse Well" (*men shen li ching*). Both asterisms are lunar lodgings, the significant elements of Chinese astrology. "Triaster" contains the brightest stars of Orion, notably δ , ϵ , and ζ , which stud the sword-belt, plus α (Betelgeuse) and β (Rigel). "Well" consists of stars in Hydra. Both constellations hang over the southeast in January, that is, back towards the lowlands and the Yangtze watershed. In "disastrous geography" (*fen yeh*), Triaster governs Shansi, while Well controls the destiny of the west country, including the passes into Szechwan. Li Po has given an astrological version of a journey into the west. Now Wei Chuang pronounces, in a rather jocular tone, that he has equalled Li Po's feat of rising to heaven by a steep and mysterious passage and hobnobbing with the stars. He himself has, undoubtedly, watered his horse in the glittering water of the great sky river (Hsing Ho). *Ad astra per ardua*.

II

Evening on the Kiang
Ts'ui Tao-yung⁹

1. In the Kiang's heart the autumn moon is white.
2. I take up the rudder and move on, confident in the tide.
3. Kraken-dragons¹⁰ mutate—become human:
4. At midnight—the sound of [someone] blowing a flute.

⁷ E. H. Schafer, "Li Po's Star Power," *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Chinese Religions* 6 (Fall 1978), 5–15.

⁸ *Pacing the Void*, pp. 124–125.

⁹ Ts'ui Tao-yung (fl. 879), "Chiang hsi," *CTS*, han 11, ts'e 1, p. 2a.

¹⁰ *Chiao lung*. The *chiao* "kraken" is generally regarded as a terrifying subspecies of *lung* "dragon."

Comments

1. The full moon of mid-autumn is mirrored in the water of the broad Yangtze. (White is the color of the supernatural world.)
2. The traveler takes in his rudder and allows natural forces to direct his movements. (He must be in the estuary, probably near Yang-chou, where the tidal waters make themselves felt.)
3. Krakens are malignant, demoniac beings which sometimes turn into lovely girls—bloodthirsty witch-wives who lure young men to their deaths in their subaqueous lairs. Their bait is usually the false shape of an elegant mansion, seen by moonlight, where the sounds of revelry may be heard.¹¹
4. It is the very witching hour—we should expect werewolves and vampires. It seems to be a peaceful autumn night—but is it a night of horror? Now the siren's song. Is it a dream, or is this really happening to me?:

Evening in Transylvania

Some unseen power carries me away:
It is the night of the full moon
When satanic creatures take on human form—
And somewhere I hear the notes of a zither.
(Ah there, Dracula!)

III

Daybreak

Ch'üan Te-yü¹²

1. Daybreak wind shakes the "five-ounce."
2. Fading moon glints on stone wall.

¹¹ For tales of their nocturnal atrocities, see *The Divine Woman*, pp. 158–160.

¹² Ch'üan Te-yü (759–818), "Hsiao," *CTS*, han 5, ts'e 8, ch. 6, p. 8a.

3. Bit by bit, a pale light¹³ opens.
4. A slip of sail stands in the indigo of space.

Comments

1. The dawn breeze rises, sufficient to register on the mast-head weathervane of a river-boat.
2. The light of a quarter moon, waning, riding high at dawn (a full moon would be setting at this time) is barely perceptible on the white surface of a wall—apparently a sea-wall where the boat is moored. It is about to set sail.
3. The morning light spreads slowly through the sky.
4. The moon fades to become a pale ghostly sail, blown by the dawn breeze across the black void, which is now turning dark blue. It is the wayfarer's boat, wafted up to merge with its celestial counterpart, to sail eastward and ultimately to vanish in the full light of day. The theme of the magic boat which sails up the Yellow River, or out to sea, ultimately to find itself on the Sky River, high above the world, is a commonplace of T'ang literature.¹⁴ Here are K'o-p'in Yü's verses about a sky raft:

Vehicle fading afar, ah! none knows its movements;
Route through a watery waste, ah! leaving no trace
behind.

Nor can one know whither it goes.¹⁵

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¹³ *Shu kuang*. *Shu* is a faint, diffuse light in the sky, especially dawn light.

¹⁴ See "Sky Rafts" in *Pacing the Void*, pp. 262–269.

¹⁵ *Pacing the Void*, pp. 266–267.

GLOSSARY

Cheng Ku 鄭谷

Chiang Hsi 江夕

Chiao lung 蛟龍

Chiao yai ko 焦崖閣

Chiu Hsing 酒星

Ch'üan T'ang shih 全唐詩

Ch'üan Te-yü 權德輿

Fen yeh 分野

Ho Cho Ying-ying Chin =

ch'eng ch'un wang

和卓英英錦城
春望

Hsiang 象

Hsiao 曉

Hsing 形

Hsing Ho 星河

Hsüan hsiang 玄象

K'o-p'ing Yü 可頻瑜

Li Ho 李賀

Mei Niang 眉娘

Men shen li ching 捫參歷井

P'ei Yüeh 裴說

P'i Jih-hsiu 皮日休

Shu 曙

Shu kuang 曙光

Shu tao nan 蜀道難

Ts'ui Tao-yung 崔道融

Wei Chuang 華莊



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TRANSCENDENT ELDER MAO

EDWARD H. SCHAFER

Transcendent Elder Mao (Mao Hsien-weng 毛仙翁) was an elfin figure who flashed through the lower Yangtze watershed in the first half of the ninth century, dazzling the magnates he encountered in that region with his unique charm and his easy familiarity with the eternal world, evidently his true home.

Much later, the great Taoist prelate Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 (A.D. 850–933)¹ was so impressed by what he had read about Mao's sanctity that he wrote a reverent biography of that hero of the Tao,² to demonstrate that such divine beings still appear in the sublunary world, to the great benefit of mortals. A summary follows:

His given name was Yü 于, his agnomen Hung-chien 鴻漸.³ Although no one knew his age, he seemed always to be about thirty. Descriptions of him match the classical sylphine attributes of a "transcendent" (*hsien* 仙): snowy skin, black (youthful) hair, like a "sequestered child" (*ch'u tzu* 處子).⁴ He was a wanderer in the "lakes and mountain passes" (*hu ling* 湖嶺), especially, it seems, in the lower Yangtze basin and in Hunan. On these travels he is reported to have healed the sick with cinnabar elixirs, to have taught the benighted, and in one instance to have rescued a victim of demon-possession by means of his *yin*-based powers (陰功救物).⁵ Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 digresses to report this latter anecdote in some detail. It tells that the graduate Chang Wei 張爲 was, in A.D. 858, down and out in Ch'ang-sha, over-indulging himself in wine and poetry. He became infatuated with a beautiful soubrette, who soon reduced him to skin and bones. Elder Mao chanced to be in the neighborhood and drove the demon out of him by fumigation. She proved to be a wooden puppet above the heart—below that, flesh and blood.⁶ The cure was completed with the gift of three grains of potent cinnabar. Chang Wei wrote a poem to express his gratitude. It begins:

My wasted frame responded to the divine drug,
It scraped my bones clean, regenerated the plump flesh.

1) His writings may be easily consulted in the *Tao Tsang* 道藏 and in the *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文 (hereafter *CTW*). A convenient biography is preserved in Wu Jen-ch'en 吳任臣, *Shih kuo ch'un ch'iu* 十國春秋 (1788 ed.), 47, 5b-8a.

2) Tu Kuang-t'ing, "Mao Hsien-weng chuan" 毛仙翁傳, *CTW*, 944, 14a-16b, and *T'ang shih chi shih* 唐詩紀事 (hereafter *TSCS*), 81, 9a-11b.

3) *Hsü wen hsien t'ung k'ao* 續文獻通考 (hereafter *HWHTK*; quoted in *T'u shu chi ch'eng* 圖書集成, *Shen i tien* 神異典, ch. 249, ts'e 509, p. 26a) makes his given name Yü-p'an 于磐. I have not found the original in *HWHTK*, nor have I seen the name Yü-p'an in any other text. *Hung chien*, referring to the ascent of a crane into the sky, comes from *I ching* 易經.

4) In short, matching the images of *Chuang tzu* 莊子, "Hsiao-yao yu" 逍遙遊.

5) Powers over spectral beings. Cf. "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void,'" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 41 (1981), 396, n. 75.

6) She is called a "wooden simulacrum" (*mu ou jen* 木偶人).

The orchid wick whirled out numinous smoke,
The uncanny goblin instantly met doom of death.⁷

A second quatrain laments his long separation from his parents. This sentimental effusion is hardly worthy of a good poet, and for that reason alone may be apocryphal, unless Chang Wei felt that the occasion did not demand high style.⁸ However, the priestly biographer writes that this affair was still talked about in the region of the Kiang and Hsiang Rivers. Tu Kuang-t'ing states further that he has perused a volume of verses entitled "Collection of Writings Presented to the Transcendent Elder by Courtiers and Intellectuals" (*Ch'ao yen tseng Hsien-weng wen chi* 朝彥贈仙翁文集) and has observed that they tally closely with actual events, particularly in the Ch'ang-sha region. The contributors, he notes, are divided into two classes "Competent Ministers" and "Renowned Gentlemen." (The names he gives are exactly those preserved, with the texts of their contributions, in the Sung anthology *T'ang shih chi shih*.) He characterizes them, and summarizes the content of their poems of tribute, in these words:

Their [the contributors'] ambitions jolted the confines of the domain. Their renown moved the isles of the sea. But they deferred to him as their teacher, and waited on him as on an elder brother. All of them took their teacher to be a person qualified for Highest Clarity. Some admired his climb to transcendence and his going out beyond this world. Some took note of his juvenile constitution and his boyish bearing. Some marvelled at his store of bygone things and his knowledge of things to come. Some told of his Liquid Gold and his Aqueous Jade. Auroral damasks glitter to and fro [in their verses]; bands of embroidery are displayed in turn. Truly this was an affair preeminent in esoteric history!

During the first half of the ninth century Mao's appearance remained unchanged: clearly he was no ordinary man. Tu now digresses again into a discussion of the possibility of human flight. He defines "transcendence" [仙=僊者] as flight into the realm of pure *yang*. To achieve this, persons of our world "become wholly *yang* by refining away the *yin*: when the *yin* dross is all drained off, only the *yang* efflorescence remains. Hence one may rise to be a guest in the sky, and unite oneself with the dark depths of the TAO." He concludes that Elder Mao was indeed such a person, and that his tale should be preserved in the annals of Taoism as testimony to its truth. (Tu Kuang-ting's account is dated 11 April 916 in the calendar of the State of Shu 蜀.)

In the theoretical statement above, "refine" represents *lien* 鍊 [=煉] "to re-

7) Tu Kuang-t'ing, "Mao Hsien-weng Chuan," and *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩 (hereafter *CTS*), han 11, ts'e 3, p. 5b.

8) Moreover, his poem is different in character from all the others written in Mao's honor, for which see below; it is not included in the collection of poems addressed to him preserved in *TSCS*, and it is dated 858, almost three decades after all the others. See Chang Wei, "Hsieh pieh Mao Hsien-weng 謝別毛仙翁," *CTS*, han 11, ts'e 3, p. 5b. Apparently this one has been embodied in Tu Kuang-t'ing's biography because of its miraculous content, so unlike that of all the others. I suspect its authenticity.

move precious metal from the gangue, or purge it of impurities.” In medieval China the most familiar metallurgical analogy would have been the cupellation of silver—that is, extraction of silver from galena (PbS), in which it is present in minute quantities. The lead and sulphur—that is, the dross—are burned away.

Eulogies and nostalgic reflections on Elder Mao are extant both in prose and verse written in his own lifetime—a century before Tu’s little history. The prose record consists entirely of declarations of the eminent statesmen of the early ninth century. But apparently, it is the poetic eulogy of Po Chü-i 白居易 that provides the first exact date in the history of Mao Hsien-weng. The magnate’s verses report his encounter with the enigmatic vagrant while he was enjoying genteel exile in Chiangchou 江州.⁹ This episode took place in A.D. 815.

The greatest mandarin of the era, P’ei Tu 裴度, met the Transcendent Elder while in Huai-nan 淮南, engaged in the suppression of the rebel Wu Yüan-chi 吳元濟. This was during the years 815–818. His appreciation of the saint is cast in formal, balanced prose, and expounded in elliptical and inspissated language.¹⁰ He admits that the opinions of juist (儒) pedagogues, both past and present, were stiffly opposed to theistic arguments and talk about the supernatural world. But who can say what the truth is? When he met Mao, the holy man exemplified the best of the virtues and qualities traditionally attributed to Taoists—not at all what he had expected: “. . . embracing harmony, tranquil in the wind [i.e., the power] of the Tao, genial as the springtime.” He had mastered the esoteric scriptures, and perfected such calisthenic techniques as “the bear’s passage and the bird’s extension.” Indeed he seemed capable of any achievement. The juists of old had never alluded to such a person: “But one who has never had the chance to eat horse’s liver can surely not understand flavors.”

The gifted Maecenas Han Yü tells of his encounter with Mao in the preface to a poem written on the occasion of the latter’s departure.¹¹ This is dated 13 May 819. In it the celebrated poet claims kinship with Mao, since the surnames Han and Mao were both supposed to derive from the royal lineage of Chou. He also refers to himself as the younger collateral “brother” and pupil of the Transcendent Elder. The two met at Hu-yang 湖陽 in southern Honan,¹² and Han Yü reports that they did not discuss doctrinal matters at all, but only the quality of human kindness, and the understanding of fate and fortune. He writes that Mao’s speech was as swift as the wind, but he “held back his doubts between his lips, wordlessly.” His summation: “I knew him instantly for an unusual person.”

When Mao met yet another literary statesman, Liu Yü-hsi 劉禹錫, in the autumn of 822 at O-chou 鄂州,¹³ the weather was cold and windy. The famous

9) Po Chü-i, “Sung Mao Hsien-weng”, *CTS*, han 7, ts’e 9, ch. 36, pp. 11b-12b.

10) *CTW*, 538, 5a-5b; *TSCS*, 81, 1a-1b.

11) Han Yü, “Sung Mao Hsien-weng shih pa hsiung, hsü” 送毛仙翁十八兄, 序, *Yin chu Han wen kung wen wai chi* 音注韓文公文外集, 2, 2b-3c; *TSCS*, 81, 3a-3b.

12) So states *TSCS*. *Wai chi* has Ch’ao-yang 潮陽 in remote Kwangtung, which is most unlikely.

13) Approximately Wu-ch’ang 武昌 in modern eastern Hupeh.

poet received him at his official residence. His visitor was a stranger with a baby face, blooming aspect, and bright eyes. He spoke familiarly of P'ei Tu and Han Yü. Liu Yü-hsi asked to receive instruction from him. Mao seemed to be familiar with all matters, both human and divine, and spoke of things quite beyond Liu's comprehension. Liu wrote his vivid account on 7 October 822, evidently immediately after the interview.¹⁴

After his deposition from the eminence of minister of State, Yüan Chen 元稹 governed Chekiang south of Hangchow for about eight years, between 822 and 830. During this period, apparently in 824,¹⁵ Mao visited that region. Native gentlemen told Yüan Chen that they had heard that Mao had been in Chekiang a century before, in the company of the priest Yeh Fa-shan 葉法善¹⁶ and the priest-poet Wu Yün 吳筠.¹⁷ Yüan Chen seems to have taken this marvel seriously, and avers that in view of Mao's youthful appearance after such a long time, he was surely a divine transcendent: "Accordingly, I found it possible to adopt the deference due him from a junior [i.e., pupil or disciple], and so to learn the Way from his teaching." He goes on to disparage just wiseacres who wilfully misunderstand Taoist teachings, and trivialize the parables that illustrate them. He describes "Our Transcendent Elder (我仙翁)," so unlike such pedants and pettifoggers, as one to whom not even "the swangoose above the Stygian Sea or the solitary crane can provide parallel or analogy." Mao forecast a brilliant career for Yüan Chen, as he had for Liu Yü-hsi before him. In his honor Yüan Chen wrote a polite fantasy in verse, looking forward to a promised reunion:

As you once said, you will confer rarefied and subtle arcana [on me],
And, on the third evening, we shall together drain a cup of Cold Night Liquor.¹⁸

When Niu Seng-ju 牛僧孺 met "Older Brother" Mao at Hsia-k'ou 夏口¹⁹ in 829, he recognized him, he said, for a "Realized Person" (真人). But, unlike the conventional reports of such exalted beings, "Older Brother is out of this world, but he is not separated from this world."²⁰ He is truly committed to the welfare and salvation of human beings: "Uninhibited and unfettered in the domain of the avid and dissolute—trudging and tramping in the orchard of human passions." His eyes remain brilliant, his skin is as pink as a flower. But in spite of what has been written in Mao's praise even by such men as Han Yü and P'ei Tu, Niu admits to no direct knowledge of his supposed miraculous powers or

14) This report may be found in *TSCS*, 81, 7b-8b.

15) Commentary on Han Yü's preface to his poem on Mao in *Wai chi*. The story summarized below appears in the preface to Yüan Chen's "Tseng Mao Hsien-weng," *CTS*, han 6, ts'e 10, ch. 28, pp. 4b-5b.

16) He had held high office at the courts of Kao Tsung and Jui Tsung, dying in the year 730. See his biographies in *TS*, 204, 4b-5a; *CTS*, 191, 11b-12a.

17) Wu Yün was in Chekiang in the 740's and 750's; he died in 778. See Schafer, "Wu Yün's 'Cantos,'" p. 379.

18) The distillation of *yin*, in Taoist ritual balanced by the *yang* beverage "Fluid Aurora."

19) Modern Hankow = Wu-han. This story is based on Niu's account in *TSCS*, 81, 1b-2b.

20) 不離世間而出世間.

incredible age. But, he writes, such things are veiled from such ordinary eyes as his own. He was accepted as Mao's "Younger Brother in the Tao" as were others before him. He parted from him with reluctance, resolved to hold further discourse with him. But charmed as he was by Mao, he seems not to have been entirely convinced that he was truly an immortal being.

The poems addressed to Mao Hsien-weng, either directly or in absentia (it is not possible to be certain in most cases) number eighteen, if we exclude the anomalous one attributed to Chang Wei. Of these, sixteen share a common title: "Tseng Mao Hsien Weng" 贈毛仙翁 ("Presented to Mao Hsien-weng").²¹ The other two are Po Chü-i's long (twelve quatrains) "Sung Mao Hsien-weng" 送毛仙翁 ("Seeing Mao Hsien-weng Off") and Liu Yü-hsi's short (one quatrain) "*Fu Ho-chou yü Wu-ch'ang hsien tsai yü Mao Hsien weng shih pa hsiung yin ch'eng i chüeh*," 赴和州於武昌縣再遇毛仙翁十八兄因成一絕. Most of the poems are heptasyllabic double quatrains; of the rest, three are pentasyllabic, and Cheng Huan's 鄭澣 long poem (thirty-six verses) is unique in being cast in tetrasyllables. All, again excepting Chang Wei's, appear to have been written between 815 and 829.²²

It seems reasonable to surmise that all or virtually all of these poems were occasional poems, although the nature of the occasion is conjectural.²³ A farewell party? A testimonial banquet? A sort of Festschrift? In any case, it seems certain that the contributions were published together, and that the book, in some form, was ultimately embodied in the *T'ang shih chi shih*, the source of the more recent inclusions in *Ch'üan T'ang shih*. The testimonial volume, if it existed, was compiled in 830, or within a year or two of that date.

The contributors to the literary bouquet do not all take the same tone, use the same imagery, or present the same vision of Mao's appearance, behavior, and character—let alone his true nature. A kind of average view would be that of a charismatic personality full of vitality, radiating self-confidence like a master of the cabala, and combining an air of simplicity and candor with an aura of mystery and awe. In many poems he is also perceived as a healer and even a savior—a kind of Taoist Bodhisattva.

But despite both broad similarities and specific points of difference in the imaginative representations of the Transcendent Elder, it may be convenient here to distinguish only two distinct modes in them—one in which the bright-eyed, inspiring stranger, inspires pleasure, wonder, and even exalted expectations, and one that conjures up an unearthly figure risen above the clouds. The distinction

21) *Tseng* 贈 means to present a person with a poem as a gift. In *T'ang* usage it appears to be a bit more formal than *chi* 寄, evidently reserved for friends.

22) 815 is the earliest datable encounter with Mao—Po Chü-i's; 829 is the latest—Liu Yü-hsi's. Moreover, the earliest of the authors to die were Li I, in "about 827," and Liu Kung-ch'ö in 830.

23) It has been suggested that one of these poems at least was fabricated—the verses and preface attributed to Han Yü. But this requires us to believe in a mass conspiracy, for a silly reason, involving some of the most eminent persons of the age. For a confutation of this theory, which apparently was motivated by the belief that Han Yü would not concern himself with superstitious nonsense, see Ts'en Chung-mien 岑仲勉, *T'ang jen hang ti lu* 唐人行第錄 (Taipei, 1978), p. 7.

is roughly analogous to Jesus the carpenter of Galilee and preacher to crowds of villagers, and the transfigured Christ.²⁴

His divine attributes will be considered first. As observed by Po Chü-i, Li Ao 李翱, and Wang Ch'i 王起, he had skin, flesh, and bones of ice, frost, and snow—that is, of shining white, translucent substance—pure and incorruptible. To some his costume and conveyances displayed evidence of the powers of flight: his carriage was feathered (Wang Ch'i); his clothes were as fresh as the auroral clouds of dawn (Po Chü-i); he wore “a dress of plumagery, soft as velvet, light as snow” (Yang Szu fu 楊嗣復). He was invested with the signs of eternity, especially his associations with long-lived animals: he was the companion and counterpart of sacred cranes and tortoises (Ts'ui Yen 崔郾, Li Ao, Wang Ch'i, and Po Chü-i) and presumably soared aloft on the back of a white crane, possibly the avatar of his comrade the were-crane Ting Ling-wei 丁令微.²⁵ He was readily identified with the immortal youths Liu Ch'en 劉晨 and Juan Chao 阮肇, who discovered eternal life and love through the Grotto of Peach Flowers at T'ien T'ai 天台²⁶ (Shen Ch'uan-shih 沈傳師 and Liu Kung-ch'o 柳公綽). He descends from the purple depths of space to sojourn on the three seamounts of P'eng-lai (Li Ao). He was (or was worthy of being) the colleague and familiar of such divine beings as the Master of the Red Pine²⁷ (Yang Yü-ling 楊於陵); he was the pupil of An Ch'i and became the teacher of Ko Hung 葛洪 (Ts'ui Yen); he was the intimate friend of both Tung-fang Shuo 東方朔 and Ko Hung (Shen Ch'uan-shih); he was and is the companion of Ting Ling-wei and Wang Tzu-chin 王子晉, with whom he searched for the Woman of Greatest Verity (*T'ai chen nü* 太真女); he is attended by two sylphine youths with rose-gold insignia; the Royal Mother of the West personally sewed his wallet of purple damask (Yang Szu-fu).

His true home is beyond our world: a “transcendent stranger from the purple darks [of space]” (Li Ao), he travels freely both in this world and that (Po Chü-i), equally at ease in misty grottoes and “the world within a pot” (Wang Ch'i) and in the palaces of the sun and moon (Yang Szu-fu).

In purely human guise he seemed to his distinguished contemporaries to be preternaturally wise. Therefore, they did not disdain to address him as “Prior

24) For a short summary of the image of Mao Hsien-weng in T'ang poems, especially as he corresponds to the conventional figure of a terrestrial transcendent (*ti hsien* 地仙), see Suzanne E. Cahill, *The Image of the Goddess: Hsi Wang Mu in Medieval Chinese Literature* (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1982), pp. 369–370, n. 630.

25) For his story, see E. H. Schafer, “The Cranes of Mao Shan,” *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein* II, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* XXI, 1983, pp. 386–387.

26) See E. H. Schafer, *Mirages on the Sea of Time* (University of California Press, 1985), pp. 38–39. The fortunate young men met two sylphine maidens there, and ultimately achieved eternal life. The basic story is told in *Yu ming lu* 幽明錄 (app. 6th century), reconstructed in *Lu Hsün ch'üan chi* 魯迅全集 (Peking, 1973), vol. 8, 361–362. They and the flowery font and grotto, distinct from the Peach Tree Font celebrated by T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛, are frequently alluded to in T'ang poetry. A noteworthy example is a set of five poems by Ts'ao T'ang 曹唐 in *CTS*, han 10, ts.e 2, ch. 1, pp. 2a–3a.

27) His is the first entry in *Lieh hsien chuan* (*Tao Tsang* 138, HY 294).

Born" (Yang Yü-ling), "older brother" (Ts'ui Yen), "transcendent older brother" (Li Shen 李紳), "teacher" (Wang Ch'i), "my older brother" (Po Chü-i). Although he retains the appearance of a boy (*passim*), he is believed to have lived a thousand years—perhaps most of that time was spent in a grotto (Yang Yü-ling, Ts'ui Yen, Shen Ch'uan-shih). Po Chü-i notes his fine "purplish-blue" hair, his pupils black as lacquer, his face charming as a flower; he steps high, seeming hardly to graze the soil; Po wonders how often he has seen the mulberry fields submerged by the eastern sea—each occurrence marking a cycle of 3,000 years. He is known to be privy to great mysteries and arcane arts: he practises alchemy and knows the craft of making gold (Wang Ch'i, Shen Ch'uan-shih); he understands the secrets of life and death, and it is said that he keeps these arcana in a calabash-pot, or in his wonderful wallet (Yang Yü-ling, Yang Szu-fu, Ts'ui Yen, Li Ao, Po Chü-i); he possesses wonderful drugs, both rare herbs and such elixirs as "The Nine-times Converted Lang-kan" (*chiu chuan lang-kan* 九轉琅玕) (Yang Szu-fu);²⁸ indeed his medicines are endowed with the incomparable efficacy of the Fashioner of Creatures (*tsao wu che* 造物者) (Ts'ui Yen);²⁹ he is empowered to transmit genuine talismanic registers (Li Ao). Mao even excelled at arts normally reserved to mortal men: "he seeks strange things to link with rhymes"—but his language, even in poetry, is not that of an earthbound person (Yang Szu-fu). The belief that all of these talents were natural to him was enforced by the sense of powerful mana lodged in him. His contemporaries felt compelled to believe in him, and poets sometimes expressed their confidence extravagantly: Wang Ch'i wishes to follow him from the bondage of this world; Li Ao would take the cloud road with him and plunge into the Nine Darks; Ts'ui Yüan-lüeh 崔元畧, believing that eternal life was within his grasp, longs for a spoonful of Mao's elixir that he might climb "the ladder of cinnabar." Indeed, writes Yang Szu-fu, somewhat extravagantly, every courtier wishes to become his disciple and cast off the foul trammels of this world.

Above all his acquaintances believed that he was devoted to the salvation of all men: he visits the sublunary world only for brief periods (Wang Ch'i, Yang Szu-fu), "mingles with masses, strolls among humans" (Yang Yü-ling), bringing transcendental recipes out of the clouds to transmit to our world for the rescue of human souls (Shen Ch'uan-shih, Li Ao).

Not all of these poetic tributes have equal merit. To illustrate them, I have chosen eight of the more worthy (as they seem to me) for translation. These eight are arranged in a kind of spiritual sequence, beginning with one of Mao's casual appearances, and culminating in a vision of him in a kind of theophany.

Travelling by water, Liu Yü-hsi sees Mao, whom he has met before, in another boat. He imagines that it is the classical alchemist Ko Hung that he sees. He fancies himself approaching the court of this exalted being, now deified, and

28) See, inter alia, E. H. Schafer, "The Transcendent Vitamin: Efflorescence of Lang-kan," *Chinese Science*, 3 (1978), 27-38.

29) The metaphysical agent of differentiation and concretion. See E. H. Schafer, "The Idea of Created Nature in T'ang Literature," *Philosophy East and West*, 15 (1965), 153-160.

receiving the gift of Transcendence from his hands.

Below Wu-ch'ang Mountain the Shu Kiang runs east.³⁰
 Once more, over in a transcendent's boat, I see Ko Hung!
 Then, perhaps permitted, before his bench, to make a ritual obeisance in person:
 Arcana from the Great Enveloping Heaven—sealed in an envelope of jade.³¹

In the next quatrain, Li I 李益 shows us the master in his physical perfection, but saddened by his long absence from the immortal company among the stars. He drifts imperceptibly from human sight: now he is gone from among us.

The jade tree is full and robust, the sylphine breath is deep.
 Embodying light, he mingles with the vulgar, seemingly purposeless.
 Long dejected—suddenly he makes himself a crane—
 One flake of lonely cloud—in what place may he be traced?³²

In the next, by Li Tsung-min 李宗閔, the whole emphasis is on the tokens of enduring youth visible in the master: O that my corruptible body could be like his glorious body!

I don't know if the transcendent stranger is a portent of spring:
 Skin and bones declare only two decades [for him].
 Vulgar eyes were briefly astonished on that day when we saw him;
 Doubtful minds have not yet fathomed—a man of how many seasons?
 He has easily extended his year-span through any number of generations.
 He tells with a smile that a drifting life ages this body.
 If mere remnants of his drugs can wet such rotted stuff,
 I could wish to make the Han in the Dark Depths [the Milky Way] forever my neighbor.³³

This prodigy, as Ling-hu Ch'u 令狐楚 presents him in the following stanzas, an ageless exemplar of what we imagine life might yield to us, is actually here in our midst, and may condescend to teach me his wonderful secrets.

Hsüan Country³⁴ is the Palace of Highest Clarity entire!
 There is a stranger—a Realized Person, his aspect like that of an adolescent.
 Amethystine hair hanging in a fringe—a bright thick mane.

30) 武昌仙. The mountain is in O County 鄂州, near modern Hankow. Shu Kiang 蜀江 is the Yangtze flowing eastward out of Szechwan.

31) Liu Yü-hsi (772–842), “Fu Ho-chou yü Wu-ch'ang hsien tsai yü Mao Hsien-weng shih pa hsiung yin ch'eng i chüeh,” *CTS*, han 6, ts'e 3, ch. 12, p. 21a; *TSCS*, 81, 8b.

32) Li I (ca. 749–ca. 827), “Tseng Mao Hsien-weng,” *CTS*, han 5, ts'e 3, ch. 2, p. 14b; *TSCS*, 81, 4a.

33) Li Tsung-min (fl. ca. 820–830), “Tseng Mao Hsien-weng,” *CTS*, han 7, ts'e 10, p. 10a; *TSCS*, 81, 3a.

34) Hsüan-chou 宣州 is in Anhwei, a short distance west of Grand Lake, presumably where Ling-hu Ch'u encountered Mao. Here it is imaged as the celestial city of Realized Persons.

Fine whiskers edge his jaw, a glaucous, glossy fleece.
 Herbal substances in a pot—arcana to scale the auroras!
 Recipe books behind his elbow³⁵—they will serve to shrink the earth.³⁶
 If once I am allowed to burn incense as his cadet and son,³⁷
 I hope that he will instruct me—and the strand of my years will equal that of the
 cedrela.³⁸

In the next well-fashioned poem Li Ch'eng 李程 shows Mao in each of his three worlds—one beyond the sky-dome, one the halfway house of a grotto-world, and third, visited at very long intervals, this most gossamer of worlds to which we are condemned for a brief period.

Deep and far involved in grime, ashamed of how rancid and rank it is,
 Holding hard to an ephemerid, he gazes up at the array of transcends.³⁹
 Casually he points to a road under the Peak of Purple Darks,⁴⁰
 But returns instead to the "Heaven" within the Grotto of the White Deer.⁴¹
 Since the phoenix departed, blowing a syrinx,⁴² how many ages have passed—
 Since the recipe for subsisting on jade was transmitted, how many years have we had?
 But he will come another day to look at this world of mortals.
 But that will be when the Eastern Sea has been transformed into Mulberry Fields.⁴³

Liu Kung-ch'o's small contribution is more original than most of the others, ending after expressions of wonder at the remoteness of the times and places with which Mao is familiar, with a little moral maxim.

Peach-tree Font is a thousand miles away.

35) Kept in his sleeve. The phrase 肘後 occurs in the title of a celebrated book of Taoist pharmacology, Ko Hung's *Pei chi chou hou fang* 備急肘后方.

36) Slowing time and shrinking the world are two important Taoist arts.

37) Pupil and disciple.

38) Ling-hu Ch'u (766–837), "Tseng Mao Hsieng-weng," *CTS*, han 5, ts'e 9, p. 2b; *TSCS*, 81, 2b. *Ch'un* 椿, the sacred cedrela (*Cedrela sinensis*), was noted for its longevity. See E. H. Schafer, "Li Kang: a Rhapsody on the Banyan," *Oriens*, 6 (1953), 352. The classical reference is in *Chuang tzu*, "Hsiao-yao yu."

39) Cf. Kuo P'u 郭璞, "Yu hsien shih" 游仙詩, in which the transient and pointless life of an ephemerid (mayfly) is contrasted with the durability of tortoise and crane. Although committed to benefactions in this world (cf. *ukiyo* 浮世, and Ch. 浮游, cognate to 蜉蝣 "mayfly") he continues to look aloft to the supernal realm—by rights his own.

40) A peak on the holy Mount Lu 廬山, in northern Kiangsi. The name indicates an affinity with the depths of space above the purple palace of the pole star. A road to the stars.

41) The eighth of the Lesser Grotto-heavens, it lies under Lu Shan. Its esoteric name is "Heaven of Eternal Verity, Communicating with the Numina" (*Tung ling yung chen chih t'ien* 洞靈永眞之天). The ever-youthful savior Mao chooses, instead of the High Road to the stars, the Low Road through the world of ghosts.

42) Mao is here identified with Scribe Hsiao (Hsiao Shih 蕭史), the syrinx-playing were-phoenix (see *Lieh hsien chuan*).

43) Li Ch'eng (cf. 765-ca. 841) "Tseng Mao Hsieng-weng," *CTS*, han 6, ts'e 4, p. 5b; *TSCS*, 81, 2b-3a. The trimillennial drying up of the ocean is, for the Taoists, only a single year by their cosmic clock.

In Flower Grotto—it is springtime four seasons long.⁴⁴
 There is a visitor therein who embodies Verity,
 He was long a person [who once studied the arts of] immortality.⁴⁵

When a pine grows tall its branches and leaves will thrive.
 When a crane grows old, its pinions and plumage are renewed.⁴⁶
 But let no one send a hibiscus away from its hedge-mates.
 Though it burgeon at daybreak, at sunset it will turn to dust.⁴⁷

“For all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away.”⁴⁸

Chang Chung-fang's 張仲方 elaborate confection built, for the most part, out of standard images, gains its charm from the neatness of their dovetailing:

Old Sylph Mao! Old Sylph Mao!
 His face and aspect always like a twice-eight youth;
 How many years has his head been combed—his cloudy earlocks glaucous?
 Time without end his face has been zoned with peach blossom pink.
 Before his eyes is the world of men as he scans the Watchet Sea.
 Behind his elbow are drugs that were finished when he took leave of the Palace of the Moon.
 Square mouth and bushy eyebrows—his teeth are cowries set in a row.
 Glowing bright with living flame—the twin pupils of his eyes.
 Endowed with the vitality of mushroom and cedrela—founded in toughness and strength.
 Counting the years like a tortoise or crane—certain not to die.
 Four Seas and Five Mountains—he has roved them long alone.
 Compassionate to poor, contemptuous of rich—hoaxing kings and nobles.
 When the numen passes down from his fingers brick is converted to glazed tile.
 Auspicious pneumas within his furnace—where the gold and jade are fluid.
 Decidedly he is a comrade in the ranks of transcendents:
 Briefly he comes to our grime and vulgarities to extricate us from hazards and miseries.
 A bewitching woman from the Purple Aurora⁴⁹ flew to him like a snow-gem flower.
 With zealous heart she transmitted the secret code to him.
 His *yin* feats are adequate—his *yin* feats consummated;
 His feathered rig—in what year will it go back to Highest Clarity?

44) Both Font and Grotto are the same haunted place in Mount T'ien T'ai.

45) *Pu szu jen* 不死人.

46) Ancient cranes, it was believed, gain a new garb of dark feathers. Schafer, “The Cranes of Mao Shan,” p. 378.

47) Liu Kung-ch'o (cf. 763–830), “Tseng Mao Hsien-weng,” *CTS*, han 5, ts'e 7, p. 59; *TSCS*, 81, 6a. A living thing, plucked and separated from its kind, is fated for early death. Eternal life is for the perfect and self-sufficient, and the unmolested. (The sacred cedrela is an example of a plant that survives because it is not wanted.)

48) I Peter 1, 24.

49) The warm energetic nimbus that envelops the palace of the zenith.

Will he wait for me to give up my post—to terminate my marital duties,
That inside the Grotto of the Peach Font I shall seek my Older Brother the sylph?⁵⁰

Cheng Huan, on the other hand, presents his compliments in a cosmic setting, beginning solemnly with the Tao itself, and concluding with a vision of the deified Mao. But most interesting is its unifying theme, the representation of Mao as a painted icon—a material effigy symbolizing an invisible entity for the edification of mankind.

The ultimate Tao lacks a name.
The ultimate man lengthens his life.
If we survey the extent of depicted things.
We may, apparently, deduce his true figure:
Square mouth richly glossed with vermilion.
Thick eyebrows brushed with blue.
The bearing of a pine, from its stock full blown.
The substance of a crane, by its nature weightless.
In the Tao and its force—a divine transcendent.
In his inward store—numinous of heart.
Pink flesh and silky hair—
External blazons floriate and clear.
Complexion as if embodying fragrance;
Aspect like a harmony of lights.
Embryonic, hermetic⁵¹—fashioning mutations;
Ingesting and emitting *yin* and *yang*.
I have heard that An Ch'i
Is hidden or visible without regularity.
He may be down in our world;
He may be roving up in the gray blue.
Vivat! This Realized Person—
Must he not be [An's] later incarnation?
Copied here the sylphine bones!
Long to endure without wasting away.
Like moonlight his luminous pupils!
Clear-seeing as if just new.
Soft and plump his youthful features,
Fresh and glittering like the spring!
He may be compared with [images of] metal and stone.
Cinnabar and azurite indestructible.⁵²
Were he upon the Platform that Communicates with Heaven⁵³

50) Chang Chung-fang (766–837), “Tseng Mao Hsien-weng,” *CTS*, han 7, ts'e 9, p. 9a; *TSCS*, 81, 8b-9a. Here we have an intimation of the search for Esquires Liu and Juan with the immortal maidens of T'ien T'ai.

51) Like the creative nucleus of the cosmos.

52) Comparable to a painting, but his pigments will never fade.

53) Built by Han Wu Ti 漢武帝 at his Sweet Springs Palace for communication with celestial spirits. On its summit was a transcendent being holding a pan for collecting moon dew. Mao is being compared to this image of a divine person in touch with heaven.

There to be seen by ordinary people,
 Even common men would regard him with reverence,
 Aware then that they are shrouded in dust.
 While lordly folk would take his measure—
 Ah, with what reverence! As if a god!⁵⁴

54) Cheng Huan (776–839), “Tseng Mao Hsien-weng,” *CTS*, han 6, ts’e 4, p. 1b; *TSCS*, 81.4a.



Empyrean Powers and Chthonian Edens: Two Notes on T'ang Taoist Literature

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EMPYREAL POWERS AND CHTHONIAN EDENS: TWO NOTES ON T'ANG TAOIST LITERATURE

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Two popular themes which germinated in very early Taoist belief and practice illustrate the extent to which Taoist motifs penetrated the literature of T'ang. One is represented by poetic versions of the tale of "Peach Blossom Font"—not the edifying myth associated with T'ao Ch'ien, but the mystical and romantic adventure set in the bowels of Mount T'ien T'ai, here exemplified by a sequence of five poems by Ts'ao T'ang, the chronicler of enigmatic paradises. The other takes us into the conjoint realms of Highest Clarity exorcism and cosmology, where celestial lights have a cardinal role. Many poetic examples are provided, especially from the verses of Wu Yün, the artificer of ecstatic transits of space.

I. THE OTHER PEACH BLOSSOM FONT

TWO PERSONS, NOW ALMOST FORGOTTEN, appear frequently in T'ang poetry. They are Liu Ch'en 劉晨 and Juan Chao 阮肇. Sometimes they appear together as "Liu & Juan," or as "the Two Esquires" (*erh lang* 二郎), sometimes singly as "Esquire Liu" or "Esquire Juan." Their story was told in a collection of wonder tales called *Yu ming lu* 幽明錄, "Register of the Occult and the Illuminated"—evidently to be understood in the sense of stories of two worlds, the hidden world of phantoms and the sunlit world of men. The book was apparently written in the sixth century. In the main it tells of events attributed to the Han, Chin, Sung, and Eastern Wei. The supposed author is Liu I-ch'ing 劉義慶. Some time after the T'ang it disappeared, to survive in quotations, fragments, and abbreviated versions. A reconstruction by Lu Hsün 魯迅 is readily accessible.¹

In outline, the story of the two lads, set in A.D. 62, is as follows. The pair sought rare medicinal plants in the recesses of Mount T'ien T'ai 天台山, where they lost their way. They were saved from starvation by the fruit

of a peach tree on the edge of a precipice, and by cakes that floated to them out of a grotto. They traced an underground stream back towards its source, to find two magical maidens who received them lovingly. Next spring they felt the pangs of homesickness, and returned to the world of men, to find that seven generations had passed. In A.D. 383 they disappeared forever, presumably into the divine world they had left. In T'ang poetry, allusions to long life in association with peach flower fonts and grottoes are at least as likely to refer to the adventures of Esquires Liu and Juan as to the simple, unspoiled world of Wu-ling 武陵, popularized by T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛 (Yüan-ming 淵明) in his *T'ao hua yüan chi* 桃花源記. The youths became paragons of divine love, almost interchangeable with Hsiao Shih 蕭史, Wang Tzu-ch'iao 王子喬, An Ch'i 安期, and other ageless demigods. Verses about them often exploit the Rip van Winkle theme of the slow passage of time in a perfect world beyond a grotto, contrasted with the swiftness of decay in the world outside its twilight environs.

Poets of the T'ang developed and modified this tale in many ways. A few examples of these variations follow, beginning with examples by Yüan Chen 元稹 (779-831). In the first of these, one of two on the subject of beautiful women of antiquity, the location and status of the female protagonist are obscure. It seems probable that we have a noble or royal seraglio representing the limestone grotto, and a pampered but lonely woman—a royal concubine or princess—in lieu of an immortal creature of jade:

There is no one in the depths of the cloister, where
herbs and trees are shining;

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¹ In his *Ku hsiao-shuo kou-ch'en* 古小說鈎沈 (*Lu Hsün ch'üan chi* 魯迅全集, vol. 8 [Peking, 1973]). His patchwork *Yu ming lu* appears on pp. 353-436. The *Yu ming lu* is listed in the bibliographies of the *Sui shu* 隋書 and both *T'ang shu* 唐書.

The pretty oriole does not speak—she takes to the safety of the shadows.

Idly she plays with the water where flakes of flowers float;

They drift out, away from the gate's front—to entice Esquire Juan.²

The "cloister" may be an enclosed section of the palace—but it fits a Taoist convent just as well; then, the oriole is an enchanting young priestess. In either case, Esquire Juan is conceived to be a true and faithful gallant, a spiritual Galahad.

In the following pair of stanzas, with the title of "The Wives of Liu and Juan,"³ we see the original myth plainly:

The transcendents' grotto opens once in a thousand years;

Heedless they stole in—heedless they returned.

The peach blossoms fly till all are gone, taken up by the east wind;

In what place will they sink and decay—gone, not to come again?

Soft white lotus flesh, green [-tinted] clouds of hair-coils;

Loft-buildings and estrades, painted in polychrome interlace, against hills of blue kohl.

Peach flowers from a thousand trees, medicines for a myriad years;

Who knows what things they will remember—in the world of men?

Here Liu and Juan have taken the road back upon the millennial opening of the subterranean gate. In the human world they will perish like the frail flowers of a single season, long before that portal opens again. All remains as before in the Eden they have abandoned—there is love and beauty, and also the source of endless life. But that dream is fading fast.

Ch'in Hsi 秦系 (ca. 720–810) treats the theme quite differently in a poem dedicated to a Taoist priestess, flatteringly portrayed as too refined even for Juan Chao.⁴

She stays by a clouded river—eats not a morsel;

She neglects her herbal plantings—desists even from cinnabar.

Apricot flowers clot into fruit—for nothing;

Stone marrow forms dough⁵—as it will.

A blue ox⁶ lies where she swept the ground;

A white crane roosts on the pine she planted.

Both acknowledge the loveliness of this sylphine woman,

Who would never be wife to Esquire Juan.

In short, the priestess has attained a state of perfection in which she requires neither divine nutrition nor union with the most perfect of men.

In the *tz'u* 詞 of the early tenth century, especially those in the form *Nü kuan tzu* 女冠子 preserved in the *Hua chien chi* 花間集, the male and female roles are reversed: instead of nymphs of jade fulfilling the dreams of mortal men, we find male star-dwellers who are the focus of the dreams of languishing priestesses. Liu and Juan are established residents beyond the grotto; the maidens peer into it hoping for a token of the magical presence.⁷ In the stunted epitomes of them which follow, the divine youth is always Liu Ch'en, although in one of them he is paired with Juan Chao; but elsewhere in T'ang poetry, Esquire Juan plays the role just as adequately.

In the verses of Niu Ch'iao 牛嶠, the female hierophant, typically garbed in the star crown and auroral robe of a Taoist initiate, entrusts her romantic dream to a bird to carry to Master Liu, beyond the River of Stars. She awaits his reply by the high altar.⁸

Hsüeh Chao-yün 薛昭蘊, treating the same topic, reveals the newly inaugurated priestess in an atmosphere drenched with mist and moonlight, as she receives a reply, sealed with an azure jewel, from the same distant divinity.⁹

Esquire Liu rather than the priestess holds center stage in the paired stanzas of Lu Ch'ien-i 鹿虔扈. The broken-hearted woman mourns his absence, while he watches her sadly from the depths of the sky,

⁵ "Stone marrow" (*shih sui* 石髓) is a mammillary form of calcite formed in stalactitic grottoes; it was powdered, moistened, and molded into pellets as a prime tonic.

⁶ One of Lao Tzu's mounts; cf. the immortal Paul Bunyan's blue ox Babe. For "blue," see "Brightness and Iridescence in Chinese Color Words," *Schafer Sinological Papers*, No. 9 (13 April 1984), 6.

⁷ The following examples are based on the versions and interpretations in E. H. Schafer, "The Capeline Cantos: Verses on the Divine Loves of Taoist Priestesses," *Asiatische Studien* 32 (1978), 5–65.

⁸ "Capeline Cantos," 43–45.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 45–47.

² "Ku yen shih," *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩 (Taipei, 1967) [hereafter *CTS*], han 6, ts'e 10, ch. 27, p. 11b.

³ "Liu Juan ch'i, erh shou," *CTS*, han 6, ts'e 10, ch. 27, p. 6b.

⁴ "T'i nü tao shih chü," *CTS*, han 4, ts'e 8, p. 1b.

remembering his first encounter with her at the forest temple during the performance of the ritual "Pacing the Void."¹⁰

A very different vision appears in Li Hsün's 李珣 treatment of the scenario. Here the mystical chants and dances on the sacred stage dominate everything. The stone chimes echo through the grotto. But the air is oppressive. The godly visitor has left the congregation. It is not certain whether it was Juan or Liu. There are no more messages.¹¹

Finally, Chang Pi 張泌 shows the reader a lonely priestess by a deserted, shadowed altar, her face hardly more than a dim reflection in a mirror, and Liu Ch'en only a fading memory.¹²

Young masters Liu and Juan are prominent figures in the poems of Ts'ao T'ang 曹唐, an ex-priest who wrote during the second half of the ninth century. Ninety-eight of a presumed one hundred quatrains under the rubric "Little Poems on Saunters in Sylphdom" (*Hsiao yu hsien shih* 小遊仙詩) constitute the bulk of his surviving work.¹³ These are fanciful vignettes of flirtations, liaisons, betrayals, and separations, colored by hope, frustration, renunciation, or anguish, and populated by partly humanized deities and spirits from Taoist mythology, suffering or rejoicing in gardens, reception halls, magical caves, and on islands—both on earth and in the sky. Many of these episodes are suffused with an aura of mystery. They pose an enigma for the reader, who must decode the linguistic clues provided by the writer to determine whose face lies behind the obvious mask, whose laugh whispers in the shrubbery. The motives of the actors are sometimes obscure, sometimes simple. Their actions are sometimes furtive, sometimes flamboyant. But hanging over all is the menace of corruption, and the anxieties generated by the prospect of death. Esquires Liu and Juan play out their assigned roles, just as do their grander counterparts, such as Han Wu Ti 漢武帝 and Blue Lad (*Ch'ing T'ung* 青童), sovereign of the sunrise sea,¹⁴ offering divine love as the route to salvation. But their handsome prospects for eternity are partly clouded by the suspicion that the eons themselves have their seasons, and their confidence in an endless springtime may yet prove to be an illusion.

One common stage setting in these enigmatic poems is the entrance to a grotto, the twilight zone which divides the region of transience from the realm of permanence. Here Liu and Juan most often make their appearance, as required by tradition. Synopses of these little encounters or one-act plays follow.¹⁵

In one of his quatrains,¹⁶ Ts'ao T'ang shows us a divine maiden, holding up her jade-threaded skirt, cautiously approaching the shadowy mouth of her grotto, and peering out for a glimpse of the expected Esquire Liu. She breaks a flowering twig from the peach tree standing there, and commits it to the stream that flows out into the world of men—a love token, and an invitation to receive divine instruction.

But this shy damsel is not Ts'ao T'ang's only version of the goddess of Peach Bloom Grotto. He reveals her elsewhere as an exalted and sophisticated lady, at ease in the celestial pageantry of the Court of Scarlet Pylons high above the pole star, who tosses a peach flower into the soft spring wind, confident that it will attract Juan Chao, evidently already known to her, if not indeed her established lover.¹⁷

There are still other masks for this teacher of amorous arcana. In another of Ts'ao T'ang's poems¹⁸ her lord, the supreme being of "Jade Splendor" (*Yü Huang* 玉皇), after providing her with a purple wedding gown, sends her off to the Font of Peaches to welcome Esquire Juan, her designated husband. She carries as her mystical gift a flagon of liquefied gems, an elixir to keep him young forever.

In still another quatrain,¹⁹ the poet shows her in a flower garden, playing harmonies on her reed-organ by the light of the moon. She sends her maidservant, dragon-borne, to find Esquire Juan by the Golden Altar in the bowels of Mao Shan 茅山, and invites him to share a beaker of nectar in her company. Here, the young Adonis has shed all traces of mortality, and presides over secret rites in the eighth of the great grotto-heavens.

Among Ts'ao T'ang's longer poems are a number that appear to be remnants of an original set of fifty "Greater Poems on Saunters in Sylphdom" (*Ta yu hsien shih* 大遊仙詩). Among these is a set of five, constructed around the basic plot of the two loving

¹⁰ Ibid., 47–49.

¹¹ Ibid., 52–54.

¹² Ibid., 57–58.

¹³ CTS, han 10, ts'e 2, ch. 2.

¹⁴ On whom, see E. H. Schafer, *Mirages on the Sea of Time: The Taoist Poetry of Ts'ao T'ang* (Berkeley, 1985), 108–21; also Paul W. Kroll, "In the Halls of the Azure Lad," *JAOS* 105 (1985), 75–94.

¹⁵ For a more extensive treatment of Ts'ao T'ang's "Little Saunters," see my *Mirages on the Sea of Time*, the index of which will guide the interested reader to appearances of the two young heroes in other poems of Ts'ao T'ang.

¹⁶ No. 26; see *Mirages*, 42–43.

¹⁷ No. 98.

¹⁸ No. 23; see *Mirages*, 74–75.

¹⁹ No. 45.

pairs at Peach Flower Font. The treatment, of course, is unique. Translations and comments follow.

No. 1: *Liu Ch'en and Juan Chao Go Roving at T'ien T'ai*

Where trees penetrate T'ien T'ai, the stone road is new;
Where clouds merge with placid herbs, all is remote
and free of grime.

In hazy auroras—unconcerned with previous events of
their lives;

By water and wood—vain suspicions that they are
persons who lately dreamed.

Now and again a cock cries to the moon below the cliff;
From time to time a dog barks where it is spring within
the grotto.

They do not know to what place they may return from
this land;

They must go to the Font of Peaches to inquire of their
hosts.²⁰

1-2: The first couplet embodies a chiasmus: trees + sky/— clouds + herbs—the celestial inorganic vs. the terrestrial organic. (The *t'ien* of T'ien T'ai suggests both the grotto-heaven, the reflection of a sky within the mountain, and the constellation San T'ai 三台 near the pole-star, in our Ursa Major.) The scene is the entrance to a grotto, whose path of stone leads to a different world, free of the winds of chance and change ("placid" = "immobile": *ching* 靜) and the dirt of our world.

4: They wonder if they might still be lingering in a fading dream.

5: If the full moon is setting, the sun is about to rise: it is dawn.

6: An elfin pet can be heard in the endless spring beyond the stone gate.

7: If they take this low road, where will they emerge at last?

No. 2: *Liu and Juan Encounter the Sylphlings Within the Grotto*

The sky blends with the trees' color, spattered with
cloudy puffs;

Rosy dawn laminated—mountain fogs deep—the road
vague, vanishing in haze.

Clouds thicken, cover the mountain—no birds of any
kind;

Sounds of water along the race—there too are the
reeds of organs.

Cyan sands within the grotto, where Potent and Latent
are parted;

In front of the pink trees' branches, where days and
months are prolonged.

Their wish is for some persons to come out from
among the flowers;

If only they will not let that sylphine dog bark at
Esquire Liu!²¹

1: It is now broad daylight and fine weather.

2: But the mountain tracks are mysterious.

3: The visitors are detached from reality.

4: But they hear elfin music by a rushing stream;
they are inside the grotto.

5: Here is the boundary between the realms of *yin*
and *yang*—the celestial and the subterranean.

6: The peach flowers mark a land where time stands
still.

7-8: The hidden owners of the spirit-puppy will
quiet him if they wish the two youths to approach
nearer.

No. 3: *The Sylphlings see Liu and Juan Off: They Leave the Grotto*

Courteously they escort them away, out of T'ien T'ai;
Surely they cannot come yet again to the transcendents'
province.

The Cloud Liquor? Each time one returns one is
obliged to drink,

The Jade Writ? Failing [right] occasion it may not be
opened more than once.

The flowers are the grotto's mouth—they must always
be there;

The water going out among men—surely it will not
turn back.

They leave us here despairing at the head of the stream;

The luminous moon on the cyan hills is shut out by
gray lichens.²²

3-4: Initiates into the mysteries have no second
chance.

5-6: We, immortal maidens, like the eternal peaches,
will remain here unchanged.

8: The light of hope for eternal reunion is darkened.

No. 4: *Within the Grotto the Sylphlings Have Nostalgia for Liu and Juan*

They do not take up their clear-sounding zithers nor
rehearse the "Rainbow Petticoat";

²⁰ CTS, han 10, ts'e 2, ch. 1, p. 2a.

²¹ CTS, han 10, ts'e 2, ch. 1, p. 2b.

²² Ibid.

Dreaming in the dust, how can [the youths] comprehend
the length of a crane's dream?

There is a sky within the grotto—but spring is bleak
and lonely;

There is no road from among men—the moon fades in
blue infinity.

Jade sand, azure-gem plants adjoin the cyan of the
stream;

Peach flowers on flowing water: perfume filling the
gorge.

With dew of daybreak the wind lantern has burnt itself
quite out;

In this life there is nowhere to look for Esquire Liu.²³

3: The endless spring of the grotto-heaven is affected
by the two maidens' sorrow.

4: The moon of hoped-for reunion is fading away.

6-7: The underground Eden is as before, but it has
been corrupted by the breath of mutability: The maid-
ens' night-light is exhausted; they will never see the
youths again.

No. 5: *Liu and Juan Come Once More to T'ien T'ai,*
but Do Not See the Sylphlings Again

They came once more to T'ien T'ai to look for the
Realized Ones of Jade;

But green moss and white stones had already turned to
dust.

Reed-organs and songs faint and far, closed off in the
depths of the grotto;

Cranes in the clouds austere private, cut off from old
neighbors.

Herbs and trees in no way colored now as on that
former occasion;

Hazy auroras do not resemble those of yesteryear's
spring.

Peach flowers drift on the water—they are there as
they were before;

But they do not see, as at that time, the persons who
pledged them in wine.²⁴

1-2: The outer mountain, subject to the ravages of
time, is much changed.

3-4: The inner mountain, free of decay, is unattain-
able.

7-8: Tokens of life and love float out endlessly, but
hold no message for the two youths.

II. THE EIGHT DAUNTERS

Taoist adepts of the T'ang period exploited astral
power to protect themselves against the onslaughts of
demons. In effect, this was the decontamination of the
highways of space. Often these masters used simple
employees to clear the way for their ascent to the starry
gardens of the sky. We encounter one of these humble
sweepers in a poem of Wu Yün 吳筠 (?-778) which
depicts the frosty acres where the great king of the dead
holds sway. As the adept passes over the forbidding
palace, "Yü Ch'iang sweeps the shrouded marches."²⁵
This menial job seems to have been a specialty of
oceanic beings: another specimen turns up in a prose
tale of the ninth century—a mystical adventure story
with Taoist overtones. This is Tengu (T'ien wu 天吳),
who is commissioned to "clear the way" (*ch'ing tao*
清道), that is, to secure the sea-route, for a pair of
aspirants for immortality.²⁶ This operation had been a
facet of the official religion of Han. The scholiast Yen
Shih-ku 顏師古 (581-645) explains it as a purification
of the route to be taken by the Son of Heaven as he
goes forth to participate in a religious rite.²⁷ Similarly,
on the occasion of the accession of Han Ming Ti
漢明帝 in A.D. 58, the way-clearing was observed
with great solemnity. The commentary on this report
states that the procession was preceded by a yaktail
banner, which represents the Chinese constellation
"Mane" (*mao* 昴).²⁸ As Tu Fu 杜甫 later put it: "The
Polehead of the Yaktail sweeps the Purple Tenuity"—
that is, the magic power of the netted star-cluster
Peiades in Taurus sweeps like a comet through the
Palace of the Pole Star, annihilating everything in its
path.²⁹ In this case, at least, the Cleansing of the Way
was effected by a diversion of stellar power.

²⁵ See E. H. Schafer, "Wu Yün's Stanzas on 'Saunters in
Sylphdom,'" *Monumenta Serica* 35 (1981-83), 336. Yü
Ch'iang is an ancient sea spirit.

²⁶ Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭, "The Lady of South Stygia"
(*Nan ming fu-jen* 南冥夫人), in E. H. Schafer, "Three
Divine Women of South China," *Chinese Literature: Essays,
Articles, Reviews* 1 (1979), 40. (The Tengu is described in the
Shan hai ching.)

²⁷ *Han shu* 漢書, 74, 0546a (K'ai-ming edition), with
commentary on *ch'ing tao*. The same passage occurs in *San fu*
Huang t'u 三輔黃圖 (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), p. 51.

²⁸ *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (K'ai-ming ed.), 109a, 0876a, with
commentary on *ch'ing tao*.

²⁹ E. H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the
Stars* (Berkeley, 1977), 119; Tu Fu, "T'i Heng Shan . . .,"
CTS, han 4. ts'e 2, ch. 8, p. 16a.

²³ *CTS*, han 10, ts'e 2, ch. 1, pp. 2b-3a.

²⁴ *CTS*, han 10, ts'e 2, ch. 1, p. 3a.

There are occasional echoes in T'ang poetry of this rather primitive type of road-sweeping for the safety and comfort of divine beings. For instance, Ts'ao T'ang 曹唐, in one of the quatrains of his "Saunters in Sylphdom" sequence, describes the preparations for the arrival of the Royal Mother of the West (Hsi Wang Mu 西王母) at the seamount P'eng-lai 蓬萊:

They sweep the road below Mount P'eng-lai clean,
Planning to invite the Royal Mother to chat about
long life.³⁰

Ts'ao T'ang's predecessor Wu Yün represents the Lord of Fang-chu 方諸, a more distant sunrise land, attending personally to arrangements for making his palace accessible to a welcome guest:

The Realized Lad has already welcomed me,
And cleared away the overnight mists on my behalf.³¹

The Realized Lad (*chen t'ung* 真童) is, of course, Blue Lad (*Ch'ing T'ung* 青童), master of the vitalizing sunlight that dispels the grim shadows of night and death.³²

On the whole, however, such methods as these are superseded in T'ang literature by devices of a much more exalted kind. In place of converted Calibans, adepts and demigods employed nodes of raw star-power affixed to their space-cars. Primarily these appear in the form of the "Eight Phosphors" (*pa ching* 八景), a set of luminiferous spirits who defend the strategic channels of the human body but also, externalized and free of their somatic prison, are mobile and far-ranging, and may attend the mystic vehicle that takes the successful adept to his eternal home. To put it differently, voyages through the depths of space are simultaneously transits of the vital circuits of one's own body. This is a constant theme in sacred texts of the Mao Shan 茅山 persuasion of Taoism, extending at least from the old "Scripture of the Yellow Court"³³ and culminating in the "Scripture of the Eight Phos-

phors."³⁴ The considerable literature on eight-phosphor travel has been extensively studied, and it would be presumptuous of me to try to epitomize it here.³⁵ However, one aspect of that subject is not yet so well known. I refer to its influence on medieval poetry, especially that of the T'ang period, in which the dynamics of star-powered vehicles are more vividly displayed than in the relatively static tableaux of holy scripture.

Like other elements of the lexicon of Highest Clarity, "eight phosphors" appears already in pre-T'ang poetry. Indeed, some of this literature, firmly embedded in scriptural tradition, already represents the transition from ritual chant to pure lyricism. An example may be found in a song addressed by the Royal Mother of the West to the Lady Wei Hua-ts'un 魏華存 upon the ascent of the latter to the elect company of star-voyagers:

Rig for me an eight-phosphor palanquin;
Swift as lightning I shall go into Grand Clarity!³⁶

The language of one of Yü Hsin's 庾信 (513–81) ten "Cantos on Pacing the Void" 步虛詞 is very similar:

The Three Primes *en suite* erect their standards;
The Eight Phosphors come after, whirling the palanquin.³⁷

³⁴ See *Shang ch'ing chin chen yü kuang pa ching fei ching* 上清金真玉光八景飛經 (HY 1367). Isabelle Robinet regards this as a composite text, although basic to the Highest Clarity tradition. See her *La Révélation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du Taoïsme*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1984), II, 45. See also E. H. Schafer, "Li Po's Star Power," *Society for the Study of Chinese Religions Bulletin* 6 (1978), 7.

³⁵ I draw particular attention to Henri Maspero, "Les Procédés de 'nourrir le principe vital' dans la religion taoïste ancienne," *Journal Asiatique* 229 (1937), 175–252, 353–430; Max Kaltenmark, "'Ching' yü 'pa ching'" 景與八景, in *Fukui hakase shōju kinen; tōyō bunka ronshū* 福井博士頌壽記念; 東洋文化論集 (Tokyo, 1969), 1147–54; Michel Strickmann, "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching," in *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion*, ed. Welch and Seidel (New Haven, 1979), 123–92; and Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, I, 129–30.

³⁶ "Wang Mu tseng Wei fu-jen ko," in *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien* 雲笈七籤 (HY 1026; hereafter YCCC), 96, 8a.

³⁷ "Pu hsü tz'u, shih shou," no. 2, *Yüeh fu shih chi* 樂府詩集 (SPTK ed.), 78, 4b.

³⁰ "Hsiao yü hsien shih," No. 1, *CTS*, han 10, ts'e 2, ch. 2, p. 1a; translated in Schafer, *Mirages on the Sea of Time*, 99.

³¹ Schafer, "Wu Yün's Stanzas on 'Saunters in Sylphdom,'" 332.

³² See note 14 above.

³³ Consult, as the most useful, the version of *Huang t'ing nei ching yü ching* 黃庭內景玉經, in *Hsiu chen shih shu* 修真十書 (HY 263, ch. 55–57, with commentary of Po Lü-chung 白履忠).

This in turn anticipates one of Wu Yün's "Cantos" on the same theme, written two centuries later:

The Eight Phosphor Palanquin that bears me upward
By long, circuitous way, enters the Gate of Heaven.³⁸

Still a century later, another poet of visionary flight, Ts'ao T'ang, continued the tradition with lines like these:

Wind-whirled by the Eight Phosphors—a Five Phoenix
Car:
Above Mount K'un-lun he regards the peach flowers.³⁹

In another quatrain of the same sequence, Ts'ao T'ang reports the source of the knowledge needed to drive one of these marvelous space-cars:

Relaxed, a lordling intones the Text of the Eight
Phosphors.⁴⁰

This young initiate to the spiritual hierarchy is about to sever his earthly attachments and take the high road to Jade Clarity at the summit of the cosmos. His training manual is the "Scripture of the Eight Phosphors."⁴¹ It is worth noting that in the first of the Ts'ao T'ang poems just quoted, the carriage has a conventional hitch for avian draft-animals, but that these have been reduced virtually to a heraldic status, while the real power is provided by the octet of divine lights.

This leads to the heart of the matter: I propose to concentrate on the Eight Phosphors in their role as powerful motors, beacons, and apotropaions, dispelling dark miasmas and evil beings from the highways of the sky, rather than as mystical identities of the micro-cosmic lamps in the human body, although even in that ancient role their function is the same—to provide clear and speedy passage through the somatic channels.⁴² In short, my emphasis is on the practicalities of space travel.

³⁸ Schafer, "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void,'" 411.

³⁹ "Hsiao yu hsien shih," no. 43; *CTS*, han 10, ts'e 2, ch. 2, p. 4b.

⁴⁰ No. 67; *CTS*, han 10, ts'e 2, ch. 2, p. 7a.

⁴¹ HY 1367 (see note 34 above).

⁴² The communion between the networks of roads is striking as it is exemplified in the Eight Phosphor Pills (*pa ching wan* 八景丸): "Take a dose of it and you will be able to fly your way to the Grand Void." *Pao chien shang ching* 寶劍上經 in *T'ai p'ing yü lan* 太平御覽 (Taipei, 1968), 671, 5b.

The case for the function of the phosphors as motors in these dream flights may have been sufficiently established. Their role as searchlights, fog-dispellers, and disinfectants, especially in T'ang poetry, may need further documentation.

The basic fact about this octet of lamps is that they have a directional meaning; that is, they correspond to the four cardinal and four intercardinal directions (*pa fang* 八方). But they also have a temporal significance, corresponding to the eight [seasonal] nodes (*pa chieh* 八節), that is, to the solstices, the equinoxes, and the inceptions of the four seasons.⁴³ In short, they represent, *inter alia*, the supposed spatial relationships of the sun and moon in the course of the annual circuits around the earth.⁴⁴ Accordingly, the Eight Phosphors operate in both space and time, and the whole set is attuned to the four-dimensional space-time continuum. In addition, they have specialized projections, reflexes, analogues, simulacra, and other-identities. The Eight Ways (*pa tao* 八道), which are spatial versions of the Eight Nodes, are the mystic roads taken by the sun and moon: two blue roads in spring, two red roads in summer, two white roads in autumn, two black roads in winter.⁴⁵ An important scripture provides the aspirant for trans-terrestrial life with instructions for locating and identifying the deities that travel by these roads at the eight crucial times by the color patterns in the mists that curl around their vehicles.⁴⁶ For instance, at midnight on the day of the vernal equinox, the adept may see the dusky, blue, and yellow clouds in the northeastern sky that mark the transit of the Lord, the Heavenly Thearch of Grand Tenuity (*T'ai wei t'ien ti chün* 太微天帝君). The three colors make up his personal blazon, just as red, white, and blue constitute the oriflamme of the Great Thearch of Fu-sang (*Fu-sang ta ti* 扶桑大帝) as he crosses the southern sky

⁴³ See outline of *Tung chen t'ai shang pa tao ming chi ching* 洞真太上八道命籍經 (HY 1317) in *YCCC*, 51, 1a-3b.

⁴⁴ The eight propellant and exorcistic phosphors are themselves aspects of more stable sky-lights, to wit, the sun, the moon, the set of five planets, the Northern Dipper, and four stars corresponding to the cardinal directions. See K. M. Schipper, *L'empereur Wou des Han dans la légende taoïste* (Paris, 1965), 85, n. 6, citing Maspero, "Les procédés de 'nourrir le principe vital.'"

⁴⁵ *YCCC*, 51, 1a.

⁴⁶ *Shang ch'ing pa tao pi yen t'u* 上清八道秘言圖 (HY 430). Similar information is provided by other Shang Ch'ing scriptures. See Robinet, *Révélation*, II, 72.

at daybreak on the summer solstice.⁴⁷ These mystic triads, called the "Three Immaculate Clouds" (*san su yün* 三素雲), seem to represent the different combinations of *yin* and *yang* that correspond to the relative positions of the moon and sun at critical times of the year.⁴⁸ One of the scriptures which transmits these arcana is also known as "The Golden Slips of the Eight Ways" (*Pa tao chin ts'e* 八道金策),⁴⁹ and sometimes as "The Jade Slips of the Eight Ways" (*Pa tao yü ts'e* 八道玉策).⁵⁰ This was a magical text, whose function was as much apotropaic as instructive.

The set of eight was obviously, and probably originally, an expression of the ontological octad of trigrams (*pa kua* 八卦) which, in the guise of the "Messengers of the Eight Directions" (*pa fang shih che* 八方使者), protected the great deities on their formal journeys through the seasonal nodes.⁵¹ It has other limited manifestations in the Eight Winds, which correspond to the Eight Directions; the Eight Accesses (*pa ta* 八達); the Eight Seas that encompass the earth—the tenebrous Eight Stygias (*pa ming* 八冥), penetrable by the power of the charm called "Jade Light";⁵² the Eight Clarities (*pa chi'ing* 八清);⁵³ the Eight Stars;⁵⁴ the Eight Rays (*pa mang* 八芒);⁵⁵ the fundamental set of Eight Immaculates (*pa su* 八素)—the *yin* equiva-

lents of the Eight Phosphors;⁵⁶ the Eight Simulacra (*pa hsiang* 八象);⁵⁷ and the important set of Eight Concourses (*pa hui* 八會), which are simultaneously eight points in the sky where the twelve units of the Jupiter cycle (roughly, the zodiac) meet the ten celestial trunks ("stems"), the eight divisions of the primordial pneuma, and the eight foci in the human body where blood and breath intermingle.⁵⁸

In his set of "Saunters in Sylphdom" Ts'ao T'ang alludes to various of these octets. As the Royal Mother passes by on her way to the moon, people ask, "Who rambles over the Eight Seas, to pass before our gate?"⁵⁹ A divine maiden, lamenting the departure of her spirit lover, says, "I have heard that my lord is newly to direct the Superintendency of the Eight Auroras."⁶⁰ As a jade woman prepares to depart for Fu-sang to become the sacred bride and preceptress of the ruler of that kingdom of the dawn, the High Lord of the universe gives her "the stanzas of the Eight Immaculates in Golden Script" to deliver to her royal disciples.⁶¹ In another quatrain, although Ts'ao T'ang does not refer to the Eight Stygias collectively, he uses "East Stygia" (*tung ming* 東冥) to represent the more usually "Watchet Sea" (*ts'ang hai* 滄海)—that is, the dark eastern sea that leads to P'eng-lai.⁶² All of these instances convey the idea of universality and cosmic control, each in its own particular way.

The Eight Phosphors are foci are the energy that illuminates and penetrates all of the passageways and segments of the universe. In particular, they dissipate baneful vapors and evil mists that make the way ahead unclear and dangerous to the cosmonaut. We saw

⁴⁷ *Shang ch'ing pa tao pi yen t'u*, pp. 2a, 4a.

⁴⁸ The astronomer-poet Chang Heng 張衡 (78–139) equipped his seismograph with "Eight Ways" leading out of the core of the instrument to eight dragon heads. It is to be presumed that these had a similar cosmic significance. *Hou Han shu*, 89, 0828a.

⁴⁹ *Pa tao pi yen* (HY 430), cited in YCCC, 51, 7a.

⁵⁰ *Ch'ing hsü chen jen Wang chün nei chuan* 清虛真人王君內傳, in YCCC, 106, 6b.

⁵¹ *Lao tzu chung ching* 老子中經, in YCCC, 18, 12b (following a passage from HY 1160).

⁵² See HY 1367 and Robinet, *Révélation* II, 45. These are dark regions on the perimeter of the world, corresponding to the eight segments of the circumambient ocean.

⁵³ Evidently an expression of the concept of the basic heavens of the Three Clarities. See YCCC, 21, 11b.

⁵⁴ T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景 (456–536), *Yang hsing yen ming lu* 養性延命錄 (HY 837), 2, 10b–11a in a passage on sexual techniques aimed at child-bearing. Intercourse with this end in view should be undertaken when the moon is in the eight lunar stations House, Triaster, Well, Ghost, Willow, Spread, Heart, and Dipper (stars in Pegasus, Orion, Gemini, Cancer, Hydra, Scorpius, and Sagittarius) [室參井鬼柳張心斗].

⁵⁵ Robinet, *Révélation*, I, 153.

⁵⁶ See HY 1312 (note 41 above).

⁵⁷ *Tung chen t'ai shang shuo chih hui hsiao mo chen ching* 洞真太上說智慧消魔真經 (HY 1333), 1, 8a. This text provides other equivalent sets, such as the "Eight Rose-gems" (*pa ch'ung* 八瓊), the "Eight Currents" (*pa liu* 八流), and the "Eight Stones."

⁵⁸ Schipper, *L'empereur Wou*, p. 102, n. 4, and p. 121; E. H. Schafer, *Mao Shan in T'ang Times* (Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, Monograph No. 1, 1980), 66, n. 234; Robinet, *Révélation*, I, 130; *Chen kao* 真誥 (HY 1010), 1, 8b–9a.

⁵⁹ "Hsiao yu hsien shih," no. 37; *CTS*, han 10, ts'e 2, ch. 2, p. 4a.

⁶⁰ No. 62; *CTS*, han 10, ts'e 2, ch. 2, p. 6b.

⁶¹ No. 95; *CTS*, han 10, ts'e 2, ch. 2, p. 9b; translated in *Mirages on the Sea of Time*, 105–6.

⁶² No. 89; *CTS*, han 10, ts'e 2, ch. 2, p. 9a; translated in *Mirages*, 100.

above how Blue Lad, King of the Fang-chu Palace, dispelled the night fogs that infested the road to his bright land. Greatest of these cosmic fogs, though not necessarily malignant, was the Grand Nimbus (*t'ai meng* 太蒙), a gloomy, sunless realm, similar to the Niflheimr in Norse mythology—the cold, dark, foggy home of the dead.⁶³ Wu Yün alludes to it in one of his stanzas about celestial voyages.⁶⁴ Comparable to this cheerless realm are two others that belong to the cosmology of the Ling Pao 靈寶 traditions. My versions of their names are “nebula incognita” (*miao-mang* 眇茫) and “shrouded stygia” (*yu ming* 幽冥), both of which appear to be exudates or precipitations of the Primal Pneuma (*yüan ch'i* 元氣).⁶⁵

Cosmic lights will penetrate cosmic fogs. Consider one verse of an old song, said to have been chanted by a princess of the Fang-chu Palace:

The Eight Phosphors turn back, cutting through the
hazes.⁶⁶

Or, as Wu Yün wrote:

Slowly and steadily I am transported, mounted on the
phosphors;
I am unaware of the distance on the clouded road.⁶⁷

To sum up, the Eight Phosphors are astral powers with many functions—apotropaic, energizing, illuminating—enabling the space voyage to pass safely through celestial taints and tangles, just as their micro-

cosmic counterparts dissolve knots, cankers, and blockages in the somatic ducts.

In contrast to this generalized role, one set of aspects of the luminous octad has a very specific function; it may be thought of as a task-force detached on special duty. This projected squad—for such in effect it is—called the “Eight Daunters” (*pa wei* 八威). Like the Eight Phosphors that generate it, it is intimately connected with the set of eight Trigrams.⁶⁸ Its members are themselves lesser divinities, in a class with such terrestrial surrogates as the Lords of the Five Marchmounts (*wu yüeh chün* 五嶽君) and the Divine Woman of Lo Water (*Lo shui shen nü* 洛水神女),⁶⁹ and with a variety of celestial agents and messengers—indeed, in one text at least, they have their own derivatives, the Messengers of the Eight Daunters (*pa wei shih che* 八威使者), a title suggesting that the true Daunters are hidden, unnameable beings. The duties of the Eight Daunters are apotropaic: like leukocytes in the human body, they attack all threats to benign travellers along the roads of Heaven. Moreover, like their parents the Eight Phosphors, they have their own somatic aspects. “The Scripture of the Yellow Court” mentions them more than once as guardians of the somatic organs and conduits. Of particular interest is the special assistance they provide in sluicing the gullet, which the standard commentary describes as a “road” through the body.⁷⁰

This cosmic highway patrol could be commanded by the owner of a powerful talisman called “The Slips of the Eight Daunters” (*pa wei ts'e* 八威策), and their force directed against life-menacing trolls, wild beasts, and ill-intentioned ghosts.⁷¹ This is put plainly in a non-canonical text by the Prince Hsiao T'ung 蕭統 (501–531): “Venture to clench the Slips of the Eight

⁶³ See *Mirages*, 17. *Nifl* is cognate to “nebula.” The Chinese name is probably derived from “Great Shroud” (*ta meng* 大蒙), the dark home of the setting sun in the west.

⁶⁴ “Wu Yün’s Stanzas on ‘Saunters in Sylphdom,’” 325.

⁶⁵ *Yüan shih wu lao ch'ih shu yü p'ien chen wen t'ien shu ching* 元始五老赤書玉篇真文天書經 (HY 22), and summary in YCCC, 2, 2a. See E. H. Schaffer, “Cosmic Metaphors: the Poetry of Space,” *Schaffer Sinological Papers*, No. 5 (11 March 1984), 9.

⁶⁶ *T'ai wei t'ien ti chün tsan Ta yü miao ching sung i chang* 太微天帝君讚大有妙經頌一章, in YCCC, 96, 4b. (The *Ta yü miao ching* is a very early Highest Clarity scripture, probably belonging to the fourth century.)

⁶⁷ “Wu Yün’s ‘Cantos on Pacing the Void,’” 403. It may be that here “clouded road” (*yün lu* 雲路) is the nebulous Milky Way, styled, *inter alia*, “Cloudy Han” (*yün Han* 雲漢) and “Cloudy Ho” (*yün Ho* 雲河). If so, the well-illuminated car finds him clear passage through the stellar mists.

⁶⁸ Kaltenmark, op. cit.; *Huang t'ing nei ching yü ching* (HY 263), no. 23, verse 3 [ch. 56, p. 18a], with gloss of Po Lü-chung.

⁶⁹ T'ao Hung-ching, *Chen ling wei yeh t'u* 真靈位業圖 (HY 167), p. 16b.

⁷⁰ *Huang t'ing nei ching yü ching*, no. 4, verse 9 [ch. 55, p. 10b], and no. 43, verse 3 [ch. 57, p. 15a].

⁷¹ Robinet, *Révélation*, I, 188, n. 1. This charm is referred to in a number of Highest Clarity texts. See YCCC, 9, 9b, for the “Red Thearch’s Slips of the Eight Daunters,” and YCCC, 106, 15a, for their presence in the life story of Lord Chou 周 (Tzu yang chen jen 紫陽真人), along with such other charms as “The Bell of Flowing Gold.” For further relevant information, see Isabelle Robinet, review of M. Porkert, *Biographie d'un taoïste légendaire, Tcheou Tseu-yang* (Paris, 1979), in *T'oung Pao* 67 (1981), 133.

Daunters—then spirit-creatures will in no way withstand you.”⁷² The word translated “slips” also refers to yarrow [milfoil] stalks (*shih* 蓍; *Achillea* sp.), used since antiquity in the divination of longevity. In this body of Taoist literature, then the Daunters have been elevated from the lowly role of celestial detectives to the ranks of judges and executioners.

Probably the talismans glowed red with inner force, like the similar one in the possession of a sky-traversing goddess described by Ts’ao T’ang: “She lifts a jade slip in her hand—redder than fire.”⁷³ The fiery emanation is the power of *yang*, which vanquishes the emissaries of the Dark King. It is not to be distinguished from the radiant jade that constitutes the fuel in the athanor of a celestial alchemist:

The serving girl who runs the kitchen—what is it she cooks?

Throughout the stove, no smoke—but the jade coals turn red.⁷⁴

The “serving girl” here is actually another goddess of Highest Clarity, and she is cooking the elixir of life.

All this reaffirms the fact that the Eight Daunters operate at all levels of the cosmos—among the asterisms, within the somatic sanctuary, and in the ideal microcosmic model, the hermetic egg of the alchemist-

adept with its self-sustaining inner fires. A canonical formulary describes one part of a mercurial reaction in arcane phrases, whose imagery applies as much to the human organism as to the tubes and chambers of the athanor: “There are Eight Daunters, which repel the host of the Elementals, along with trolls and sprites: the saliva enters the Vermilion Child.”⁷⁵

It goes without saying that the Eight Daunters appear in the literature of the T’ang period. A prose fantasy by the eminent Tu Kuang-t’ing 杜光庭 (850–933), which tells of a visit of the great hydraulic engineer Yü 禹 to the Divine Woman of Shamanka Mountain, shows him attended on his perilous journey by the phalanx of the Eight Daunters.⁷⁶ They also have a notable place in the ecstatic verses of Wu Yün. In one of the latter’s “Pacing the Void” cantos, a flight through the dark depths of space is facilitated by them, as they “clear away the roving pneumas.”⁷⁷ In one of his stanzas on “Saunters in Sylphdom,” these flushers of the celestial flyways attend the noble adept as he rises above the Grand Aurora (*t’ai hsia* 太霞), “opening up the way.”⁷⁸

For the properly trained initiate, the Eight Daunters, like genies out of bottles sealed by Solomon, are his to command.

⁷² “Hsieh ch’ih ts’an chieh Chiang ch’i,” *Ch’üan Liang wen* 全梁文 (1930 ed.), 79, 6b.

⁷³ “Hsiao yu hsien shih,” no. 50; *CTS*, han 10, ts’e 2, ch. 2, p. 5b.

⁷⁴ “Hsiao yu hsien shih,” no. 58; *CTS*, han 10, ts’e 2, ch. 2, p. 6a.

⁷⁵ *T’ai ch’ing chin i shen tan ching* 太清金液神丹經, quoted in *YCCC*, 65, 7a.

⁷⁶ *Yung ch’eng chi hsien lu* 壙城集仙錄 (HY 782), 3, 2a; translated in E. H. Schafer, “Cantos on ‘One Bit of Cloud at Shamanka Mountain,’” *Asiatische Studien* 36 (1982), 107.

⁷⁷ “Cantos on Pacing the Void,” 395.

⁷⁸ “Saunters in Sylphdom,” 342.

APPENDIX

(Examples of the term “Eight Daunters” in Taoist literature)

1. 威伏魔精 “daunt and subdue devils and elementals” (上清長生寶鑑圖 [HY 429]; archaeological specimen described in E. H. Schafer, “A T’ang Taoist Mirror,” *Early China* 4 [1978–79], 58)

2. 重堂煥煥揚八威 “the Double Hall (i.e., gullet)’s iridescent fire displays the Eight Daunters” (黃庭內景玉經注 [in HY 263], ch. 55, stanza 4, verse 9)

3. 明神八威正辟邪 “those luminous spirits, the Eight Daunters, justly eliminate recreant [spirits]” (ibid., ch. 57, stanza 35, verse 3)

4. 南方三氣丹天真文赤書 . . . 一名赤帝八威策文 “The Red Writ of the True Text from the Cinnabar Heaven of Three Pneumas in the Southern Quarter . . . otherwise named the Slips of the Eight Daunters of the Red Thearch” (雲笈七籤 [HY 1026], 9, 9b)

5. 紫陽真人佩黃旛之節八威之策 “the Realized Person of Purple Solarity was girded with the Insignia of the Yellow Yak-tail and the Slips of the Eight Daunters” (ibid., 106, 15a)

6. 竊以挾八威之策則神物莫干 “venture to clench the Slips of the Eight Daunters—then spirit-creatures will in no way withstand you” (昭明太子, “謝勅參解講啓,” in 全梁文 (1930 ed.), 79, 6b)

7. 有八威却辟衆精與魑魅 “there are Eight Daunters that repel the host of elementals along with trolls and spirits” (雲笈七籤, 65, 7a)

8. 八威備軒 “the Eight Daunters were ready at his coach” (壙城集仙錄 [HY 782], 3, 2a)

9. 八威清遊氣, 十絕舞祥風 “The Eight Daunters clarify the roving pneumas,/ The Ten Distinctions

dance in the auspicious winds.” (Wu Yün, “Pu hsü tz’u,” No. 1, as translated in E. H. Schafer, “Wu Yün’s ‘Cantos on Pacing the Void,’” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41 [1981], 395)

10. 八威先啓行, 五老同我遊 “The Eight Daunters go ahead of me, opening up the way;/ The Five Elders journey in my company.” (Wu Yün, “Yu hsien,” No. 23, *Ch’üan T’ang shih*, han 12, ts’e 6, p. 4a)

Ways of Looking at the Moon Palace

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Ways of Looking at the Moon Palace

The moon, endlessly fascinating, has been the subject of much study by sinologists, myself among them. The following paragraph is an epitome of lunar imagery prevalent in T'ang literature.¹

The moon is a visual token of the Grand Yin (*t'ai yin* 太陰), a cosmic store of latent energy, apprehended as a cold, white, phosphorescent body, seemingly akin to snow, ice, water, white silk, silver, white jade, rock crystal, pearls, and the like. These materials are concentrated in such lunar creatures as the uncanny toad and his antithesis, the irresponsible moon hare, as well as in moon people. The most popular of these are immaculate nymphs, clones of Ch'ang-o 嫦娥 (or Heng-o 姮娥), the great lunar deity. She is also called "Moon Fairy" (Yüeh-o 月娥), as are her nymphs; they all resemble snowflakes, or the petals of white flowers. This delightful troupe entertains its mistress and her guests with clear, high-pitched music, as if their zithers were crystalline and their voices like the tinkling of icicles.² But some poets represent Ch'ang-o as an unhappy creature, the celestial counterpart of a beautiful but lonely widow or cold-hearted courtesan, desolate despite her dazzling perfection. She needs a husband, or a fur coat, or a beaker of brandy.

But little attention has been paid to the moon palace as the lady's domicile, salon, and asylum. My present purpose is to reveal a little of these aspects of that shining house.

The moon palace had, of course, been a precinct of dreams and the goal of dream travel long before the T'ang period. In Six Dynasties romance, the Han miracle man Tung-fang Shuo 東方朔 is reported to have visited it during his extraordinary excursions. The story of his elevated pilgrimage was duly incorporated into the Taoist canon along with the other adventures of the ancient hero.³

¹ Edward H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void: Tang Approaches to the Stars* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1977), pp. 171–210, is the chief source for the following synopsis of medieval Chinese moon lore. The reader is also referred to Michel Soymié, "La lune dans les religions chinoises," *La lune: mythes et rites*, Sources Orientales 5 (Paris: Edns. du Seuil, 1962), pp. 291–321.

² Moon tunes also existed in the sublunar world; see, for instance, Ku K'uang 顧況, "Wang shih Kuang-ling san chi" 王氏廣陵散記 (*Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文 529, p. 9b).

³ *Hai nei shih chou chi* 海內十洲記, in *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien* 雲笈七籤 (HY 1026) 26, p. 1b. Here and subsequently, HY refers to Weng Tu-chien, ed., *Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature*, Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series 25 (Peking:

But this bare report was soon overshadowed and outshone by the mutations of the palace itself in the astral theology of the Highest Clarity (*Shang ch'ing* 上清) sect of Taoism. As that denomination began its transformation of the magi and wizards of ancient mythology into a spirit population better suited to its gossamer star palaces and their somatic counterparts (the chambers of spun gold and transparent gems in the bodies of advanced adepts), so the sublimity of the moon palace was enhanced by the acquisition of a specific title. In the *Inner Scripture of the Yellow Court*, a basic text current in the earliest years of the sect, it is called "Palace of Widespread Cold" (*Kuang han kung* 廣寒宮), figured as the destination of an adept's liberated spirit. Here it is actualized as a divine palace, not in the moon itself but in the north of our world, where the moon's vitality is periodically renewed.⁴ The name also occurs in a song of the same era, sung by a Jade Woman to the medium Yang Hsi 楊羲. The lady reveals the great ice palace as the dazzling goal of the adept's soul as it plunges through space.⁵ Although the moon is not specifically mentioned in this song, it is clearly represented as a mystical home beyond the sky. Yet another old scripture tells of a great Tao lord for whom the "Moon Basilica of Widespread Cold" (*Kuang han yüeh tien* 廣寒月殿) is a vestry where he assumes a costume of feathers before accepting a holy text from the supreme lord of the universe.⁶ All of these esoteric emanations of the moon, detached in time and space from the white disk we see from our low perspective, are the residences of great deities to whose high courts all terrestrial adepts, prepared by long devotion to spiritual disciplines, aspire. One such divinity is the Thearch of the "White-soul" (*p'o* 魄) of the moon;⁷ he resides in the celestial city Lin-lang 琳瑯, named for an unearthly selenite.⁸ These stark icons persisted through the fifth and sixth centuries to form part of the Taoist cabala of T'ang.

In the imaginative literature of T'ang, however, such arcane hiero-

Ha-fu Yen-ching hsüeh-she, 1935). In the notes all works from the *Tao tsang* 道藏 are given their *HY* index number (see *HY*, pp. 1-37). Any modern pagination refers to the facsimile reprint of the Cheng-t'ung 正統 era edition of the *Tao tsang* published by the I-wen yin-shu-kuan 藝文印書館, Taipei, 1976.

⁴ *Huang t'ing nei ching yü ching* 黃庭內景玉經, collected in *Hsiu chen shih shu* 修真十書; see *HY* 263 (ch. 55, p. 8b, stanza 3, verse 5, p. 5770). The *Huang t'ing nei ching* appears to have been composed late in the 4th century.

⁵ *Chen kao* 真誥 (*HY* 1010) 4, p. 5a (5th century A.D.).

⁶ *Tung chen ching* 洞真經, quoted in *Wu shang pi yao* 无上祕要 (*HY* 1130) 22, pp. 17b-18a.

⁷ For "White-soul" or "protopsyche" as the waxing moon, see Schaffer, *Pacing the Void*, pp. 177-81.

⁸ *Yün chi ch'ü ch'ien* 41, p. 20b. Here I use "selenite" to mean an unidentifiable moon gem, not, as in terrestrial mineralogy, crystalline gypsum.

graphy is rare. Instead the moon palace remains the pearly hideaway of Ch'ang-o. It is a frozen eyrie, an idealized alpine chalet lit by faint, cool lamps. But its privacy does not necessarily exclude occasional intimacy, as when the moon nymph is entertaining one of her cousins — the goddess of the moonlit Ho on earth (see below), or the divine woman of the Sky River, or some other sylph with snowy skin.⁹

As for the old mythological occupants — the nervous hare, the placid toad, and the cinnamon (or osmanthus) tree (*kuei* 桂) — the bards allow us an occasional unflattering glimpse. The prominence of the divine tree in lunar lore gave an alternative name both to the moon palace, which became the great Cinnamon Palace (*kuei kung* 桂宮), a comfortable version of the Palace of Widespread Cold, and to its chief building, the Cinnamon Basilica (*kuei tien* 桂殿).¹⁰ Comparable housing was sometimes deemed suitable for fair-skinned beauties in the world below. Tradition tells that Ch'en Shu-pao 陳叔寶, last ruler of the state of Ch'en, built a moon palace for his beautiful consort Chang Li-hua 張麗華. Its vital nucleus was a white-powdered courtyard in which stood a single cinnamon, visible through a round pane of rock crystal. There the lady, clad in the purest white, diverted herself with an albino hare.¹¹

Journeys to the moon palace were not uncommon in T'ang times. A number of reports of such adventures survive in straightforward prose. Unhappily, most do not give vivid accounts of the architecture and ornamentation of the glittering *enceinte*, although it seems to have been imagined very much like a typical walled city of the Middle Kingdom. One such conventional description can be found in the story of the journey of T'ang minister-to-be Lu Ch'i 盧杞, who flew to the moon in a calabash. He was obliged to dress in oilskins for protection against cold rain and sleet. On arrival he found the high-platformed buildings and watchtowers of a grand palace, all fashioned of "water crystal," that is to say, of transparent quartz, regarded in those times as a form of petrified ice. Here he met the Lady of Grand Yin, an exalted version of the moon goddess, in her crystal hall. But he demonstrated the shallowness of his taste by refusing her hand, offered in marriage, in favor of the boon of political advancement on earth. I have told the whole tale elsewhere.¹²

⁹ Schafer, *Pacing the Void*, p. 195.

¹⁰ See, for further information, Schafer, *Pacing the Void*, pp. 185–86, 195.

¹¹ Feng Chih 馮贇 (fl. 904), *Nan pu yen hua chi* 南部烟花記, T'ang-tai ts'ung-shu (rpt. of 1806 edn. Taipei: Hsin-hsing shu-chü, 1968, p. 352), p. 1a.

¹² Schafer, *Pacing the Void*, pp. 197–98, trans. from *I shih* 逸史, in Li Fang 李昉 (925–996) et al., comps., *Tai p'ing kuang chi* 太平廣記 (1846 woodblock edn.; hereafter cited as *TPKC*) 64, pp. 4a–5a.

But this ambitious pilgrimage was trivial in comparison with the regal ascent of the great Taoist monarch Li Lung-chi 李隆基 (T'ang Hsüan Tsung 唐玄宗).

The various tales of Li Lung-chi's visit to the moon palace, under the guidance of one or another Taoist adept, are hardly less prosaic than the chronicle of Lu Ch'i. They are told in plain language and express a plain meaning — the ready accessibility of a celestial palace, familiar to everyone, to the Taoist monarch who, more than any other, embodied the grace and power that had blessed the dynasty from its outset. This special grace is symbolized by the sovereign's transferral of a lunar song and dance routine to his palace in Ch'ang-an. Moreover, this fairyland's inhabitants are often very ordinary creatures and its fittings commonplace contraptions. These features make the visit a believable enterprise, the participants of which, even the wonder-working priest, are quite everyday people. Even the wonderful transport is mere embellishment to the real tenor of a rather matter-of-fact narration. In more than one version of the story, the mode of travel is not mentioned. In one no levitation is required: the transit is made by way of a great bridge, flung by magic, like Bifrost, the bridge to Valhalla, over the abyss of the sky.

However, some versions of the royal airlift, although based on the same event, give us more than a perfunctory view of the inhabitants of the great ice palace: for instance, the tale in which Heavenly Master Shen Yüan-chih 申元之 is the monastic guide presents a pageant of white dancing girls, white birds, perfumed mist, fading blue light, and sweet celestial music.¹³ Another narration, similar to this in some respects, places great emphasis on the transmission and transcription of the music to fit terrestrial modes and instrumentation.¹⁴ Even more richly decorated is the story of Li Lung-chi's moon journey with the Taoist Yeh Ching-neng 葉淨能. (It should be observed that the cosmic guide in each extant version of the myth is a different adept.) This version provides much information on the building stones of the palace and its furnishings — rock crystal, "beryl," and carnelian.¹⁵

¹³ In *Lung ch'eng lu* 龍城錄 as printed in *Shuo k'u* 說庫, Wang Wen-ju, comp. (rpt. Taipei: Hsin-hsing, 1963), p. 3b. A synopsis of this story may be found in Schafer, *Pacing the Void*, p. 200. For the problem of dating this narration, see Hans Frankel, "The Date and Authorship of the Lung-ch'eng-lu," *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyusyo, Kyoto University* (Kyoto: Kyoto U., 1954), p. 149.

¹⁴ Cheng Ch'i 鄭榮 (fl. T'ang), *K'ai t'ien ch'uan hsün chi* 開天傳信記, in *TPKC* 204, pp. 7b–8a; trans. in Schafer, *Pacing the Void*, pp. 199–200.

¹⁵ For a translation and full explication of this version, which survives in a Tun-huang ms. in the British Museum, see Alfredo Cadonna, "'Astronauti' taoisti da Ch'angan alla luna: Note sul

The most eminent of the escorts said to have shown the way to the moon to Li Lung-chi was the "Celestial Master" (*t'ien shih* 天師) Yeh Fa-shan 葉法善, a Taoist priest and practitioner of supernatural arts, noted both for his worldly success and for his longevity. He was said to have been born in the Sui period, and died full of honors during the long reign of Hsüan Tsung. Several generations of his male ancestors had also been Taoist priests. He himself was a specialist in *yin-yang* theory and the arts of divination. He proved himself useful to the T'ang court when Li Chih 李治 (Kao Tsung) employed him to test the claims of gold-making alchemists, whose folly and deceit he straightway exposed. He also enjoyed a reputation for unmasking illusionists who claimed power over spirits.¹⁶

The story of his lunar excursion survives in several closely related texts.¹⁷ In the translation that follows I adhere to the version of *Tai p'ing kuang chi*. Where I deviate from it I note the source of the alteration:

On the full moon of the eighth month,¹⁸ the Master went on an excursion to the moon palace with the Mystic Ancestor.¹⁹ Listening attentively, they could hear heavenly music within the moon. They asked for the name of the tune, and were told, "The Purple Cloud Tune." The Mystic Ancestor had long been enlightened in instrumentation and music theory. Wordless, he memorized the sounds, and when they returned he passed on the notes, [which were then set down in the Archive of Music. He changed]²⁰ its name to "Rainbow Petticoat and

manoscritto di Dunhuang S 6836 alla luce de alcuni lavori de Edward H. Schafer," *Orientalia Venetiana* 1, *Volume in onore di Lionello Lanciotti* (Firenze: Olschki, 1984), pp. 69–132. I owe a great deal to Mr. Cadonna's researches into the bibliography of the variant texts dealing with Hsüan Tsung's famous journey, especially those in the Taoist canon. A useful summary of his findings may also be found in his book *Il Taoista di sua Maestà; Dodici episodi da un manoscritto cinese di Dunhuang* (Venezia, 1984), pp. 22–25, 30. This valuable book is otherwise devoted to translations of the other stories in S 6836.

¹⁶ *Hsin T'ang shu* 204, pp. 4b–5a; *Chiu T'ang shu* 191, pp. 11b–12a (both in SPPY edn.).

¹⁷ That in *TPKC* 26, p. 3b (based on Hsüeh Yung-jo [fl. 820], *Chi i chi* 集異記 and Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭, *Hsien chuan shih i* 仙傳拾遺) and in *T'ang Yeh Chen-jen chuan* 唐葉真人傳 (*HY* 778) agree very closely. That in *Li shih chen hsien t'i tao t'ung chien* 歷史眞仙體道通鑑 (*HY* 296) — evidently a compilation of the 14th century — is an abbreviated version, which shows some minor differences.

¹⁸ *HY* 296 has "mid-autumn," but the terms are synonymous. The Mid-Autumn Festival was a time for all sorts of celebrations and mysteries connected with the spirits of the moon, and liaison with the moon palace.

¹⁹ That is, Yeh Fa-shan, the Celestial Master, went with Li Lung-chi.

²⁰ The words in brackets are lacking in *TPKC* but occur in *HY* 296 and *HY* 778. The altered name of the song, with its Taoist overtones of intimacy with a (female) rainbow spirit and the flight of birds, was, according to tradition, first presented at court by the Lady Yang, Noble Consort, as a representation of the dance of an alluring moon spirit. For the probable origin of the tune in Serindia, and its reflexes in the Japanese *Nô Hagoromo* (羽衣), see Edward H.

Dress of Plumagery.” As they were returning from the moon palace, they passed above the walled city of Lu 潞 County.²¹ Raising their heads they looked upward at the forbidding aspect²² of the wall and fortifications, where the light of the moon was like daylight. Thereat the Master asked the Mystic Ancestor to perform the tune on his jade flute. The jade flute was in the Basilica of Repose,²³ so the Master commanded a person to fetch it. He returned shortly, and [the monarch] performed the tune, after which he tossed gold coins inside the city wall. This done they returned. After a decad of days, Lu County reported that on the night of the full moon of the eighth month there was celestial music, which approached the city wall from above, and that simultaneously [the residents] were gifted with gold coins. These they submitted [to the court].

In the story just translated, the ascent to the moon seems to have been instantaneous, like John Carter’s transference to Mars in Edgar Rice Burrough’s novel *The Princess of Mars*.

In another tale the journey is made by a bridge of moonbeams. (Why else a silver bridge?) The cosmonaut who shows the way to Li Lung-chi is Lo Kung-yüan 羅公遠, who, unlike Master Yeh, is not known to official history. Still, I find no reason to doubt that he was in fact one of the many practitioners of Taoist arts associated with the court of the magical monarch. Three versions of his adventure are extant.²⁴ I translate the *T’ai p’ing kuang chi* version, noting where I have altered it in favor of one of the other two:

It was the night of the full moon of mid-autumn, during Opened Prime (K’ai-yüan),²⁵ when the Mystic Ancestor was within the palace cele-

Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T’ang Exotics* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1963), pp. 114–15.

²¹ Otherwise Shang-tang 上黨, it was in what is now southeastern Shansi, north of Lo-yang. This return from the north suggests that the trip to the frigid moon was by way of the frozen north of the earth. This apparent detour accords with the *Yellow Court* scripture, which places a duplicate moon palace in the polar region.

²² Using the 峭 of *HY* 778 rather than the 悄 of *TPKC* and *HY* 296.

²³ *Ch’in tien* 寢殿, the royal bedchamber.

²⁴ One in *TPKC* 22, pp. 1b–2a, based on Tu Kuang-t’ing, *Shen hsien kan yü chuan* 神仙感遇傳, Tu Kuang-t’ing, *Hsien chuan shih i* 仙傳拾遺, and *I shih* 逸史 (mid-9th century); one in *Tün chi ch’i ch’ien* (*HY* 1026) 113a, pp. 2b–3a; one in *San tung ch’ün hsien lu* 三洞羣仙錄 (*HY* 1238) 14, pp. 13b–14a. The last named purports to cite *I shih*. It is much the shortest of these three versions, but unlike the others, concludes with a passage about Lady Yang’s performance of the lunar dance.

²⁵ 713–741 A.D. *I shih* (in *HY* 1238) begins “Early in Heavenly Treasure,” putting the event some years later.

brating. Kung-yüan made a submission in these words: "Unapproachable Throne! Would you not care to go into the palace of the moon and look around?"²⁶ And he took up his support staff and hurled it out into space, where it was transformed into a great bridge, whose aspect was like silver. He asked the Mystic Ancestor to climb with him, and they proceeded about several tens of *li*. The elemental light snatched away their vision, and the frigid air²⁷ drove through them. Eventually they reached the pylons and watchtower of an *enceinte*, and Kung-yüan said, "This is the palace of the moon!" They saw several hundred transcendent women, all in loose garments of shimmering white stuff, dancing in a broad courtyard. The Mystic Ancestor asked, "What tune is that?" and [Kung-yüan] said, "It is 'Rainbow Petticoat and Dress of Plumagery.'" The Mystic Ancestor secretly memorized the sounds with their melody. [Then they were oppressed by cold air]²⁸ and so turned back, observing that the bridge dissolved behind their footsteps. Presently he summoned the Officer of Musicians and composed, conformably to those sounds and their melody, the tune of "Rainbow Petticoat and Dress of Plumagery." [Subsequently it became current in the world.] [Moreover, in the fourth year of Heavenly Treasure (A.D. 745), on the day when the Realized One of the Yang clan, from the Palace of Grand Realization, was made Noble Consort, and was presented for viewing costumed as an Heirgiver,²⁹ she performed to the tune of "Rainbow Petticoat and Dress of Plumagery."]³⁰

These little prose tales narrate an incident more or less bare of ornament or stylistic sophistication. They seem naive when compared with poetic treatments of the moon palace. At the other end of the gamut of style, where mystery takes precedence over plain fact, free of such coarse and hasty identifications as "the moon palace!" are the quatrains in the mode "Saunters in Sylphdom" (*yu hsien* 遊仙), composed by the hesitant apostate Ts'ao T'ang 曹唐. They provide enigmatic vignettes of a world of appearances, projections of an almost unguessable reality.

I have discussed and translated many of Ts'ao T'ang's poems elsewhere, and indeed some familiarity with the aura of illusion and confused

²⁶ Adding "palace" from *HY* 1026.

²⁷ Taking the 氣 from *HY* 1026, instead of the 色 in *TPKC*.

²⁸ This clause occurs only in *HY* 1026.

²⁹ *Hou* 后, i.e., the mother of the heir, a title to which Lady Yang could make no claim and which she never bore.

³⁰ The sentence "Subsequently . . . world" is from *HY* 1026; the remainder of the paragraph is interpolated from *HY* 1238.

In the quatrain that follows, Ts'ao T'ang exhibits the ambiguity characteristic of his "Saunters." It is difficult to be sure of the location of the elfin scene, somewhat reminiscent of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Is it a terrestrial palace, lit by a misted moon? Is it a replica of our world within a magic calabash — or deep within a grotto? Or is it on the snowy moon itself, whose terraces and lofts are illuminated by the welling up of its own cold inner fire? We need not make definite exclusions; all of these possibilities may coexist. Ts'ao T'ang's ninety-nine "Little Saunters in Sylphdom" are all invested with supernatural atmospheres, and this one seems to reveal a fairy mansion on earth magically transformed into the lunar palace itself:

This poem may be paraphrased as follows, without dismissing other concurrent levels of meaning: lunar whiteness illumines the already pallid trees, reflecting or parodying the lunar landscape itself. Lunar spray drifts down upon a white couch, which seems to float aloft. High-born ladies lurk outside the chamber stifling their giggles as the goddess Ch'ang-o, or her avatar, extends a beaker of wine to a divine visitor.

³¹ Translated poems by Ts'ao T'ang appear in the following of my publications: "The Other Peach Blossom Font," *Schafer Sinological Papers* (hereafter *SSP*) 11 (Berkeley, May 22, 1984); "Ts'ao T'ang and the Tropics," *SSP* 15 (Berkeley, September 22, 1984); "The World between: Ts'ao T'ang's Grotto Poems," *SSP* 32 (Berkeley, October 15, 1985); *Pacing the Void; Mirages on the Sea of Time* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1985).

³³“Rhinceros” and “elephantine” are synecdoches for rhinoceros horn and elephant tusk — ivories used to enrich costly furnishings. (Cf. Alexander Pope, *The Rape of the Lock* I, 135–36: “The Tortoise here and Elephant unite, / Transformed to Combs, the speckled and the white.”) They also enhance the whiteness of the lunar setting.

³⁵No. 21 of Ts'ao T'ang's 99 "Little Saunters," *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩, Ts'ao Yin 曹寅 (1658–1712), comp. (orig. woodblock edn., 1707; hereafter *CTS*), *han* 10, *ts'ue* 2, ch. 2, pp. 2b–3a.

such frivolities, and transport his imagined protagonist into a place quite detached from the colors and concerns of the sublunary world.

An example is the subtle and delicate double “canto” (*tz'u* 詞) in which the tenth-century writer Sun Kuang-hsien 孫光憲³⁶ has realized a blurred vision of an elusive two-natured goddess — a kind of Sabrina-Selene — not as a capricious performer in a masquerade in the manner of Ts'ao T'ang, but as a tinted phantom. The poem is set to the tune of “The Spirit of Ho Conduit” (*Ho tu shen* 河瀆神).³⁷ The opening scene is set in a shrine on the Fen (汾) River, an important tributary of the Ho 河. The scenario of the first canto is the transformation of the fane into a celestial palace.

The mysterious protagonist is manifest first as “Mercurial Maid” (or “Shimmering Woman” or “Volatile Girl”), *ch'a nü* 姹女, a personification of the silvery moonglade on the Ho and Fen rivers — a kind of fleeting, hallucinatory mirror image of the moon goddess who inhabits a cold, wet, shining world like hers. She is the high lady's twin sister and other-identity,³⁸ and in the first stanza of Sun Kuang-hsien's canto, she flies up to don her other mask.³⁹ But neither nymph is named in the poem.

This scenario is not a rarity in medieval poetry. The reader is invited to compare the *tz'u* of Mao Wen-hsi 毛文錫, to the tune of “A Single Wisp of Cloud at Shamanka Mountain” (*Wu shan i tuan yün* 巫山一段雲), in which the Ho goddess assumes the alias of the Kiang goddess who presides over the

³⁶ Died 968. He is well known as the author of *Pei meng so yen* 北夢瑣言, a compendium of anecdotes about the region of Ching-nan 荆南 (Nan-p'ing 南平), a T'ang successor state in the central Yangtze region (hence *Pei meng* 北夢) in which he held important offices. For more, see Herbert Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies*, Münchener Ostasiatische Studien 16 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), pp. 976–77.

³⁷ *CTS*, *han* 12, *ts'e* 10, *ch.* 9, pp. 6b–7a. In the ancient mythical geography of China, the land was divided by the hero Yü 禹 into nine habitable regions (*chou* 州), separated by Four Conduits to make a magic square. These were the Ho 河, the Chiang 江, the Huai 淮, and the Chi 濟, of which the latter two have long since disintegrated into a net of interlocking waterways. In antiquity, possibly since Shang times, official sacrifices were made to the spirit of the Ho and the Fen at Lin-chin 臨晉, near the conjunction of the Fen 汾 River with the Ho. In Ch'in and Han times the rites were conducted by a female shaman. See Edward H. Schafer, “Two Taoist Bagatelles: 2. The Mutations of Mercurial Maid,” *Society for the Study of Chinese Religions Bulletin* 9 (Fall 1981), p. 11. Li Lung-chi restored the temple at Fen-yin 汾陰 (the name is significant) in 722, officially dedicating it to Hou T'u 后土, and in 723 ordered worship services there: “prior to this . . . there was once the clay image of a woman at the old shrine.” See *Chiu T'ang shu* 24, pp. 11b–12a.

³⁸ There is also reason to suspect an affinity with our Milky Way (i.e., 天河, 雲河, 銀河, 星河), the celestial counterpart of the earthly Ho and its spirit, the Star Fairy (Hsing O 星娥).

³⁹ In the jargon of alchemists her name represented “quicksilver,” as in our alchemical tradition “Hermes” (i.e., Mercury) represented the same element. Schafer, “Two Taoist Bagatelles, 2. The Mutations of Mercurial Maid,” p. 10. The lunar epithet *ch'a yüeh* 姹月, found in a 9th-century poem, combines the two images. *Ibid.*, p. 13. Compare also the canto “Spring in the Moon Palace” (*Yüeh kung ch'un* 月宮春) of Mao Wen-hsi 毛文錫, in which “Heng-o and Volatile Girl playfully hug one another” (*CTS*, *han* 12, *ts'e* 9, *ch.* 5, p. 4b).

gorges of the Yangtze and slips up the milky Sky River to don the costume and makeup of the moon goddess in her snowy palace.⁴⁰

The underlying plot of Sun's intricate poem is this: a poet-pilgrim — both thaumaturge and devotee — counterpart of a shaman-demigod at the shrine of the Divine Woman of Wu Shan 巫山, approaches the goddess's deserted shrine on the Fen. He finds it dilapidated and overgrown, but in his ecstasy he transforms the scene into a vision of the departure of the nymph for her higher abode in the moon. My translation of each verse needs an interpretive comment:

Fen Water is cyan, steadily gently flowing.

[This is the nymph's natural habitat, and her shrine is close by.
There are overtones of sky blue, referring to her other home,
and of serene, unhurried change.]

Yellow clouds of falling leaves begin to fly.

[The season is autumn; the *yang* force in nature is failing,
yielding to the increase of *yin*, which is represented by the
forward-pressing dark blue water. Decay and separation are in
the air, but the wind which blows the yellow leaves is a spiritus;
in poetry it often indicates the transit of a supernatural being.]

Once halcyon-moth has gone, let no one speak of return.

[When the divine beauty with eyebrows like the feathery
antennae of moths traced in blue (蛾 also suggests 娥, an epithet
of the moon goddess, as in 素娥) departs from the lower world, it
is hopeless to expect her early return. Her enraptured suitor will
get no grace from her — only a fleeting sign of her upward
flight. Here the kingfisher blue, the mark of the divine woman,
reflects the darker blue of the first verse which symbolizes the
watery element, present both in her earthly haunt and in the
frozen moon to which she returns.]

The fane's gate is shut, on vacancy, against the down-slanting flash.

[Simply: The gate to the now vacant shrine is shut against the
rays of the setting sun. But "vacant" may also imply "in vain."

As the sun nears the horizon the beams of receding *yang*

⁴⁰Edward H. Schafer, "A Trip to the Moon," *Parabola* 8.4 (Fall 1983), pp. 80–81. This translation corrects a basic error in my version of the same poem that appeared in *JAOS* 96 (1976), pp. 27–37. (The account in *Parabola* itself needs correction. Change p. 80, col. 2, last paragraph, after "cloud image" to read: "This turns out in the end to be a divine being, serving a far greater entity than herself. As the perpetually employed agent of the 'Primal Harmony,' the great balancing and harmonizing power in nature, it is her responsibility to restore her face monthly.")

penetrate directly into the front door of the temple of the *yin*-spirit; hence the outer gate resists the penetration in vain. But the striving, fertilizing male element makes its assault against an empty house. The goddess has departed.]

The four walls, umbrage shaded, display rows of ancient pictures.⁴¹
[Dimly visible murals, presumably of the goddess and her entourage, are the only traces that remain of a procession that is now ascending the stratosphere — destination Moon. A figment, a shadow, a phantom is all that remains of her once numinous presence.]

As before, the snow-gemmed wheel, her plumed equipage,⁴²
[Now, as before, her shining crystalline disk — a flying carriage — is visible above. Here begins the transition from the actual world to the world of fantasy: the faded, shadowy mural paintings take on their ancient freshness and brightness. As the full moon rises, exactly opposite to the setting sun, the shrine is briefly alight, and the poet-magician projects the image of the goddess in her sky-faring chariot onto the face of the moon.]

[And] her small basilica, beyond reach in the clear night.

[Now the deserted shrine, receding rapidly beyond his reach and touch, is transformed into her private residence — an ice palace in the moon.]

From the silver lamp — tossed down in free fall — its aromatic drippings.

[Midnight approaches. The old temple is no longer visible. It has been replaced by its splendid alter-ego, the silvery sky palace, now at the zenith. In it, the goddess lights a candle. From it drops of scented wax fall to earth — tokens of divine favor, and perhaps a promise of a more successful assignation. To the votary they appear as sparkling moonshine on the river, or as dewdrops, which are the same thing. Dewdrops figure as miniature moons both in Chinese mythology and in poetry. He is anointed by grace from on high.]

⁴¹“Umbrage shaded” (*yin sen* 陰森): “umbrage” is the shade of foliage. For the phrase, compare “Umbrage shaded spirit fane” (*yin sen kwei miao* 陰森鬼廟) in Li Shen 李紳, “Kuo Ching men” 過荊門 (*CTS, han* 8, *ts’e* 1, *ch.* 1, p. 4b). “Pictured walls, umbrage shaded” (*hua pi yin sen* 畫壁陰森) in Wen T’ing-yün 溫庭筠, “Sheng mei p’ing feng ko” 生樸屏風歌 (*CTS, han* 9, *ts’e* 5, *ch.* 1, p. 3b).

⁴²“Equipage” is *chia* 駕, following a standard dictionary definition: “a carriage of state or of pleasure, with all that accompanies it, as horses, liveried servants, etc.”

The second part of the canto, embodying the same structure as the first, moves the scene to the Kiang River, probably near Tung-t'ing Lake 洞庭湖, but possibly west of there at Shamanka Mountain (Wu Shan 巫山) in the gorges — one haunt of the Divine Woman, whom poets have identified with the Consort of the Hsiang (Hsiang Fei 湘妃), as Venus has been identified with Aphrodite.⁴³ The Kiang-Hsiang goddess, a presence only faintly visible here, is the counterpart of the Ho-Fen goddess of the first stanza. Here the poet as lover, or king, or shaman, dreams of a divine liaison:

Above the Kiang the herbs are lushly verdant;

[A green slope over the great river shows the fertility of nature, appropriate to the appearance of a fertility spirit in the next verse. The setting is antithetic to that at the beginning of the preceding stanza, which was set in dying autumn.]

It is the evening of spring, before the Consort's fane.

[It is not merely "a spring evening" but spring's evening — the late spring. In the Chinese calendar, early spring yields sparse apricot blossoms to match the remnants of winter snow — not the lush vegetation supplied here. We learn below that this is the morning after a night of divine visions.]

A whole quarter of egg-color: the sky south of Ch'u!

[An egg-tinted sky — that is, the color of ivory — is an image of a humid or rainy atmosphere. The protagonist, presenting himself at the temple during the spring season of ritual mating sees the early tokens of the approaching summer monsoon in the southern sky. He interprets the vision as a sign of the presence of the divine woman of Sung Yü's 宋玉 rhapsodies:⁴⁴ she is always present in the fertilizing rain.]

Several columns of wild geese aslant: uninterrupted flight.

[Strings of wild geese, headed northward to their mating grounds in Siberia, pass endlessly across the sky in chevron array; this is yet another sexual allusion. It appears to stimulate the pilgrim to reminiscence, as follows.]

Alone, I lean on the vermilion railing — feelings limitless.

[From a balcony, the visitor contemplates the northward progress of *yang*, as the *yin* of winter fades. Apparently he has stayed overnight at the temple, as the custom was, hoping for

⁴³ See Edward H. Schafer, *The Divine Woman* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1980), p. 122.

⁴⁴ *Kao T'ang fu* 高唐賦 and *Shen nü fu* 神女賦.

some kind of ecstatic union, if only in a dream. But his hope fades too.]

Our cloud-souls⁴⁵ parted, I keep that other in mind all through the dawn.

[After waking from his dream or trance, in which he experienced some sort of union with the naiad, the narrator passes the early morning hours brooding about her fleeting, inconstant image.]

A pair of oars — unaware of surge or ebb;

[The protagonist is leaving the riverside temple by boat. He plies his oars, indifferent alike to the movements of the water and to the affairs of the busy world. The rhythmic oscillations of the oars mark the regular passage of time, the ups and downs of everyday life, the swings of fashion, and the like. He has had a glimpse of eternity, and, obsessed with his midnight experience, is still indifferent to the world of transience.]

At times they rouse falcated teal⁴⁶ from a far sandflat.

[Occasionally the splash of the oars sends up pairs of drowsy teal from distant sandbars. The pretty creatures represent the real world of movement, form, and color. Our hero passes gradually out of his private world of dreams and illusions.]⁴⁷

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CTS *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩

HY *Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature*

TPKC *T'ai p'ing kuang chi* 太平廣記

⁴⁵ For "cloud-soul" (*hun* 魂) see Edward H. Schafer, "The Capeline Cantos," *Asiatische Studien* 32 (1978), p. 40, citing a poem by Wei Chuang 韋莊 that describes a dream liaison between a Taoist priestess and her divine lover. In dreams this tenuous entity is separated from the body to travel and encounter other souls, spirits, and even wakeful persons.

⁴⁶ A colorful teal with sickle-shaped tertiaries; the name apparently included both *Ana falcata* and the Baikal Teal (*Anas formosa*). The little ducks frequent inland fresh waters.

⁴⁷ There is an inaccurate translation of these stanzas in Lois Fusek, *Among the Flowers: The Hua-chien chi* (New York: Columbia U. P., 1982), pp. 148–49.



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FUSANG AND BEYOND: THE HAUNTED SEAS TO JAPAN

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The transit from T'ang to Japan is reflected in poems written by Chinese gentlemen at farewell parties held in honor of departing Japanese monks. These dwell on the wonders and dangers of the high seas, and speculate about the location of the fabulous land of Fu-sang, at the birthplace of the sun. After some discussion of the inhuman creatures one might expect to encounter on the passage, this essay focuses on their strange floating palaces, and closes with an intimate view of these in the rich language of a poetic rhapsody by Wang Ch'ï.

A FAMILIAR CLASS OF CHINESE POEMS comprises those written on the occasion of the departure of a friend or colleague or visitor on a long journey to his distant home, or to assume new duties at a provincial post, or to begin a vacation or period of retirement. These poems were composed by the traveller's companions at a farewell party, and can easily be identified by the regular presence of the word *sung* 送 "escort; accompany [part way]" as the first word of their titles.

At these gay affairs, often held at a wine shop in the suburb, looking off in the direction the traveller was about to take, it was the usual thing to relate facts and fancies of every kind about his route and destination, and to write poems on the themes of the physical and moral perils to be encountered there.¹

(Occasionally poems of this kind celebrate the departure of the guest-of-honor into a new status or condition, rather than to a new place. For example, these symbolic convoys sometimes honored a person about to take up a religious vocation, hence such titles as "Seeing off a Palace Person [court lady] on her Entry into the Tao.")²

Poems of the T'ang period written in honor of persons bound for Japan by sea, most of them Buddhist monks, make up the core of this paper.³ Similar effusions are extant which hold up the mirror

of anticipation to voyages to the Tungusic state of Po-hai (Parhae) 渤海 east of Liao-tung 遼東. (Po-hai means "Puffing Sea" or "Bursting Sea,"⁴ and is also a name of the Eastern Sea.) Still others look towards the nation of Silla 新羅, which occupied most of the Korean Peninsula. Both countries were sometimes stages on the longer voyage to the eastern islands, but I have rejected them from consideration here.⁵ Moreover, I have not translated nor commented on the seeing-off poems of Hsü T'ang 許棠 and Ch'u Kuang-hsi 瞿光羲,⁶ nor on the long preface of Wang Wei's 王維 poem, as having too little to offer to the reconstruction of the imaginative aspects of T'ang oceanic lore, although I have drawn on them for minor allusions and points of evidence.

The identity of the destination of the monastic and diplomatic personages to whom these poems were addressed is not always obvious. We may be confident, at least, that Jih-pen (**Nhit-pen* 日本) "Root (i.e., source, birthplace) of the Sun," referred specifically to the ancestral land of the modern Japanese, whose

⁴ *Mirages*, 54-55.

⁵ There is a perfunctory reference to Korea in one of the two poems by Ch'ien Ch'ï translated below. For an account of the triangular traffic, T'ang-Silla-Japan, see Verschuer, 187.

⁶ Ch'u's poem was written in about 726 (Imaeda, 256). Although it does not refer to Ch'ao's sea voyage, it tells of his direct access to "Mount P'eng." But this probably means the palace of the T'ang sovereign: it had been called "P'eng-lai Palace" before it was named "Great Luminous Palace." Ch'u's verses note, *inter alia*, Ch'ao's privileged position in the palace, his devotion to duty, and his secluded way of life. See Ch'u Kuang-hsi, "Lo chung i Ch'ao chiao shu Heng; Ch'ao chi Jih-pen jen yeh," CTS, han 2, ts'e 10 ch. 3, pp. 11b-12a.

¹ *Vermilion Bird*, 20-21.

² Wang Chien 王建, "Sung kung jen ju tao," CTS, han 5, ts'e 5, ch. 4, p. 10b. Poems of this sort are common: they regularly report the official retirement of court functionaries, among them ladies-in-waiting, into the otherworldly life of a Taoist "belvedere" (*kuan* 觀).

³ I believe I have found all, or virtually all, of the specimens extant in CTS.

culture was then centered in the Kansai region. The T'ang histories explain that this was the name of a state which superseded the domain of the "dwarf slaves" of antiquity. The degrading name of the latter, who lived in thatched houses within stockaded enclosures, springs from a Chinese graphic normalization of a form similar to Wa-nu (**Wie-nu* 倭奴). Some T'ang authorities aver that these same people, dissatisfied with the humiliating appellation (as it became in Chinese transcription), changed it to Jih-pen (patently of Chinese origin), but others state that Jih-pen began as a separate small nation which later annexed Wa-nu.⁷

But other names appear in T'ang poems as synonyms, or approximate synonyms, of Jih-pen. One of these is Tung-hai "East[ern] Sea." This expression has four possible references:

1. Most commonly, the sea east of T'ang, also called "Watchet Sea" (*ts'ang hai* 滄海).⁸

2. The coast adjacent to it (compare the name Nan-hai 南海 "South Sea" for a region of Canton).

3. Tung-hai chün 東海郡 (also known as Hai-chou 海州), a T'ang county on the coast of southern Shantung.⁹

4. The lands across the Eastern Sea, as in the title of a poem written on "Seeing off . . . on his Return to Eastern Sea."¹⁰ The poem refers to a trip by sea past the coast of Silla. The destination could be a port in either Silla or Japan. Only context can supply the particular reference, and even then not always with certainty. The expression means "destination outward and eastward."

The term "East of the Sea" (Hai-tung 海東) suggests greater distances, and therefore more magic and mystery. It exudes an aura of dreamlike uncertainty. It is invested with spiritual fogs. It is often associated with such mythical realms as Fu-sang 扶桑 and Ts'ang-chou 滄州 beyond even the seamount P'eng-lai.¹¹ But Wang Wei uses the expression "Japan, the country east of the sea" (*hai-tung kuo Jih-pen* 海東國日本)¹² and this is the usual sense of the term.

⁷ TS, 220, 14a; CTS, 199a, 13a.

⁸ For "watchet" see also *Mirages*, 24.

⁹ For instance, Ma Tai 馬戴, "Sung Lü lang chung mu Tung-hai chün," CTS, han 9, ts'e 2, ch. 1, p. 5a.

¹⁰ Hsü Hun 許渾 (fl. 844), "Sung Yang chu tso kuei Tung hai," CTS, han 4, ts'e 5, ch. 4, p. 9b.

¹¹ A good example is provided by Liu Shen-hsü 劉慎虛 (mid-8th cent.), "Hai shang shih sung Hsüeh Wen-hsüeh kuei Hai-tung," CTS, han 4, ts'e 8, p. 2b.

¹² In his "Preface"; see below in the discussion of Fu-sang.

Finally there is the name Jih-tung 日東 "East of the Sun,"¹³ which appears to refer unequivocally to Japan but places it beyond Fu-sang, the birthplace of the sun. More will be said about this conception further along.

Under whatever name, the land of Yamato was the subject of considerable attention by the T'ang administration in the period with which this article is chiefly concerned—the Nara and early Heian (eighth and ninth centuries), the culmination of an era of intensive sinicization.¹⁴ On the high official level, the acquisition of Hua 華 (called "Chinese" by foreigners) culture consisted of formally organized missions to the court at Ch'ang-an. These were called "Envoys Dispatched to T'ang" (*Ch'ien T'ang shih* = J. *Kentōshi* 遣唐使). The members of these embassies were high-ranking men of culture—although occasionally a distinguished Buddhist monk participated. They were usually received with great courtesy. For instance, the leader of the tenth mission (in 752), Fujiwara no Kiyokawa 藤原清河, was honored on his departure by a poem from the hand of Li Lung-chi 李隆基 (Hsüan Tsung 玄宗) himself.¹⁵ These delegations encouraged not only commercial relations and the propagation of religion, but many other kinds of cultural exchange. For instance, individual monks seeking the truth of Buddhism in T'ang found their personal gifts welcome in that famous land—such things as knives inlaid with silver, handsome girdles, and fine writing brushes.¹⁶ But in addition to rare material goods, there were offerings from higher cultural realms, such as Japanese music, including not only performers with their costumes and instruments, but musical forms and compositions, all for the delight of a T'ang court which was already predisposed in favor of exotic sounds.¹⁷ Many other achievements of Japanese art and tech-

¹³ Hsü T'ang, "Sung chin wu shih yü feng shih Jih-tung," CTS, han 9, ts'e 7, ch. 2, p. 9b. The person honored in this poem appears to have been a native Chinese, or possibly a Japanese thoroughly naturalized in T'ang. The verses themselves are a rather conventional eulogy of his success in his official career, now augmented by a mission to spread the light of Hua civilization among the heathen.

¹⁴ See. H. Durt and A. Seidel's Review Article in *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 3 (1987): 186–87, summarizing the material in Verschuer's valuable book, which will be directly referred to below.

¹⁵ It is preserved in *Ch'üan T'ang shih i* 全唐詩逸 (supplied by CTS as an appendix), ch. 1, p. 1a. See Imaeda, 258.

¹⁶ *Golden Peaches*, 258.

¹⁷ *Golden Peaches*, 51.



Figure 1

nology were transmitted to the mainland. In short, it was not entirely a matter of China as the only benefactor and Japan as the only beneficiary in the exchange. Nor were the gifts of T'ang to Japan restricted to the scriptures and rituals of Buddhism. We may note, as examples, the influence in Japan of a learned physician, a sinicized Persian known as "Li the Secret Healer," who accompanied one of the Japanese missions on its return home,¹⁸ and the fame in Nara of the celebrated writer Chang Cho 張鷟, author of the books *Ch'ao yeh ch'ien tsai* 朝野叢載 and *Yu hsien k'u* 游仙窟, both popular and influential in their different ways.¹⁹

Despite the diversity of cultural exchanges, there can be no doubt that, for the Japanese at any rate, Buddhism in all of its aspects was the most cherished donation from abroad. Buddhist doctrines were being accepted enthusiastically from both China and Korea already in the sixth century, and Buddhism was officially venerated as the state religion of Japan by the end of the seventh. The climax of this development came with the consecration of the great image of

Vairocana at Nara in 752, an event celebrated by the nations of the Far East, and more particularly by the arrival there of the famous Chinese monk Chien-chen (Ganjin) 鑑真 in 754, the forerunner of many others, and, concurrently, the appearance of numbers of pious Japanese monks in the T'ang capital and in the great provincial monasteries.²⁰ So popular did the adventures of peregrine monks become in Japan that completely mythical stories about them were circulated, along with the fictitious travels of exalted personages who, while designated as envoys, never actually went to the land of T'ang.²¹

The *Kentōshi* parties boarded their transports at Naniwa 難波, near modern Osaka.²² They proceeded to Kyushu for official receptions, then departed for T'ang from the port of Hakata 博多.²³ In the seventh century they sailed cautiously along the coast of Silla to make port in Shantung, but in the eighth they

¹⁸ *Golden Peaches*, 178.

¹⁹ Franciscus Verellen, "Lo Gungyuan: Légende et culte d'un saint taoïste," *Journal Asiatique* 275 (1987): 285. For a general account of Japanese professionals who accompanied the officials on these missions, see Verschuer, 40.

²⁰ Verschuer, 99, 102. For the full story of this much-travelled ecclesiastic, see J. Takakasu, "Aomi-no Mabito Genkai (779), *Le Voyage de Kanshin en Orient (742-754)*," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 28 (1928): 1-41, 441-72; 29 (1929): 47-62.

²¹ Verschuer, 189.

²² These vessels were usually built in Aki Province on the west side of the Inland Sea. Verschuer, 40.

²³ Verschuer, 54-55.

preferred the "Southern Islands Route" via Okinawa to Ishigakishima 石籬島, just east of Taiwan, and thence to a port between Huai-nan and Hang-chou Bay on the central coast of T'ang, preferably the great merchant port of Yang-chou. This island-hopping route was less often used towards the close of the eighth century and subsequently, when it became customary to go directly across the open sea. For this more dangerous voyage the reliable ships of Silla, which dominated these waters in the ninth century, were preferred.²⁴

The Japanese missions were regularly overtaken by disaster on these perilous seas: disease, shipwreck, drownings, and the murder of castaways by indigenes. One authority reports that only one of the embassies arrived in T'ang unscathed.²⁵ An official report on one such dismal incident was written by the minister Chang Chiu-ling 張九齡 to "the King of the Japanese Nation" on behalf of the Son of Heaven, Li Lung-chi. It tells how the homeward-bound mission of Kuang-ch'eng 廣成, upon encountering heavy clouds and adverse winds after leaving the Yangtze estuary, lost its way. The ships were dispersed. One vanished without a trace. One made shore in Hang-chou Bay. One was blown south to the Canton region. Another was driven even further into the waters of Champa (Lin-i 林邑). This last company fared badly. The seafarers could not be understood by the natives; some were robbed, many suffered other terrible trials, some were killed. The report ends with the assurance that Hsüan Tsung had ordered the authorities of the Protectorate of Annam to obtain the release of survivors from the Chams and had promised to send them home to Japan.²⁶

The attitudes held by the authors of "seeing-off to Japan" poems—or rather the tone and posture invested in the personas who masquerade as the authors—will ordinarily be obvious to the reader. Above all, he will quickly observe a certain condescension exhibited towards the parting guest. Sometimes plainly stated, sometimes muted or only implied, one detects the ancient belief that the Middle Kingdom is central indeed—the nucleus of the divinely established order. Visitors from Japan—so say the poetic hosts—choose wisely in making the perilous

journey, since in so doing they create for themselves the opportunity of viewing, as in a great morality play, the many ethical, aesthetic and intellectual excellences of the Hua people, exhibited most nobly and dramatically in the dazzling civilization of T'ang. This condescension shows its other face as the stated or implicit conviction that such aliens deserve praise and even some admiration for their recognition of the greatness of T'ang, and often also for their devotion and piety in undertaking the hazardous pilgrimage to acquire the law of the Buddha in its most developed form, and so to bring about its propagation in this most excellent manifestation among the unprivileged islanders of the East.

The content, however, is not the whole poem. If my article has any merit it does not lie in exposing bare facts, whether by identifying historical and classical allusions, or in describing the realities of navigation in T'ang times. Such matters make up the skeleton of the poem, but the poetry lies in the magical interplay of words. In what follows, my endeavor has been to reveal, at least in part, the dreams and fantasies that have been conjured out of the ocean, ranging from the transformations of water and sky to the incomprehensible doings of creatures of the deep—all enhanced by the poet's skill in evoking images of enchantment out of the language of mythology and illusion. Poorly exploited, these linguistic figures, even when pregnant with possibilities, remain minimal clichés, and so it is with some of the occasional pieces which follow. But these familiar tropes also have a role to play in establishing the medieval Chinese interpretations of the endless, shaking, muttering sea—to unriddle the "meaningless plungings of water and the wind"²⁷—in short, to give oracular status to the incoherent jargon of the ocean and its inhabitants.

We begin with the verses written on the occasion of the departure for his old homeland (which he never reached) of a hero of both Chinese and Japanese culture, famous in both lands in his own lifetime, and still a celebrity in Japan. In the country of his birth he was called Abe no Nakamaro 阿部仲滿; in his adopted land he became Ch'ao Heng 晁衡, and so he remained.²⁸ Born in Japan, probably in 701,²⁹ he was

²⁴ Verschuer, 55-56; *Golden Peaches*, 11, relying chiefly on E. O. Reischauer, "Notes on T'ang Dynasty Sea Routes," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 5 (1940): 142-64.

²⁵ Verschuer, 56.

²⁶ Chang Chiu-ling, "Ch'ih Jih-pen kuo wang shu," CTW, 287, 11b-12b.

²⁷ Wallace Stevens, "The Idea of Order at Key West."

²⁸ A number of other names occur in the relevant literature, notably Ch'ao-ch'en Chung-man (Chōshin Nakamaro) 朝臣仲滿, sometimes also read Ason Chūman. See, for instance, Verschuer, 32, 562. In the titles of the poems the "given name" Heng 衡 is regularly replaced by one of the many administrative and courtly titles held in T'ang by Ch'ao

appointed to the eighth *Kentōshi* in 716 as a foreign student in Japan (*Ju T'ang liu hsüeh sheng* 入唐留學生), and arrived in Ch'ang-an in 717.³⁰ Infatuated with the Hua culture, he adopted a Hua name, learned Hua customs, and spent the rest of his life in T'ang. His faith was rewarded with a long series of appointments to high office. Doubtless the post closest to his heart was that of supervisor of the royal library.³¹ His talents and good fortune made him the friend of the celebrated Taoist writer Wu Yün 吳筠,³² and through him the moonstruck poet Li Po, whom Wu Yün had introduced to the court.³³

Proposing to visit the land of his birth, Ch'ao Heng joined a mission returning from T'ang in 753, but his ship was driven off course, and, in 754, he was cast ashore in Annam. He found his way back to T'ang in 755. There he remained, loaded with dignities. He even attained, for a short period beginning in 766, the exalted position of military governor of Annam. He died there in 770.³⁴

Poems were addressed to Ch'ao Heng by Wang Wei, Chao Hua 趙驊, and Pao Chi 包佶 on the occasion of a farewell party held for him at Ming-chou 明州³⁵ in 753, pending the departure of his ship for Japan. Japanese tradition holds that Ch'ao Heng himself contributed a poem in his native language to the celebration. A poem, believed to be this one, still

exists, although Arthur Waley doubts that Ch'ao Heng was its author. Here is his translation:

Across the fields of Heaven
Casting my gaze I wonder
Whether over the hills of Mikasa also,
That is by Kasuga,
The moon has risen.³⁶

Whatever may be the truth of the matter, it is certain that Wang Wei bestowed a poetic farewell on the departing sinophile. A century later his composition was awarded an accolade by Yao Ho 姚合, who was a critical anthologist as well as a poet, and had made a special study of Wang Wei's literary art. Yao's judgment was that Wang's finest writing was exemplified in three poems, which Yao saluted collectively with the title of "eagle shooter" (*she tiao shou* 射雕手), a phrase which, evidently, he was the first to use in this metaphorical sense. Among the three, he gave first place to the poem addressed to Ch'ao Heng.³⁷

Wang Wei composed a long and elaborate preface to his verses of farewell: I shall refer to this as the "Preface." This has been rendered into the usual kind of pseudo-Japanese by Kobayashi Taichiro and Harada Ken'yu, two modern critics.³⁸ They also supply a commentary which sketchily identifies the classical allusions. In their view, the "Preface" is an imposing conception, and an instance of Wang Wei's most mature writing, a notion that I am not entirely

Heng, for instance, Ch'ao Pu-ch'üeh 晁補闕 (Suppletor of Defaults), Ch'ao Chien 監 (Supervisor [of Secret Texts]), and so on. The dates of these several incumbencies are provided in Imaeda. Ch'ao Heng was appointed Supervisor of the royal library in 753 to conduct members of the tenth *kenōshi*, led by Fujiwara no Kiyokawa, on a tour through it. Imaeda, 258.

²⁹ Imaeda, 7-8, 256.

³⁰ Imaeda, 256.

³¹ TS, 220, 14b; ChTS, 199a, 13a. The *T'ang shu* chronology of his career is defective in a number of places, and should be consulted only in the light of Imaeda's researches.

³² The interested reader should consult my two studies of this master for an introduction to his life and work. They are "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void,'" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41 (1981): 377-415, and "Wu Yün's Stanzas on 'Saunters in Sylphdom,'" *Monumenta Serica* 35 (1981-1983): 1-37.

³³ For details, with a review of the evidence, see Imaeda, 88-104.

³⁴ See Imaeda, 138-60, 179-84, and chronological table in 258-59. See also Verschuer, 36.

³⁵ I.e., Ning-po 寧波 on the south shore of Hang-chou Bay.

³⁶ Arthur Waley, *The Poetry and Career of Li Po 701-761 A.D.*, 3rd impression (London, 1969), 60-61. Waley also tells of a Hokusai print that shows Ch'ao Heng in Japanese costume, with three other men dressed in the Chinese style, looking at the moon.

³⁷ This story appears as an editorial comment on Wang Wei's poem in CTS.

³⁸ Kobayashi Taichirō 小林太市郎 and Harada Ken'yu 原田憲雄, *Ōi* [Wang Wei] (Tokyo, 1964), 299-302. The "translation," like that of Imaeda, 120-28, is a typically minimized Japanese version (e.g., particles are inserted to suggest syntax, but there is no sensitivity to the semantics of the Chinese literary language). Kobayashi and Harada provide a confused chronology, which should be ignored in favor of that of Imaeda. Wang Wei's "Preface" itself serves the practical end of confirming the date of the seeing-off party. It refers to Li Lung-chi [Hsüan Tsung] by a title of honor awarded by his court in 749 (TS, 5, 13a). This was replaced by a different honorific in 754. Ch'ao Heng began his ill-starred voyage in 753.

prepared to accept. Be that as it may, it has a number of striking features. For instance, it is remarkable in that it praises Li Lung-chi's virtue as surpassing that of the heroes Shun and Yü, while celebrating Japan as the greatest nation of the eastern seas. It takes note of aspects of Japanese culture which, not surprisingly, are comparable to those of T'ang. It identifies other points of similarity in earlier ages: for instance, Wang Wei claims that the Japanese calendar is based on the same principles as were those of the venerable kingdom of Hsia, and that the costumes of the people are the same as those of Han. Ch'ao Heng, a gentleman who represents the best of Japanese culture, has a noble bearing, as if he had learned the proprieties from Lao Tan himself. In short, the learned Japanese appears to be a hero of classical stamp, and his remarkable qualities will bring the two nations, which already share so much, even closer together.

The appearance of the figure of Lao Tan in this encomium—otherwise rather conventionally devoted to respected personages of antiquity as envisaged in the Juist tradition—is something of a surprise. Still, the venerable Lao was regarded as a dynastic ancestor of the T'ang, and had bestowed many blessings upon Li Lung-chi in particular.³⁹ Even more unexpected here is a bold reference to a particular Taoist scripture. Wang Wei writes: "... [by means of the] *Tablets of Gold with Graphs of Jade* (*Chin chien yü tzu* 金簡玉字) the Canon of the Tao will be transmitted to the people of a sundered precinct."⁴⁰ (The *Tablets* is one of the oldest and most honored scriptures of the "Highest Clarity" [*shang ch'ing* 上清] tradition of astral Taoism, known also as "Mao Shan."⁴¹) Kobayashi and Harada, the two commentators on Wang Wei's "Preface," take this to mean "[through the devoted labors of such men as Ch'ao Heng] the

Tablets will transmit the canon of the Tao to the Japanese."⁴² In view of the occasion, Wang Wei's clear intention was to advocate the reconciliation of the best of the Taoist and Juist traditions for the edification of the Japanese, who, in the middle of the eighth century, might easily seem to be displaying disproportionate reverence for the Buddha's Law while ignoring the durable native teachings on which the mid-T'ang civilization was based—systems which Li Lung-chi was striving so hard to harmonize.

Wang Wei's poem, as distinct from the "Preface," does not express these noble sentiments plainly. Indeed they are hardly perceptible behind the complimentary and friendly words which follow the obligatory preview of the almost unearthly voyage across the ocean which terminates finally in the bath of the sun.⁴³

The heaped waters cannot be traced to their end;
How then is "east of the Watchet Sea"⁴⁴ to be
recognized?

The Nine Continents⁴⁵ are far from everywhere—
Myriads of *li*—as if supported by space.

To head for your country, only watch the sun;⁴⁶
To turn your sail, just trust the wind.

The bodies of giant turtles blacken, glinting from the
sky,⁴⁷

The eyes of fish⁴⁸ redden as they shoot forth waves.

⁴² Kobayashi and Harada, *Öi*, 301.

⁴³ Wang Wei (699–759), "Sung pi shu Ch'ao chien huan Jih-pen kuo," CTS, han 2, ts'e 8, ch. 3, p. 6a.

⁴⁴ The name "Watchet Sea" (*ts'ang hai* 滄海) will be discussed below.

⁴⁵ The Nine Continents (*chiu chou* 九州) are, in the first place, the nine regions of the world drained by the hero Yü. When later "the world" was no longer just the lands familiar to the early Chinese, the term was extended to include, in addition to that limited world now regarded as only one continent, eight others, mythical in quality, in remote parts of the ocean.

⁴⁶ The place of sunrise on the horizon marks your homeland.

⁴⁷ These leviathans may have been inflated images of the giant leatherback (*Dermochelys coriacea*). See *Vermilion Bird*, 214; *Mirages*, 89.

⁴⁸ A CTS gloss gives "clam monster" (*ch'en* 蜃) as an alternate to "fish." I would prefer to emend accordingly, but it is not needful, since the monsters appear also in the poems of Pao Chi, Ch'ien Ch'i, Hsü Ning, and P'i Jih-hsiu. See below.

³⁹ While not to be compared with Buddhism in this respect, some Taoist influences left their mark on Japanese culture, especially in the seventh century—for instance the title Tenno 天皇. See Verschuier, 190.

⁴⁰ The full title of the scripture is *T'ai wei ti chün pu t'ien kang fei ti chi chin chien yü tzu shang ching* 太微帝君步天綱飛地紀金簡玉字上經 (No. 1305 in the Harvard-Yenching Index). It is often referred to by the abbreviated title "Scripture of Flying and Pacing" (*Fei pu ching* 飛步經). It deals chiefly with techniques for walking through the stars of the Dipper.

⁴¹ See Isabelle Robinet, *La Révélation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoïsme*, 2 vols. Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, vol. CXXXVII (Paris, 1984), II: 59–61.

The trees of your home are beyond Fu-sang;⁴⁹
 You—landlord on a lonely island.
 Separated and parted, there in an alien precinct,
 Tales and tidings of you—how will they ever come
 through?

A paraphrase may serve as a partial explication of these verses:

The great ocean goes on forever—
 Who knows how Japan is to be found in that waste?
 The lands of legend are immeasurably far from us—
 Uncountable leagues, merging with the sky.

Your only guiding beacon is the place of sunrise;
 In the end, your only pilot is the capricious west
 wind.

Dark leviathans will be revealed by the light of
 heaven;
 Weird fish will spurt red flashes to agitate the sea
 surface.

On to your rustic home—beyond even the womb of
 the sun;
 There, isolated from the civilized world, you will play
 the lonely squire.

Totally cut off in your fabulous outpost,
 Can we really expect news of you to reach us?

In Chao Hua's farewell verses, the sea does not appear so monstrous, nor do mysterious lights flicker on it, nor is Ch'ang-an so distant:⁵⁰

You accepted "leave for bathing" from the Western
 Annex;⁵¹
 You return to your oldtime groves in the eastern
 offing.⁵²

⁴⁹ Fu-sang also appears in the poems of Hsü Ning, Fang Kan and Wei Chuang, and will be the subject of larger treatment below.

⁵⁰ Chao Hua, "Sung Ch'ao pu ch'üeh kuei Jih-pen," CTS, han 2, ts'e 9, p. 10a. Chao Hua was a royal librarian in the early part of the eighth century. This is his only extant poem.

⁵¹ The Western Annex was the Bureau of Central Writs (*Chung shu sheng* 中書省) of the royal secretariat. One of the two "Suppletors of Defaults," a title born by Ch'ao Heng, was attached to this office. "Leave for bathing" was a traditional term for an official's holiday.

⁵² "Offing" (*yü* 隅) is a place off to one side, in this case Japan. "Old-time groves" are ancestral woods. Compare "the trees of your home" in Wang Wei's poem.

Your advent echoed that of the Thane of T'an;⁵³
 You return to the chanting of men of Yüeh.⁵⁴

On a horse, as autumn suburbs become distant;⁵⁵
 In a boat, as the soft-lit sea grows dark.⁵⁶
 I know, lord, that you will feel nostalgia for the
 Towering Pylons—⁵⁷
 From a myriad miles, alone with trembling heart.

These lines may be paraphrased as follows:

You have taken formal leave from your high office,
 To visit the remote glades of your youth.
 You came to us for correct teaching—a lord seeking
 out a sage.

Now you leave us, as we sing in what was once an
 uncivilized region like your own.

First by horse from the shadowy parks of the capital,
 Now by boat toward an island under the new-born
 day:
 Surely you will cherish memories of our wonderful
 metropolis,
 Immensely far—your heart throbbing with emotion.

Pao Chi's contribution to the occasion strikes a more haughty and condescending note than Chao Hua's rather placid offering. Even though Lord Ch'ao goes to Japan as an accredited envoy of the Sun of Heaven, thoroughly adapted to Hua manners and attitudes, he is not quite genuine: a Hua gloss has been imposed on alien material whose chief virtue lies in its simplicity:⁵⁸

⁵³ The Thane of T'an (*T'an tzu* 炎子) was lord of the T'an state during the "Springs and Autumns" period. He visited Lu to receive instruction from Confucius. Here he is a role model for the Japanese visitor, who has visited T'ang for the same classical learning. (For "thane" see E. H. Schafer, "Two Taoist Bagatelles," *Society for the Study of Chinese Religions Bulletin* 9 [1981]: 15–16.)

⁵⁴ Ch'ao Heng boards ship at Ming-chou (Ning-po). See note 35 above.

⁵⁵ The departing guest rides far from the suburbs of Ch'ang-an, where autumn, the season of clear skies and generally calm seas, is closing in.

⁵⁶ "Soft-lit" (*shu* 曙) refers to the faint first light of dawn, breaking over the Land of the Rising Sun.

⁵⁷ *Wei ch'üeh* 魏闕, the great watchtowers at the gateway leading into the capital.

⁵⁸ Pao Chi (fl. 758), "Sung Jih-pen kuo P'in ho shih Ch'ao chü ch'ing tung kuei," CTS, han 3, ts'e 9, 5b–6a. The "Ch'ao

Your superior talents were born in an inferior nation,
And the Eastern Sea is the neighbor of the West.
You are envoy to a bulwark lord "of nine translations,"⁵⁹
And vassal of a peerless ruler of a thousand years.⁶⁰

Rustic feelings lopsidedly win honors
When a wooden nature inherently embodies virtue.⁶¹
Your damask sail will turn, riding the wind;
A golden coating, renewed, will light up the land.

An isolated enceinte will disclose a clam-monster's
gallery;⁶²
The sun at daybreak will rise like a vermilion wheel.⁶³
Soon I shall know that it is the year of your coming
to the Levee:
And jade silks will be fairly bestowed at Mount T'u.⁶⁴

These lines may be interpreted as follows:

You were more able than your benighted countrymen;
Your sea-girt land is our neighbor.
So now you return, a civilized ambassador to a
jargon-speaking kinglet—
Yourself the subject of the divine sovereign of T'ang.

You have achieved a station high above that due to
your birth and breeding,
Since your uncorrupted nature was predisposed to
culture and civility.
Your magnificently appointed vessel will follow the
docile west wind;
Its gilded hull reflecting heaven's light back to our
shores.

chü ch'ing" of the title means "The mighty steward Ch'ao." There is no doubt that this refers to Ch'ao Heng. See Imaeda, 90.

⁵⁹ A "bulwark lord" (*fan chün* 蕃[藩]君) is a frontier ruler, regarded by the Chinese as a buffer. "Of nine translations" is said to mean that his strange language would need repeated scrutiny by nine expert translators to achieve an accurate version. Hence, a lord on the outskirts of the known world.

⁶⁰ That is, the T'ang Son of Heaven.

⁶¹ Imaeda, 131, gives a textual variant of this verse, but I find it unappealing.

⁶² For the buildings of the clam-monsters see *Mirages*, 80–89, and the last part of the article.

⁶³ Perhaps a vision of the Wheel of the Law?

⁶⁴ The great Yü 禹 distributed rich gifts to his vassals at Mount T'u 塗 (*Tso chuan*, Ai, 7). So it shall be when you arrive again.

Uncharted islands will mutate into shimmering sea
castles.

The rising sun, magically made a disc of cinnabar,
will celebrate your coming.

But we look forward to your return to our court,
To receive rich tokens of new honors for your services.

Li Po's quatrain—in fact a lament for Ch'ao Heng, presumed dead—provides no drama nor even the suggestion of tears, only the anticipation of mysterious visions on the high seas, concluding with symbols of eternity.⁶⁵

Steward Ch'ao of Japan took leave of the Thearch's
metropolis;

A single slip of advancing sail passed around Tumble-
weed Pot.⁶⁶

He did not return with the luminous moon, but sank
in the Cyan Sea.⁶⁷

The somber color of white clouds fills Ts'ang-wu.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Li Po, "K'u Ch'ao ch'ing Heng," CTS, han 4, ts'e 6, ch. 24, p. 14a. Li Po met Ch'ao Heng in Ch'ang-an in 742 (Imaeda, 257).

⁶⁶ For P'eng-lai as a hollow gourd, see *Mirages*, 65, or better, Rolf A. Stein, *Le Monde en petit* (Paris, 1987), 72ff.

⁶⁷ Waley, *Life and Times*, 62, has "It would seem from the allusion to a 'bright moon' that Li Po knew of the poem that Nakamaro wrote at the time of this departure; and indeed according to Japanese tradition it was translated for the benefit of his Chinese friends." Imaeda, 140, takes "luminous moon" to be an image of Ch'ao Heng himself, while Waley writes, "to his bright moon he never returned." I see the moon here as the twin of the moon in the sky, the reflection in the water which is Ch'ao Heng's companion—until his supposed death. Then the moon sailed on, following its eternal track. (See below for more on the meaning of the moon to travellers.) Waley's translation glosses over the real meaning of a number of Li Po's expressions in this poem, presumably to achieve effects thought to be attractive in English and readily comprehensible to readers without knowledge of Chinese. Thus: "magic islands of the East" for "Tumbleweed Pot"; "grey" for "cyan"; "glowing" for "white"; and "Regions of the South" for "Ts'ang-wu." For critical comments on this kind of "self-explanatory translation" see E. H. Schafer, "Mineral Imagery In the Paradise Poems of Kuan-hsiu," *Asia Major*, n.s. 10 (1958): 77–78.

⁶⁸ The white clouds, normally friendly and consoling, here appear to be in mourning; Ts'ang-wu ("gray-green [forests of] sterculias") is the ancient name for the vast monsoon forests of Kwangsi and neighboring regions, inhabited largely

Here is our paraphrase:

Our adopted Japanese left Ch'ang-an;
His little vessel sailed past the divine floating island.
The companionable moon continued homeward—but
Ch'ao was lost;
Now shadows hang over the whole barbarian wilderness.

The image of Ch'ao Heng which emerges from the written relics of his career is that of a diligent scholar-statesman—certainly not the figure of a devout seeker after the higher truths of Buddhism.⁶⁹ But the monk Ensai 圓載, whose departure for Japan was celebrated a century later, was just such a pilgrim.

Ensai, who professed the tenets of the Tendai sect, came to T'ang in 838 with the seventeenth mission, bearing a list of questions from the community on Mt. Hiei, near Kyoto, for enlightened comment at the font of religious wisdom. He spent much time traveling, visiting not only Mt. T'ien-t'ai but also Ch'ang-an, where he was received at court. (This is remarkable in that the persecution of Wu Tsung was already under way.) He visited these and other famous places in the company of a band of monks, and finally, in 877, he departed for Japan, carrying a great many religious texts. He was not as fortunate as Ch'ao Heng. His ship foundered in a storm, and its whole company, including a number of Japanese, Ensai among them, perished.⁷⁰

P'i Jih-hsiu 皮日休, whose haunts were the towns and fishing streams of the Yangtze estuary, wrote two seeing-off poems for Ensai. The first goes as follows:⁷¹

You concluded your discourse in the Basilica of
Exposition, and donned the awarded dress;
The coconut sail turns back toward your old Doors to
Meditation.⁷²

by "savage" aboriginal peoples. I assume that Ts'ang-wu here stands for the whole uncivilized world, whose noble representative at the T'ang court Ch'ao Heng had been.

⁶⁹ "The monk Ensai came in person to ask for the law." Tsan-ning 贊寧, *Sung kao seng chuan* 宋高僧傳, T. 2061.50:895a.

⁷⁰ Verschuer, 493–95, 524.

⁷¹ P'i Jih-hsiu (?–ca. 881), "Sung Yüan-tsai [Ensai] shang jen kuei Jih-pen kuo," CTS han 9, ts'e 9, ch. 7, p. 13b.

⁷² Sails of palm fronds were widely used in the Far East. They were, for example, characteristic of the ships of Champa. See *Vermilion Bird*, 164. "Doors to meditation"

The texts of sutras move upon the *pattra* paper;⁷³
The Buddha's nails fly within an As-you-will urn.⁷⁴

You will pass the nights maintaining the Monitions—
alongside an apparition of the Mother of Typhoons.⁷⁵

Homeward bound, you will undergo purgation inside
the Palace of the God of the Waves.

On the day you arrive in the hills of home, where will
you enter?

At the renewal of autumn the white elephant, in
twelve circuits [?].⁷⁶

The following paraphrase leaves some opaque patches,
I fear:

After your final sermon you were awarded a dress of
honor;

The rude sails of your ship are set towards your
distant retreat.

On the voyage you will recite powerful mantras
assiduously;

While holy relics will leap to defend you from sea
monsters.

Though menaced by storms, you will perfect your
composure;

In the midst of the Sea King's demesne you will
meditate calmly.

Where will you go first when reach your home?

(*ch'an fei* 禪扉) denotes Ch'an temples and comparable edifices.

⁷³ *Pattra* (*pei-to* 貝多) is Sanskrit for "leaf," and in Chinese usage referred to the leaves of the palmyra palm, on which the holy scriptures were written. See *Golden Peaches*, 270–71 and Plate XVI. Here the sacred texts are positively energetic, activated to protect their bearer from the dangers of the sea.

⁷⁴ An "As-you-will" urn was presumably a wish-fulfilling jar containing relics of the Buddha, in this case his undoubted fingernails.

⁷⁵ The "Monitions" (*chieh* 戒) are against the "Five Evils." The "Mother of Typhoons" (*chü-mu* 麗母) is a kind of nimbus or rainbow which was thought to presage and generate a typhoon.

⁷⁶ Sakyamuni assumed the form of a six-tusked white elephant when he descended from the Tushita heaven into the womb of his mother Māyā. The sense of this passage is unclear; presumably it refers to some sort of ritual circumambulation.

[Where the white elephant, when autumn begins,
makes twelve circuits (?)]

P'i Jih-hsiu's second contribution to the entertainment creates fewer difficulties for the reader, and takes a different view of Ensai's spiritual disciplines. Here it is not so much internal control of mind and body, with some efficacious results in the dangerous outer world, but a vigorous assault—as by a resourceful sorcerer—on the treasures of the sea: he will seize the wealth of ocean kings, and disintegrate the forbidding fortresses of lurkers in the abyss.⁷⁷

Cloudy surges for a myriad miles—so on to their
eastern head;

Far behind at the Platform of the Archer's Horse, it is
autumn in the Office of Jade.⁷⁸

Dependent encintes without limit—here is the Coun-
try of the Naked!

So many separate frontiers—there is the Continent of
T'an!⁷⁹

Take scriptures from the bottom of the sea, and open
the dragons' stores;

Chant dharanis into space—they disintegrate the clam-
monsters' towers.⁸⁰

If I did not endure poverty and sickness at this time,
I would mount a light raft—my only desire: to rove,
Teacher, in your company.

Which, being interpreted, means:

You will be traversing the restless seas to their end;
While I watch the approach of autumn from my desk
in the palace.

Among our tributaries are many lands with bizarre
customs;

And beyond them—continents, whose names are all
we know.

⁷⁷ P'i Jih-hsiu, "Ch'ung sung," CTS, han 9, ts'e 9, ch. 7, p. 13b.

⁷⁸ *She ma t'ai* 射馬臺 is an old name for the royal capital (gloss in CTS), *Yü shu* 玉署 is the *Han lin yüan* 翰林院. In fact, P'i Jih-hsiu attained the rank of Scholar at the Forest of Quills.

⁷⁹ These two mythological countries are not more remote than Japan.

⁸⁰ Cf. *Mirages*, 86: "Here the dragon-clam's towers sound positively menacing, like the magic castle of the demoniac King of Elfland."

What wonders you will experience—with libraries of
arcana open to you!

You will travel secure—your spells prevailing over
devilish malice!

Were I not restricted by infirmities and destitution,
I would follow you, Master, to the ends of the earth.

The little-known poet Yen Hsüan 彦蒼 was another contributor to Ensai's farewell banquet.⁸¹ The tenor of his poem, with its freight of symbols of piety and efficacy, is much like those of P'i Jih-hsiu:

You came, Teacher, for a whole generation dedicated
to the canonical path;

As you float back on the watchet waves, what, you
ask, will be the stages of your going?

Your tranquillized heart can already provide against
thirsty deer;⁸²

Now drums will rumble betimes, to frighten long
whales away.⁸³

How often the woodland for meditation will shape
the weight of golden peaches;⁸⁴

And the house of Sanskrit will be restored again with
the lightness of iron[-hard] tiles.⁸⁵

I expect that, once you are back home, you will find
parting unprofitable;

You must only see first the birth of a Japanese Hua.⁸⁶

The remainder of my "off-to-Japan" poems are addressed to persons, mostly monks, whose names are unknown, or for whom we have only a surname and an official title. Some of these may yet be identified by diligent research, but I have not made the effort. Here, accordingly, they are not grouped around a

⁸¹ Yen Hsüan (late 9th-cent.), "Sung Yüan-tsai [Ensai] shang jen," CTS, han 10, ts'e 1, p. 6a.

⁸² You acquired disciplines in T'ang which gave you powers over nature.

⁸³ Creatures much larger than deer will be repelled by the drumming of sailors.

⁸⁴ The house of meditation is a place for reciting the scriptures. Some Japanese peaches are reputed to weigh as much as a catty (*ch'in* 斤). Golden peaches are peaches of great beauty and value, and symbols of fruition—here, evidently, the reference is to the success of Ensai's sylvan rites.

⁸⁵ "Iron tiles" signifies fine roof tiles, baked to the hardness of iron.

⁸⁶ *Jih hua* 日華 may mean "Japan and China," but here implies a center of Chinese culture in the eastern islands.

personality, as the poems offered to Ch'ao Heng and Ensai are, but are associated with some particular feature of the phenomenal world.

The first of these clusters has to do with the fleeting lights and colors on the sea surface, phenomena which must have bemused the landlubbers who made this disquieting passage. Many of these chromatic effects will have been the superficial product of reflection. But the "proper color" of the water of the deep sea can only be detected from carefully chosen vantages and by special techniques.⁸⁷ This "self color" is related to latitude. Generally speaking, deep waters in high latitudes are olive green. South of these, from about 40 to 30 North—that is from the Manchurian border of Korea down to Hang-chou—the true sea-color is indigo. South of 30 the water is ultramarine.⁸⁸ Unless the transit to Japan was made from a port on the southern coast of China, then, the "Eastern Sea" was a deep inky blue, a color registered in T'ang literature as *pi* 碧, which I usually translate as "cyan," if not actually "indigo."⁸⁹ The maritime countries of old Chinese myth and tradition, far over the eastern horizon, rose in the Cyan Sea, which lay even beyond mysterious Fu-sang.⁹⁰ In T'ang literature, however, "Cyan Sea" was usually no more than a handsome synonym for "Eastern Sea." It is used in this familiar way in Li Po's on the supposed death of Ch'ao Heng.

Most commonly, however, the sea between T'ang and Japan was called *ts'ang hai* 滄海, which I have rendered as "Watchet Sea." The English word "watchet" has been used of colors ranging from "light blue" to "sea-green watchet." *Ts'ang* is obviously cognate to *ts'ang* 蒼, a color ordinarily used of vegetation, and most typically of lichens—that is, a gray, or greenish gray. In adopting this old word, I yield to the advocacy of Ivor Brown, who has made a career of resuscitating moribund but meritorious words. He cites the color of the Bristol Channel in sunlight as an instance of the watchet hue, and quotes a fisherman as follows: "The dark watchet is one of the most famous of Yorkshire trout-flies and imitates the iron-blue dun. Its wings are made of the darkish

blue feather from a tom-tit's tail."⁹¹ I think of it as the phenomenal hue of the iron-gray or blue-gray sea,⁹² as distinguished from its "real" color.

We have already taken note of the Watchet Sea in Wang Wei's poem, where the name is applied to the waters east of the T'ang mainland but not extending all the way to Japan, while in Yen Hsüan's poem the watchet waves are a visible feature of the sea, not merely a conventional epithet. But in both cases, if not in the same degree, the word "watchet" suggests secondary qualities of the water's unstable surface rather than an element of its essence. Several of the seeing-off stanzas already presented augment this sense of mutability with suggestions of glints and sparkles, transient flushes and tinting, and with mysterious glows and lambent shimmers. Wang Wei introduces a giant sea-turtle whose dark carapace reflects unstable sky-lights, and fish whose darting eyes cause red flushes on the waves. Pao Chi decorates the fallow main with glosses of red and gold. Chao Hua tinges it with a wash of dawn light. The "cloudy surges" of P'i Jih-hsiu's second poem are the nebulous, unsettled figures conjured out of the sea surface by drifting clouds. Compare Wallace Stevens in the same vein but in a different mode:

"Of ocean, which in sinister flatness lay.
Who, then, beheld the rising of the clouds
That strode submerged in that malevolent sheen,
Who saw the mortal massives of the blooms
Of water moving on the water-floor?"⁹³

⁸⁷ These are explained in M. Minnaert, *The Nature of Light and Colour in the Open Air* (N.Y.: Dover, 1954), 313–14.

⁸⁸ Minnaert, 325.

⁸⁹ "Indigo" should rightly be restricted to the pigment (and color) extracted from the indigo plant (*lan* 藍).

⁹⁰ *Hai nei shih chou chi* 海內十洲記 (*Shuo k'u* 說庫), p. 4b.

⁹¹ Ivor Brown, *A Word in your Ear* (N.Y.: Dutton, 1963), 138–39. The examination of words in depth and with scrupulous care is the business of both philologists and poets: "The task of the poet is to peer through the surface elaborations of the palimpsest and discover the original image of the word, some hidden detail which would disclose its identity. To this end the poet reaches back to the distant cradle of human speech for the incandescent image which comes to him on the wings of metaphor. The luminous image unleashed is a powerful force in the lives of men. It reanimates dead words and stirs them to proclaim their origin with miraculous tongue. The metaphor on fire makes the dry bones live again . . ." (Noah Jonathan Jacobs, *Naming-Day in Eden: The Creation and Recreation of Language* [New York, 1958], 122.)

⁹² *Mirages*, 24. Another possible equivalent for *ts'ang* is "blunket," which means gray or gray-blue (sky gray).

⁹³ Wallace Stevens, "Sea Surface Full of Clouds."

The sea is mentioned specifically in a few others of the seeing-off poems not yet attended to. In one of a pair of poems—this one addressed to an anonymous monk—Ch'ien Ch'i 錢起 uses the name Watchet Sea, modifying the ambiguous color with moonglow.⁹⁴

You dwelt, in pursuit of your destiny, in our superior nation;
The route you came by was travelled as in a dream.
Floating in the sky, far over the Watchet Sea,
You depart this world, light in your *dharma*-boat.⁹⁵

The moon on the water will engage your *dhyāna*-vision,
The fishes and dragons⁹⁶ will heed your Indic speech.
But your only concern—the apparition of a single lamp,
Luminous in your eyes over a myriad miles.

This lunar transit signifies something like the following:

You have sojourned in T'ang, as already predetermined—
Taking the incredible sea-route, a scene of miracles.
Now you drift in a sky-boat over the far water,
Leaving this world, buoyant in your *dharma*-boat.

The moon's reflection on the sea will twin your illuminated sky-sail;
The creatures of the sea will attend your sermons.⁹⁷
Your constant focus—that image of the lamp of your faith,
Your companion and counterpart, lighting your long journey.

In these rather ecstatic quatrains, the Watchet Sea is dominated—virtually suppressed—by the overwhelming vision of the moon, whose passage of the sky is identified with the cruise of the holy man's vessel over the sea. Indeed, the blessed ship is raised into the sky, from which high vantage it looks down on the lunar disc sailing, in the form of a ship of wood, over the waters of secular illusions. The reflection is the moon

of this world; the exalted monk is the moon of the eternal world.⁹⁸

The image of the moon as a friend in loneliness, the companion of travellers and exiles, is familiar in T'ang poetry, and nowhere as prominent as in the compositions of Li Po.⁹⁹ Indeed, whereas in most poetry the moon is hardly more than a symbol, an abstract surrogate for the old folks at home, in Li Po's fantasies it is a personal friend, whom he often addressed familiarly and directly. For Ch'ien Ch'i the beloved satellite is more than that: it is an hallucinatory image of the sail,¹⁰⁰ which by synecdoche represents also the ship and its inspired passenger—it *becomes* the moon, cruising serenely across the heavens, which, in the vicinity of far Fu-sang, merges with the circumambient ocean.

Without emphasizing the role of color throughout, Fang Kan 方干, in one of two poems written for a "person" leaving for Japan,¹⁰¹ gives prominence to an "atmospheric doublet" derived from the root *ts'ang*. This is *ts'ang-mang* 蒼茫 (alt. 滄茫), most often used of "spreading blue/green shade (especially of a forest); endless verdure." But it is semantically close to another expansion of *ts'ang*, namely *ts'ang-ming* 蒼溟, which has a pronounced marine connotation. My translation "dark blue, endlessly spreading" attempts to convey the gestalt with some degree of precision:

Dark blue, endlessly spreading beyond the Great Waste;
What the wind tells—that is hard to understand!¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Cf. Wei Chuang's quatrain below.

⁹⁹ Three familiar examples will remind the reader: "Ching yeh szu," CTS, han, ts'e 4, ch. 5, p. 4b; "Yüeh hsia tu cho," CTS, han 3, ts'e 6, ch. 22, p. 2a; and especially "Pa chiu wen yüeh," CTS, han 3, ts'e 6, ch. 19, p. 6b. One physical source of this image is an effect of parallax: the moon seems to move along in company with the traveller, while things near at hand appear to stay in place.

¹⁰⁰ I have developed this theme in my article, "Hallucinations and Epiphanies in T'ang Poetry," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104 (1984): 759.

¹⁰¹ Fang Kan (fl. 860), "Sung jen yu Jih-pen kuo," CTS, han 10, ts'e 3, ch. 2, pp. 5b–6a. This appears to be a reduced version of a second seeing-off poem by Fang Kan, addressed to a monk, which resembles it closely. They may both have been written on the same occasion, or possibly one is derived retrospectively, conveniently following the pattern of the other. They even have the same rhyme. See below.

¹⁰² There is no solid body of lore, either of omens or practicalities, to allow forecasts of the weather over these mysterious waters.

⁹⁴ Ch'ien Ch'i (fl. 766), "Sung seng kuei Jih-pen," CTS, han 4, ts'e 5, ch. 2, pp. 13a/b.

⁹⁵ "The barque of the Buddha-truth which ferries men from the sea of mortality and reincarnation to nirvana." W. E. Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (rpt., Taipei, 1970), 272.

⁹⁶ Or fish-dragons.

⁹⁷ A triumph of sanctity comparable to that described in Gustav Mahler, "Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt."

Endless nights—going away with sail hoisted;
Belatedly, in the course of a year, you will attain the
shore.

Where waves and surges enclose the marches on the
left.¹⁰³

The Starry Dipper will fix the Tie of the East.¹⁰⁴
Maybe, with the advantage of a homeward wind,
There will be a date when I shall see you again.

A paraphrase follows:

The ocean's limitless waste lies before you;
The winds that drive you are unpredictable.
Night after night you will plunge away, driven by
those winds;
Who knows when you will find the friendly shore?

The troubled sea surface will be your only view of the
east;
But the polar constellations will keep you on course.
The caprice of the winds may take you safely home,
And then I may hope to see you here once more.

Although not color-saturated, this is a windy poem. Directly or by allusion the storm-wracked sea appears in the second, third, fourth, and sixth verses, enhancing the plain fact that pilgrims and other seafarers looked forward to the perilous passage with great trepidation.

A farewell poem by Chia Tao 賈島,¹⁰⁵ addressed to "Ch'u 褚, Man of the Mountains, going back to Japan," concludes this little discussion of atmospherics and the unstable hues of the marine world:

The pendant sail awaits the autumn water;¹⁰⁶
Away you go into the midst of the blurred and murky
offing.

¹⁰³ That is, the eastern horizon. "Left" is east on the south-oriented world of the Chinese.

¹⁰⁴ That is, the position of the Great Dipper will reveal the location of the Japanese archipelago. The four celestial ties (*wei* 維) are the braces of the firmament. Their lower ends are fastened to the four corners of the world and their upper ends depend from the summit of the sky. According to one tradition, the eastern tie passes between the lunar stations Winnower (*chi* 箕), and [Southern] Dipper (*tou* 斗), both in Sagittarius.

¹⁰⁵ Chia Tao (ca. 793–ca. 865), "Sung Ch'u shan jen kuei Jih-pen," CTS, han 9, ts'e 4, ch. 3, p. 14a.

¹⁰⁶ "Autumn water" implies autumn winds over the sea. This was the regular season for going home to Japan. (Compare the fourth verse of Hsü Ning's poem below.)

How many years since you parted on the Eastern
Sea—

And on this very day start home from Central Hua!

A far-off shore will generate white hair;¹⁰⁷

The end of the waves will expose blue hills.

Though separated by water, we shall think of each
other;

Lacking letters—still, a holiday [?].¹⁰⁸

To be interpreted as:

Your ship awaits fair winds and you in the harbor;
You will disappear into the incomprehensible distance.
After so many years away from your overseas home,
At last you are ready to take leave of our country.

First you will see the distant breakers—
Then the ever-young hills beyond them.
Far away, you will still be mindful of us,
Although there will be no news—you will be at ease
[?].

In these lines the Eastern Sea is a blank wilderness between the two settled nations; color and feeling are restricted to anticipation of the voyage and the possibilities of the distant future.

Visions seemingly more stable and tangible than the uneasy waves and the tints that flutter across them are the pavilions, eyries, and follies that occasionally drift by, or materialize before the astonished eyes of travelers on the open sea. These fanciful structures, especially those that adorn the summit of the fairy heights of P'eng-lai, have been amply discussed in sinological literature,¹⁰⁹ and figure prominently in the little cluster of sea-poems translated here.

The spectacle promised to the departing Japanese by their Chinese hosts was later described by Po Chü-i, who made it the final home of Yang Kuei-fei, that beautiful queen and priestess of the Tao:

Unexpectedly he hears of a transcendents' mount on
the sea;

The mount lies between Barren Nullity and Infinite
Swirl.

Ideally it was a season of perfect clarity, cloudless skies, and buoyant spirits among seafarers.

¹⁰⁷ The foam on the distant beaches of home, matching the aged locks of the voyager.

¹⁰⁸ *Wu shu yeh shih hsien* 無書也是閑. My translation is conjectural.

¹⁰⁹ I have myself treated the subject, with special reference to the imaginative literature of T'ang, in *Mirages*, 51–60.

Loft-buildings honeycombed with galleries rise in
five[-colored] clouds;
In their midst, soft and gentle, sylphlings abound.¹¹⁰

With or without its romantic setting in "The Song of Lasting Rancor," this is the P'eng-lai of the poems of T'ang. But there are differences of detail among the many depictions of the divine island, each of which points up an aspect to which the poet wishes to give special prominence in his verbal conjuring. For instance, Wang Wei, in his "Preface," makes an analogy between P'eng-lai and Fu-sang by painting in a vegetative trait of the wind-blown seamount. He employs the unusual name of "Jungly Seamount,"¹¹¹ and compares it to the duckweed (*p'ing* 萍), a word which usually refers to the Great Duckweed (*Spirodela polyrrhiza*), but may be used for *p'ing-p'eng* 萍蓬, the yellow nuphar or spatterdock, often envisaged as at the mercy of wind and waves, as the marvelous island also seems to be. Li Po, on the other hand, takes special note of another aspect of P'eng-lai. He calls the floating island "Tumbleweed Pot" (*p'eng hu* 蓬壺), a name which suggests not only aimless drifting, but also the microcosmic nature of P'eng-lai—in its role as an infinitely expandable container, lined like a geode with a world of fantastic palaces and haunted skies among which the adept, reduced in size, may wander at will. The unfortunate Ch'ao Heng, driven into unknown seas, may well have encountered such a world. But all of these fanciful accounts describe a place that is not of our world—nor completely another. It emerges from nowhere, only to fade beyond the reach of perception.

In seeing off a Chinese emissary on an official visit to the Japanese capital, Ch'ien Ch'i, an example of whose contributions we have already seen, predicts that the ambassador will descry, dim in the distance, not one but "... two phantom paradises hovering over the waves—the nacreous homes of the winged beings who constitute the lowest order of Taoist supermen, and the frothy citadels of the draconic kings of the ocean."¹¹² It appears that the mission will take him to Silla on the way to Japan:¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Po Chü-i, "Ch'ang hen ko," CTS, han 3, ts'e 3, ch. 12, pp. 12a/b. "Barren Nullity" (*hsü wu* 虛無) and "Infinite Swirl" (*p'iao miao* 飄渺) belong to the terminology of medieval Taoist cosmography.

¹¹¹ *Yü tao* 鬱島. *Yü* has the normal connotation of gloomy, darkly shadowed, dense and murky, etc., especially of deeply forested tracts.

¹¹² *Mirages*, 86.

¹¹³ Ch'ien Ch'i, "Ch'ung sung Lu shih yü shih Jih-pen," CTS, han 4, ts'e 5, ch. 2, p. 14b. This was evidently Lu T'ing

A myriad miles to the Country of the Three Han.¹¹⁴
A travelling man, gloom filling his eyes,
Takes leave of Heaven—a Messenger Star into the distance;¹¹⁵

As he approaches the water, autumn brings frost to the gill.¹¹⁶

He will be welcomed at a transcendent seamount,
pendent with clouds;¹¹⁷

He will pass by the high houses of the clam-monsters,
bannered with rainbows.¹¹⁸

I know for certain that he will miss our Towering
Pylons,¹¹⁹

And turn his head to the west of the sea.

This may be interpreted as follows:

A long journey to the Korean coast lies ahead;
You will look forward to it filled with sadness.

But you undertake this trial on behalf of our divine ruler,

And will depart with auguries of a safe voyage.

You may well glimpse the floating home of happy sylphs,

And the formidable towers puffed up by benthic monsters.

But you will surely prefer to be in our wonderful metropolis,

陸斑, who, in 766, was despatched by the T'ang court to represent the throne at the obsequies for the late ruler of Silla, and to confer a patent of royalty upon his successor (TS, 220, 12b). It appears from the title of this poem that he went on to Japan; another poem written by Ch'ien Ch'i on the occasion of Lu T'ing's departure for Silla (TS, 220, 14a/b) may refer to the same diplomatic mission to the new king.

¹¹⁴ San Han 三韓 was a name used of southern Korea since Han times, and here refers obliquely to Silla.

¹¹⁵ "Heaven" means the court of the Son of Heaven. "Messenger stars" (*shih hsing* 使星) were envoys sent to foreign vassals and dependent nations by the T'ang Son of Heaven. In the material world "messenger stars" were usually meteors, despatched by Heaven to proclaim its high judgment to mankind. The two kinds of errand are closely analogous. See *Pacing*, 98–99.

¹¹⁶ As he journeys from the capital to the port of embarkation, autumn, which means fine sailing weather, is chilling the water of the mountain streams he passes. "Gill" represents *chien* 澗, a stream in a narrow valley.

¹¹⁷ That is, P'eng-lai and its clones. See *Mirages*, 51–60.

¹¹⁸ See *Mirages*, 80–89.

¹¹⁹ The Towering Pylons represent the great gate of the capital with its lofty watchtowers.

And look back wistfully to the western horizon,
beyond which it lies.

We have three quatrains written by Hsü Ning 徐凝 for the return to his homeland of an unidentified emissary from Japan.¹²⁰ This poem exploits three of the dominant images of the high seas—the fairy towers of P'eng-lai, the creative exhalations of the clam-monsters (which here have a role in the maintenance of those charming constructions), and also the far land of Fu-sang. Accordingly, Hsü Ning's verses may serve as a crux leading into a fuller treatment of that mysterious vent out of which the daylight is extruded:

There should be nowhere beyond a "sundered nation,"¹²¹

And indeed that [nation] is further east than Fu-sang.
You came to our levee to meet our peerless Sun,¹²²
You go away home with the winds of autumn.¹²³

You float by night at the limit of the turning tide,¹²⁴
And push on at dawn into the midst of the dark blue main.¹²⁵

"Whale waves" swoop up from the archives of the water;¹²⁶

The fnast of clam-monsters strengthens the palaces of the transcendents.¹²⁷

Heaven will care for you, however long you are away,¹²⁸

The royal script has already long been with you.¹²⁹

¹²⁰ Hsü Ning (fl. 813), "Sung Jih-pen shih huan," CTS, han 7, ts'e 10, p. 1b.

¹²¹ A sundered nation, such as Japan, is as far as conceivable from the holy Middle Kingdom, the very font of civilization.

¹²² That is, the Son of Heaven, whose levee (*ch'ao* 朝), or sunrise epiphany, matches the rising sun. This usage is analogous to "takes leave of Heaven" in Ch'ien Ch'i's second poem, just translated above.

¹²³ Cf. n. 106.

¹²⁴ Beyond the influence of the tidal waters along the T'ang coast.

¹²⁵ *Ts'ang-mang* 蒼莽.

¹²⁶ "Whale waves" is a kenning for the massive humping swells of the deep ocean. See E. H. Schafer, *Shore of Pearls* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1970), 79.

¹²⁷ For "fnast," the creative exhalation of the monsters, see below.

¹²⁸ "Heaven" implies "the far-reaching favor of the Son of Heaven."

¹²⁹ That is, the language and culture of T'ang, which you take with you.

You will look towards us from afar, invisible in the distant blur;

But the hatred of separation will sustain the flying swangoose.¹³⁰

This may be paraphrased as follows:

Your homeland is at the limit of the world we know,
Beyond even Fu-sang, the land of the sun.
Thence you came to the seat of *our* glorious Sun;
But now await favorable auspices to return eastward.

You will wait out the night for the ebbing tide,
Then strike out over the dark ocean.
Where giant billows wash over the treasures of dragons,
And emanations from the abyss congeal into fairy palaces.

But the mana of our Son of Heaven will protect you;
You are the inviolable herald of high civilization.
Distance may blur our features and memories,
But desire for reunion will fortify you until you come again.

The location of P'eng-lai is, for most writers, indeterminate: it floats freely above the water; it drifts aimlessly on the sea; or it appears and disappears at random. Some authorities have it on the head of a giant turtle—therefore its movements are guided. Still, others claim that its position is fixed. One source, for instance, affirms that it is a very large island off the northeast shore of the Eastern Sea.¹³¹ In any case, this island-Eden, however elusive, was felt to be accessible, and occasionally visible to seafarers.

Such is not the case with Fu-sang, where sylphine beings sustain their golden bodies with the magical mulberries they pick from the trees for which the island is named. It is very remote from the civilized nations of Chinastan—certainly beyond the waters around P'eng-lai—and few men have ever seen it. One source alleges that it lies even beyond the far shore of the Eastern Sea, whence a fortunate traveller would have to make a long journey overland before attaining

¹³⁰ The swangoose (*Anser cygnoides*), the largest of the geese, is a numinous bird, whose name suggests flights over vast distances, especially across the Eastern Sea, the route taken by the swangoose on its way to its wintering grounds in South China and Japan. This verse seems to suggest that the traveller will hasten his return because of the sorrow of separation, as the swangoose longs for his return to his northern home.

¹³¹ *Hai nei shih chou chi*, p. 4b.

the Cyan Sea—in this tradition distinct from the Eastern Sea—in whose midst the land of Luxuriant Mulberries¹³² lies. Here too, in medieval Taoist belief, lies the palace of the Great Thearch who presides over the subterranean chamber in which the vitalizing sun renews its energy each night.¹³³

But some poets of T'ang believed that Fu-sang was closer and more accessible than that—and even that it lay between the mainland and Japan. This belief seems to be based, in part at least, on the conviction of the Japanese themselves, whose ancestors had so obligingly adopted the Chinese name “Source of the Sun” (Jih-pen) for the land of Yamato. Indeed, Tsuzaka Tōyō 津阪東洋, a nineteenth-century scholar, cites Japanese texts in support of this belief, calling to witness the poems of Wang Wei and Wei Chuang. He deduces that the Fu-sang tree once stood at Iyo 伊豫 on the west coast of Shikoku, near the entrance to the Seto Naikai. Travellers coming from the west would pass Iyo—and Fu-sang!—on the way up the Inland Sea towards the Kansai region and the cities of Nara and Kyoto.¹³⁴ Tsuzaka also claims that he knew a person who had obtained a piece of fossilized wood at Iyo, which was in fact part of the ancient Fu-sang tree. He acquired a fragment of this treasure and gave it an honored place in his house. It had a dark, murky (*hsüan* 玄) color, with veinings. Polished, it shone like jade, and he made an ink palette and other small objects of it, which he treasured as heirlooms.

As for the Chinese evidence, Wang Wei wrote, “The trees of your home are beyond Fu-sang,” as we have noted, while Hsü Ning observed that Japan is “further east than Fu-sang.”

A century and a half after Wang Wei, Wei Chuang 韋莊, seeing off a Japanese monk named Ching-lung 敬龍,¹³⁵ had this to say about the relative locations of Japan and Fu-sang:¹³⁶

Though Fu-sang may lie in the midst of the incomprehensible sea-waste,¹³⁷

¹³² The approximate sense of *fu sang*.

¹³³ *Hai nei shih chou chi*, p. 4b; *Mirages*, 103–7, especially 104.

¹³⁴ Tsuzaka Tōyō [Tsuzaka Kōshaku 津阪孝緯], *Yakō shiwa* 夜航詩話 (*Nihon shiwa sōsho* 日本詩話叢書 [Tokyo, 1920]), vol. 2, ch. 5, pp. 263–64 [alt. 471–72].

¹³⁵ Presumably Jap. *Kyōryō*. I have emended the *kyō* 教 of my edition of CTS to *kyō* 敬.

¹³⁶ Wei Chuang (fl. 900), “Sung Jih-pen seng Ching-lung kuei,” CTS, han 10, ts'e 8, ch. 1, p. 2a.

¹³⁷ *Miao-mang* 渺茫 is a variant of *ts'ang-mang*, one of the alliterative and rhyming derivatives of *ts'ang* discussed above.

Your home is east of Fu-sang, and still further east.

Who will be leaving here with you, Teacher, to arrive in your company?

A luminous moon for your lonely boat—wind for your single sail.

Another lonely boat with the moon for its dop-pelgänger, as now adumbrated:

Though Fu-sang lies far across unknown seas,
Your old homeland is even east of that.

Will you be bereft of companionship on the long voyage?

No—that sky-barque the moon will be your steady comrade!

Finally, the ninth-century poet Fang Kan—we have taken note of another of his compositions above—has connected Fu-sang with the land of Japan indirectly and without offering an opinion about the relative positions of the two lands:¹³⁸

Although, it is said, the Four Culmens share the dyadic modes;¹³⁹

Murk and morn, fore and aft—both are hard to know.

When the western quarter is still under the starry chronograms,

The eastern precinct has passed the tigrine-leporine hours.¹⁴⁰

The wild waves of the great sea define the boundary of our nations;

The base of the Fu-sang tree—that is the margin of the sky.

With sails full, should you have the advantage of a homeward wind,

You will reach shore—but there still must be a term to the years that will separate us.

These rather placid quatrains (although there are warnings implicit in them) can be paraphrased as follows:

¹³⁸ Fang Kan (fl. 860), “Sung seng kuei Jih-pen,” CTS, han 10, ts'e 3, ch. 5, p. 13a.

¹³⁹ The “dyadic modes” (*erh i* 二儀) are represented by *yin* and *yang*, heaven and earth, etc. The “four culmens” are the limits of the four cardinal directions, hence the ends of the earth.

¹⁴⁰ I.e., the *yin* 寅 and *mao* 卯 hours, when it is morning in Japan. The starry chronograms (*hsing ch'en* 星辰) are the stars and planets regarded as timekeepers—that is, the celestial patterns visible over Ch'ang-an as interpreted by official astrologers. See *Pacing*, 5.

In the nature of things, duality prevails everywhere;
On the ocean, distinctions are essential, but difficult
to make.

Time itself is relative: midnight in T'ang
Is daybreak in Japan (how will you measure the
hours?).

We will be separated by a great, indistinct desert of
water;

The sun-tree marks its end—and the end of your
voyage.

If, perchance, you are favored by the elements,
You will reach your goal—but we may not be parted
forever.

These then are the aspects of the Eastern Sea, revealed to the senses, modified by tradition and the imagination, and embodying fertile myths and legends, which Chinese poets of the T'ang thought appropriate to words of parting, freighted with the prognosis of inevitable experiences, probable visions, and possible terrors, of which a traveller to Japan should take sensible account.

No definite boundary separated the world of fancy familiar to the men of T'ang from the world of their ordinary experience. Each was populated by godlike beings, by ghosts, and by elemental spirits, realized at varying degrees of resolution proportional to the furniture of each person's psyche. Among these, the elementals—emanations or semblances of sea-creatures—played especially striking roles in the lives and writings of this era, marked as it was, among plebeians and patricians alike, by greater awareness than ever before of the denizens of the oceanic world. Even persons of broad experience and education often placed credence, although sometimes with reserve, in fantastic beings comparable to the kelpies and mermen of our world.

One of these wonders, although often alluded to in the poems, still requires fuller comment. *Shih*-poetry, whose key is economy, can only hint at the gamut of nuances and complexities suggested by the name of this wonder, leaving that excluded richness to the imaginations of intelligent readers. I refer to the phenomenon I have styled "clam castles." The original of "clam" is *ch'en* 蜃, a word which in pre-Han literature designated a large bivalve mollusc. It was eaten pickled, and its shell was used for utensils or converted into lime to make plaster. Beginning as an unassuming marine invertebrate, the *ch'en* was later imagined as a gaping, pearl-producing clam, possibly to be identified with the giant clams of tropical seas, for instance *Tridacna*. Finally, by early medieval times, it had become a monster lurking in submarine grottoes, and was sometimes endowed with the attri-

butes of a dragon—or, more likely, under Indian influence, a *nāga*. It expressed its artistic nature by belching up bubbles and frothy clots. These foamy structures were sometimes worked into buildings. We may imagine that they showed an affinity with the creations of the "water spider" (*Argyroneta*), which builds an underwater house by stuffing a silken tissue of her own spinning with bubbles of air. The plastic exhalations of the clam-monster sometimes burst the film of surface tension and appeared to astonished mariners as stunning mansions adrift on the surface of the deep. In fact, they are the visions which we style *fata morgana*, named for Morgan le Fay, the protean queen of Avalon. They were spectral castles and haunted palaces made of "plasma" (*ch'i* 氣), the vital breath of the clam-spirit. In this essay I call this formative breath FNAST.¹⁴¹ Dreamlike, coruscant with strange lights and prismatic hazes, these seemingly insubstantial confections are counterparts of the sea-isle P'eng-lai, and also of the astral palaces of the high gods of Taoism.¹⁴²

The elfin edifices of the sea, in modernized shapes, are sometimes visible off the coast of China today, as we know from a recent newspaper report:

Mirages have been frequently observed this summer off the coast of Penglai County in the eastern part of Shandong Province.

On the afternoon of July 18, a mirage was visible off the coast to the north of Penglai for over two hours. All the small islands in the area seemed to be floating above the water and glittering. A new museum on the tip of one island appeared to be hanging high in the air, and a fleet of ships hovered over the water.¹⁴³

The poetic rhapsody to which our attention now turns provides a neat summary of late T'ang lore, of the folk and fairy sort, about clam-monsters. This rhymed essay makes that body of lore internally coherent, while glossing it with the complicated refinements of the *fu* of the late T'ang. It also makes it palatable for genteel readers by inserting appropriate quotations from classical books, along with gratifying

¹⁴¹ "Breath," especially an exhalation or snort. See *OED*. This translation has a double advantage. It is not encumbered by the overtones of "breath," "pneuma," and the like; moreover, it is resonant with the bubbly wheezing of the giant clams.

¹⁴² Further data are supplied in *Vermilion Bird*, 207 and *Mirages*, 81–88.

¹⁴³ *China Daily*, 10 August 1987, p. 3. (Kindly contributed by Helena Kolenda.)

analogies between the writer's visions of the submarine world and comparable aspects of the profane world under the sky, as well as the most ineffable abodes of the supramundane gods. The analogies are not merely pleasing embellishments, but serve to define the ambiguous position of a kind of undersea creature which is neither man nor superman (e.g., a "transcendent" [hsien 仙]), nor god, nor ghost, nor demon. It is a species somewhat more fleshly than a ghost, and rather more intangible than mortal men. Its social status in the class of living things is not clear. Possibly it should be classed with the pre-Victorian fairies as an "uncovenanted power."¹⁴⁴ I am inclined to think of it as an elemental—a projection of the mana of an inhuman entity.

We have observed the volatile creations of the anomalous molluscs, if not the creatures themselves, in the verses of four of our armchair adventurers. They appear as forbidding enclosures riding the waves like escarpments in a sandy desert (Pao Chi); as menacing fortresses, vulnerable only to corrosive incantations (P'i Jih-hsiu); as cloud castles wreathed in prismatic films (Ch'ien Ch'i); as concretions of galvanic bubbles belched from the unfathomable gulfs of Ocean (Hsü Ning).

These vignettes in *shih* form do not give an intimate view of a clam castle—the kind of informed account that might be written by a familiar guest, or a building inspector, or an amateur of exotic architecture. Such a detailed supplement, enriched by fine imagery, now concludes this essay.

Wang Ch'i 王起 (fl. 798) was a great magnate and councillor during many reigns, especially those of Hsien Tsung, Wen Tsung, and Wu Tsung. He lived eighty-eight years, and wrote many elegant *fu*. He is represented here by his "Rhapsody on the High Houses of the Clam-monsters" (*Ch'en lou fu* 蜃樓賦).¹⁴⁵ In this literary vision, the clammy builders are not ordinary creatures at all, but alien and anonymous natural forces. Their amorphous bodies are unstable and perhaps illusory—at least ectoplasmic or spectral. They have no gender. They dwell in the murky benthos of the Sea of Whales, beyond the domains of the Shark People (*chiao jen* 鯨人). They build houses of their own fnast. Some of these buildings are not for use—merely exuberant playthings, which pop up as acuminate constructions, to drip and bubble on the sea surface, shining like the sun and moon, glistening with many colors, and surrounded by drifting mists. Their fashioners can repair them readily by drawing

on cosmic energies. No visitors approach the clam-monsters' lairs on the ocean floor, but their architectural confections, when thrust high above, are sometimes visible to seafarers. *Even the great mansions of the rich and powerful families of T'ang, for whose builders comparable supernatural resources are unavailable, are less handsome and less durable than these constructions of foam and spume.* (This italicized interpretation of the conclusion of the rhapsody is an example of a typical feature of the T'ang *fu*, in which the author presents a parable or message that he deems implicit in the substance of his poem.)

Rhapsody on the High House of the Clam-monsters

There in the *p'eng*-bird's basin,¹⁴⁶ shoreless and boundless,
Are the clam-monsters' high houses, crag-crested.
They do not rely on timber to knit their frames,
But use their own fnast to fly and float them.
Hidden away without present sign,
They blaze in splendor hardly to be matched.
[Then one of them]
Emits waves and surges there,
As if it would stud the sky with them, forming simulacra,¹⁴⁷
Mutating, it creates porches and railings,
Preferring to simulate the sun which melts our cares.
So [large] that
It would cover Giant Turtle Mountain¹⁴⁸ with yet another island;
Or drip down on the shark-men's houses in hanging streams.¹⁴⁹
Then it is as if
The fogs have used up their mistiness—
The melting clouds have gone home;
The moon sheds brilliance over a thousand *li*—
Vision is terminated only by the Eight Horizons.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ This figure recalls the Old English kenning *swanrad* "swan's road" for the sea. Unlike the Old English expression, the Chinese one is rare. It serves to suggest the presence of huge sea-creatures, especially the great fish *k'un* 鯢, the "leviathan" into which the *p'eng* is transformed in *Chuang tzu*, "Hsiao-yao yu."

¹⁴⁷ "Simulacrum, -a" represents *hsiang* 象. The word refers to the stars regarded as counterparts of earthly things, to whose destinies they are bound. For the medieval theory underlying this belief, see *Pacing*, 44ff.

¹⁴⁸ "Giant Turtle" is *ao* 鼈. It was thought to support the floating island P'eng-lai, the mountain referred to here.

¹⁴⁹ "Hanging streams" are narrow, pendent waterfalls.

¹⁵⁰ To the limit in all directions.

¹⁴⁴ William Blake [source lost].

¹⁴⁵ Wang Ch'i, "Ch'en lou fu," CTW, 643, 1a-2a.

One's heart may appraise the manifold tribes [of sea creatures];¹⁵¹

Everywhere the waves of the Marksman of Yang¹⁵² are humbled.

Not an echo of sound—and then

Spurting perfumed vapors,

It swoops high over the watery waste!

Emerging through shadowed overcast

It rises straight up, lofty and alone.

Suddenly alight—in an instant extinguished—

New and fresh, spreading over the Swollen Main.¹⁵³

Now close-fitted, now separated,

Broadly disclosed as its splendid towers take shape.

Even if

Boatmen were to come in batches,

And the nation's foremost craftsmen look up in awe,

Not one would not be

Astonished at this blaze of mana in Heaven and Earth,

Discerning the simulacra on the fine-shafted turtles.¹⁵⁴

Ablaze with a prismatic net of light,

Hard to perceive with its motley display of figures,

Its silhouette approaches that of the Cowrie Py-lons;¹⁵⁵

Its hues trail out from rainbow-dragon girders.

All crooked or straight as if by string and ink;¹⁵⁶

And round or rectangular as if by compass and square.

[As where] the transcendents, high exalted, peer impromptu from beyond the sky;

[While] their women, fine-figured, take their modest stand at roadside.

¹⁵¹ Embedded in this line is a phrase from *Shu ching*, "Yü kung," which refers elliptically to the diverse inhabitants of the sea, whose names must be supplied by the reader's memory.

¹⁵² An ancient hero who drowned and became a god of the waves; his creations were noted for their terrible force. ("Marksman" corresponds to *hou* 侯, replacing the feeble barbarism "marquis." See Schafer, "Two Taoist Bagatelles," 16.)

¹⁵³ *Po-hsieh* 渤海, an epithet of the eastern sea.

¹⁵⁴ For "simulacra" see n. 147.

¹⁵⁵ *Pei ch'üeh* 貝闕, referring to the watchtowers of the palace of the Patrician of the Ho 河伯 (*Ch'u iz'u*, "Chiu ko") and in later times to the ocean mansions of the dragon kings. It also alludes to the purple maculations that distinguish the most handsome of cowries.

¹⁵⁶ *Sheng mo* 繩墨, the carpenter's device for ruling lines.

[And where]

Even eightfold windows¹⁵⁷ are not best workmanship—

Nor are a hundred feet a forbidding height;

[All] accompanied by propitious hazes in gigantic saturation,

Mingled with delightful fnast in layered affluence.

Look up at that storeyed structure—it resembles a koklas!¹⁵⁸

Surely that gigantic river is a clam-monster's mutation!

In great strength it rose in tenebrosity,

Fully modelled, it opened cavernously.

[From] disgorging and spitting—to be matched with *our* ornate precincts;

[From] exhaling and inhaling—a replica of *our* priceless timbers.

Even brushed by a soaring leviathan¹⁵⁹ it is not dissipated,

As the welcome swallow goes—and comes once more.

Obscurely outlined by the cyan dropoff;¹⁶⁰

The imagined counterpart of the Azure-gem Estrade.¹⁶¹

At its side, vividly bright—the Precinct of the Sun;¹⁶²

Below it, crystallized hyaline—the womb of pearls.¹⁶³

Compare it to a stream of stars¹⁶⁴—a patterning of points;

¹⁵⁷ Facing the eight directions.

¹⁵⁸ *Hui* 鸛, the koklas pheasant (*Pucrasia macrolopha*), a handsome fowl whose contour feathers are streaked with cinnamon, and whose iridescent green-black head is surmounted by a fine crest. The word is cognate to *hui* 暉 "rutilant, vividly bright." It suggests a pavonine presence.

¹⁵⁹ *K'un*. See n. 146.

¹⁶⁰ *Pi lo* 碧落, the dark depths of the sky.

¹⁶¹ *Yao t'ai* 瑤臺, the name of several fairytale structures of antiquity, and an epithet for the moon. In Taoism, it was especially a repository for the original texts of the scriptures, for instance *Shang ch'ing ching* 上清經 (*T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 673, 4a), *Ling pao chen ching* 靈寶真經 (*Yü ch'üeh ching* 玉訣經 in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 677, 9a), and *Chin hsian yü chang* 金玄羽章 (*Tung chen ching* 洞真經 in *Wu shang pi yao* 無上祕要, 21, 4a.)

¹⁶² The eastern birthplace of the sun, towards Japan.

¹⁶³ "Crystallized hyaline" represents *ying* 瑩. Compare "Wit-ness this new-made World, another Heaven//From Heaven gate not far, founded in view//On the clear hyaline, the glassy sea" (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VII: 617–19) (Hyalite is NaCl, common salt). "Wombs of pearls" are the nacreous bellies of oysters. Pearls have lunar associations. W. Eberhard, *The Local Cultures of South and East China* (Leiden, 1968), 292, calls "the mussel ch'en" a "moon animal."

¹⁶⁴ A meteor shower.

Wonder if it is the radiance of the luminous moon—
 aimlessly treading.
 Then we may understand that
 This dappling of eoan mists, this profuse piling of
 clouds¹⁶⁵
 Has the nobility of imposing and splendid [houses];
 [Even should] its ridgepoles snap and its rafters
 slide,
 There is no fear of crushing and overturning.
 When, swift and sudden, it alters its contours,
 It will still hold its semblance, relying on the Void.
 Surely it may be compared to
 The cauldron which dwelt in Fen Water¹⁶⁶
 Glowing dull murrey to flaunt its runes,¹⁶⁷
 The sword that stayed in Feng Enceinte,
 Its dominant force piling up fnast.¹⁶⁸
 Nowadays
 When the achievements of the Paragon [kings] are
 not in control,
 "Pelagic creatures" are all among us.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Wang Yen-shou 王延壽 (ca. 124–ca. 148), "Lu ling kuan tien fu" 魯靈光殿賦 (in *Wen hsüan*), in which the words *hsia pao yün wei* 霞散雲蔚 are immediately followed by "like *yin*, like *yang*."

¹⁶⁶ *Fen shui* 汾水. During the reign of Han Wu Ti, this sacred relic was discovered at Fen-yin 汾陰. Some thought it was a Chou ritual vessel, but many believed it to be a token deposited by Heaven.

¹⁶⁷ "Glowed dull murrey" represents *hsi-hsi* 絕絕, which suggests the reddish glow of coals. "Murrey" is cognate to "mulberry"; it is a deep, dark, red color. "Runes" for *wen* 文 is meant to hint at the magic and mystery of the inscribed text.

¹⁶⁸ The twin swords were embodied stars, male and female, forged in ancient Wu. They disappeared from this world, to be detected in Chin 晉 times by Chang Hua 張華 as purple vapor between the lunar lodgings Ox and Dipper (in Sagittarius and Capricornus), that is, in the Jupiter station "Star Chronicle" (*hsing chi* 星紀). A certain Lei Huan 雷煥 found them again in a pool at Feng Enceinte (Feng-ch'eng 豐城). They later took the shape of dragons and disappeared into their starry home in the sky. (See *Pacing*, 149–50; Helen B. Chapin, *Toward the Study of the Sword as Dynastic Talisman: The Feng-ch'eng Pair and the Sword of Han Kao Tsu* [Diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1940]. The allusions to cauldron and star-swords illustrate the self-renewing mutations of numinous objects, analogous to the protean transformations and resurrections of clam-castles.)

¹⁶⁹ This section evidently refers to the extravagant domestic architecture of the aristocrats of this era, which Wang Ch'ü compares unfavorably to the fantastic mansions of the clam-

These know to spew out the makings of loft-buildings
 and galleries,
 In order to complete their [mortal] frames.¹⁷⁰
 But how can they compete in such fishiness and
 saltiness,
 Theirs being of no more value than those in the
 sea.¹⁷¹

Now, by way of an exegetical paraphrase, embellished somewhat like the Chinese original by both meter and rhyme:

THE CLAMS

Where giant fish-fowl range above the seas
 In craggy houses clammy monsters wheeze.
 They need no deodar to build these halls:
 Extruded ichors fuse as roofs and walls.
 Abyssal gloom eclipses them below,
 But, spouted up, they shed a fiery glow.
 When one explodes up through the tossing spume,
 We hope a vault of spangled stars to bloom;
 Instead it seems a shining golden dome,
 To match the sun—the gods' immortal home.
 It makes the giant seamount seem a hill,
 As vast cascades into the vortex spill.
 Then when the upcast spray and froth degrade,
 And clouds beyond the far horizon fade,
 The lunar lantern sets the sky alight,
 And all the Seven Seas show clear and bright.
 The fishy peoples shine their scales around—
 The waves, now soothed, give out no further sound.
 A palace heaves, and spouting rare perfumes,
 In majesty above the ocean looms,

monsters. Specifically, after the rebellion of An Lu-shan, "... during the mid-century period of doubt and confusion, the mansions of the aristocrats went beyond all former bounds in size and luxury of appointments. The vast palatial residences of such magnates as Yüan Tsai, Ma Lin, and Li Chung-i earned the vulgar name of 'wooden monsters'. . . . All of these huge and costly structures were torn down by imperial order in the late summer of A.D. 779." E. H. Schafer, "The Last Years of Ch'ang-an," *Oriens Extremus* 10 (1963): 139.

¹⁷⁰ The houses of the great are mad extensions of their lust for wealth and power.

¹⁷¹ The final couplet, slightly paraphrased here, quotes *Tso chuan*, Chao 3. Legge's translation gives: "The wood on their hills and that in the markets is charged the same price, so that it costs no more in the market than on the hill. Their fish, salt and frogs [sic! for *ch'en ko* 蜃蛤 'clams and other molluscs'] cost the same (in the market as in the water)."

Pierces the stubborn haze that round it lies,
 And thrusts its mighty walls into the skies.
 It flashes like a beacon—disappears,
 As, newly born, it flaunts its crystal tiers;
 Tight packed, then split—white peak by icy spire:
 At last the whole facade is shown entire.
 Should master seamen steer their vessels nigh—
 And builders with them—all would testify
 That no such castle shines beyond the Pole,
 No cloud-court beams a brighter aureole.
 Blazing with many-colored girasoles,
 Its form eclipsed by protean girandoles,
 It simulates a Sea King's jewelled towers,
 Whose dragon-carvings spew phosphoric showers:
 Its lines reveal a master-builder's hand,
 Its forms display a metric wonderland.
 From such arcades as these the sylphs gaze down
 With shapely nymphs, each in her gilded gown.
 From here as well the prospect is unique—
 One sees afar, as from a mountain peak.
 Around the mansion swirling mists are massed,
 Congealed like colored ices from the fnast:
 A shimm'ring iridescent edifice,
 With moated waters blown from the abyss.
 This massive shape sprang from the dark below—
 A full phantasmagoric scenic show:

Bubbling and frothing, up from the depths it swirled,
 More splendid far than buildings in our world.
 No monstrous bird can do its fabric ill:
 Its contours vanish—but return at will,
 A charming sight against the cobalt sky,
 The lunar mansion's twin, and just as high.
 It floats against the burning solar whirl,
 Above its counterpart, the lunar pearl.
 Its glitt'ring heights with starlike gems are strewn,
 Its nacreous walls reflect th' inconstant moon.
 Though built of colored films and misty gleams,
 They far outlast the sturdiest earthly beams.
 Should unforeseen disaster break its frame,
 Its basic stuff is ever more the same.
 Swiftly it takes whatever shape it will,
 Repairing lesions with unearthly skill.
 With such instinctive ease the Urn of Fen
 Reddened its runes within its wat'ry den—
 The famous sword from Feng's renowned enceinte,
 Unbidden, lets its vital force ferment.
 In our degenerate, sadly misruled state,
 New man-like clams among us congregate.
 They too construct uncouth, grotesque abodes,
 And strut about them like inflated toads.
 Such fellows cannot match the ocean's clams:
 They lack real worth, these saltless, tasteless shams.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in footnote references:

ChTS	<i>Chiu T'ang shu</i> 舊唐書 (Szu pu pei yao ed.)
CTS	<i>Ch'üan T'ang shih</i> 全唐詩 (Taipei: Fuhsing shu-chü, 1967)
CTW	<i>Ch'üan T'ang wen</i> 全唐文 (Taipei: Wen-yu shu-tien, 1972)
TS	(<i>Hsin</i>) <i>T'ang shu</i> (新)唐書 (Szu pu pei yao ed.)

Imaeda	Imaeda Jiro 今枝二郎, <i>Tōdai bunka no kōsatsu (I)—Abe no Nakamaro kenkyū</i> 唐代文化の考察(1)—阿部仲麻呂研究 (Tokyo, 1979)
<i>Golden Peaches</i>	Edward H. Schafer, <i>The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of Tang Exotics</i> (Univ. of California Press, 1963)

<i>Mirages</i>	Edward H. Schafer, <i>Mirages on the Sea of Time: The Taoist Poetry of Ts'ao T'ang</i> (Univ. of California Press, 1985)
<i>Pacing</i>	Edward H. Schafer, <i>Pacing the Void</i> (Univ. of California Press, 1977)
<i>Vermilion Bird</i>	Edward H. Schafer, <i>The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South</i> (Univ. of California Press, 1967)
Verschuer	Charlotte von Verschuer, <i>Les Relations officielles du Japon avec la Chine aux viii^e et ix^e siècles</i> (Hautes Études Orientales no. 21, École Pratique des Hautes Études IV ^e Section, Collège de France [Institut des Hautes Études Japonaises], Paris, 1985)

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T'ANG FIREFLIES

EDWARD H. SCHAFER (1913–1991)

University of California, Berkeley

Her Eyes the Glow-worme lend thee,
The Shooting Starres attend thee;
And the Elves also,
Whose little eyes glow
Like the sparks of fire, befriend thee.

Robert Herrick,
"The Night-piece, to Julia "

"The remarkable brightness of firefly light with no perceptible rise in temperature has always stood as a symbol of light without heat and its duplication has long been the goal of the illuminating engineer."¹ Firefly light is a variety of luminescence – a phenomenon of molecular excitation in which an electron, displaced from its normal orbit, emits a quantum of light upon its return.² More specifically, it is a form of bioluminescence, which in turn is a form of chemical luminescence,³ as distinguished from electrical or mechanical luminescence. (Not all luminous life forms are luminescent however. Examples are the luminous moss *Schistotega*, also called "elfin-gold," and, in the animal world, the iridescent colors displayed by the sunbirds [*Nectariniidae*] and such humming-

1) E. Newton Harvey, *A History of Luminescence from the Earliest Times until 1900* (Philadelphia, 1957) [hereafter Harvey], pp. 3–4.

2) Harvey, p. 6.

3) Two rare chemicals, luciferase and luciferin, react with ATP (adenosine triphosphate), present in every living cell, to produce the light. About 300 firefly tails are needed to make luciferase-luciferin extract. This can be used to detect the presence of life beyond the earth. Since an ounce of the extract costs \$560, it is worth much more than gold (*Christian Science Monitor*, 20 July 1976).

birds as the Starthroat [*Heliomaster*], the Comet [*Sappho*], the Mountain-gem [*Lampornis*], and the Sun-Angel [*Heliangelus*], which are the products of structure – that is, of space lattices.)

Typically, fireflies shine with a diamondlike fire, but some varieties, it is reported, display an “intense green,” some a flaming yellow, while the aptly named “railroad worm” of South America rejoices in double row of yellow lights along its body and a red lamp on its head.⁴ Such features as the last seem to account for the technical sense of “firefly” as a color word: a yellowish red hue, with very high saturation and medium brilliance – synonymous with “cherry” and “vermilion.” But in medieval Chinese literature the firefly glows with the light of the moon and stars. It is an exemplar of pure, white light.

Fireflies are luminescent beetles of the family *Lampyridae*. Both “glowworm” and “firefly” refer to the same animal, the former to a wingless form and the latter to a winged form. The adult males are always and the adult females usually winged. These are the “fireflies.” The females of some species and the larvae of all are wingless. These are the “glowworms.”⁵

Chinese lexicographical resources give what appears to be a superfluity of names for both firefly and glowworm. A few of these words are fixed permanently in the literary vocabulary, but others turn up very rarely. Some of the latter are classical epithets, raised retroactively to the status of substantives. In many cases, both the connotation and the specific reference are in doubt. Only one expression is in ordinary use in the poetry of T'ang. It is *ying huo* 螢火, often shortened to *ying*. We shall discuss it after taking brief note of some of its feeble competitors. The most celebrated firefly words occur in *Shih*, *Pin feng*, *Tung shan* 詩, 幽風, 東山. They are 熠燿宵行 *i¹-yao⁴ hsiao¹ hsing²*, with the Middle

4) Harvey, p. 552.

5) Harvey, pp. 539–540. In general, glowworms emit light “. . . either continuously or in prolonged glows rather than in brief flashes as do most fireflies.” The “glowworm” of English literature is the wingless female of some species of *Lampyris*. Other glowworms are the larvae of American lampyrids and tropical elaterids, and both larvae and adult females of other American species (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th edition).

Chinese pronunciation – somewhat anachronistic, although suitable for T'ang readers – of *yep-yak + *syeu *ghǎng. They are distinctly rare in medieval texts. Legge's translation is: "With glowworm's light all about." Other commentators and interpreters have treated the sentence in other ways. My own preference is to classify *yep-yak as a "gestalt, or echoic binom," in the sense of "glimmer; unsteady or intermittent source of light." *Syeu *ghǎng appears to be a nominal construction, meaning "night traveller," used as a name of the firefly (or possibly glow-worm).⁶ In any case, both expressions are distinctly rare in medieval texts. An example of this archaism survives in a poem by the early T'ang writer Li Po-yüeh 李百藥:

Inside the window I am concerned that the lamp is occluded;
In front of the stairway I dread the luminosity of the moon.
I do not refuse to encounter dew and damp –
Only because I esteem the "night travellers."⁷

In short, so much does the author, or his imagined protagonist, esteem the fireflies' glow, that he makes sure that the lamp is hooded, and prays for the absence of moonlight.

Other firefly names are *tan niao* 丹鳥 "cinnabar bird," *hsia huo* 挾火 "fire bearer [under arm]," *chü huo* 據火 "fire gripper," *chi chao* 即炤 "illuminator ?," *yeh chao* 夜炤 "night shiner," *hui yeh* 暉夜 "night brightener," *yeh kuang* 夜光 "night light," and *hsiao chu* 宵燭 "nighttime candle." These exist mainly as dictionary entries, and are hardly to be found in literature. Even rarer names exist.⁸

6) Various opinions on this matter can be found in *Pen ts'ao kang mu* 本草綱目 (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1972, reprint of 1930 edition) [hereafter *PTKM*], ch. 41, p. 17; Bernard E. Read, *Chinese Materia Medica: Insect Drugs* (Taipei, 1977, reprint of Shanghai 1941 edition); B. Karlgren, "Glosses on the Kuo-Feng Odes," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol. 14 (1942), pp. 240–241.

7) Li Po-yüeh (565–648), "Yung ying huo shih ch'ing jen" 詠螢火示情人, *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩 (Taipei: Fu-hsing shu-chü 復興書局, 1972, 2nd reprint) [hereafter *CTS*], *han* 1, *ts'e* 9, p. 5b.

8) *PTKM*, ch. 41, p. 17; *Erh ya* 爾雅, "Shih ch'ung" 釋蟲; Lu Tien 陸佃, *P'i ya* 埤雅 (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* 叢書集成, 1936), ch. 10, pp. 153–254; Lo Yüan 羅原 (1136–1184), *Erh ya i* 爾雅翼 (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng*), ch. 27, pp. 289–290.

As for the wingless glowworm, the expression *ying ch'ü* 螢蛆 “glimmering maggot” is attested, but seldom found in poetry, probably precisely because the worm lacks the gift of flight.

Ying huo 螢火, the standard name of the firefly, is an early graphic alteration of 𩇛 or 𩇛. The form 𩇛, which precedes and underlies 螢, appears in *Shuo wen*,⁹ where it is defined as the glow of a lamp or torch from inside a house. *Ying huo*, then, means “gleaming fire”; hence it is a soft glimmer or twinkling, a “wavering light.” By Han times the graph 𩇛 was replaced by a new form 螢, which gradually came to be regarded as a substantive “glimmerer,” and the *huo* was frequently dropped, so that in T'ang times, poems about fireflies use *ying huo* 螢火 “glimmering fire” and *ying* 螢 “glimmerer” interchangeably. (Compare Modern Chinese *ying kuang* 螢光 “fluorescence.”) The root word has a number of cognates, or probable cognates, notably:

瑩 (*ying*, **ywang*) “scintillant; crystalline”

榮 (*yung*, **ywǎng*) “full glory” (“glory” as in its modern meteorological sense of a softly glowing ring surrounding a shadowy figure cast on a background of clouds, such as the Specter of the Brocken or an airplane's shadow; hence, “glory” as an emanation of light, an aureole or halo, often golden, around a sacred figure).

鶯 (*ying*, **ang*) (1) “patterned plumage” (pre-Han); (2) substituted for 鶯 (cf. 嬰 and 纓 “neck ornament, throat band”), the Chinese Black-naped Oriole.¹⁰

營營 (*ying-ying*, **yweng-yweng*) “agitated fluttering, flitting about” (cf. “flickering” light, *et al.*).

I shall usually translate *ying* 螢 as “firefly,” but sometimes as “lampyrid,” now the scientific name of the firefly (from the Greek for “beaming, splendid”).

The name “Lantern-fly” or “Lantern-bearer” has been given to luminous insects in various parts of the world. One of them is *Fulgora candelaria* of south China. It is said to carry a pale blue or green light

9) *Ch.* 10b.

10) E. H. Schafer, *The Oriole and the Bush Warbler*. Schafer Sinological Papers, no. 1 (Berkeley, 25 January 1984), p. 2.

on its snout, and to show itself in the late spring or summer, but never in winter. I have not found its Chinese name: possibly it occurs in literature under the *ying huo* rubric. One modern authority reports that it is known as "Star of Eve," "Eye of Confucious [*sic*]," and "Spark Fly."¹¹

Chinese texts mention a creature called "water firefly" 水螢 (*shui ying*). This suggests some kind of luminescent water animal, and indeed luminescent gastropods and shrimps have been found in fresh water here and there. But it is more likely that it is one of the few specimens of glowworm known to be aquatic.¹² The T'ang poets have little to say about them, and what they do say is couched in the imagery associated with the common firefly. For instance, the "water firefly" is not necessarily a denizen of the water. Hsiang Szu 項斯 tells of arriving at an old monastery in yellow twilight: it is the season of first frost, and wild fruits are falling. "Water fireflies fly straight through the bamboos, without pausing."¹³ This is pleasant enough, but not very revealing: the courting lamplets are only part of the glamorous stage setting of early autumn. The poet's contemporary Hsü Hun 許渾 remembers a monastery in a woodland setting with wild birds singing, and also: "Water fireflies – a myriad of [bright] points amidst the autumn herbage."¹⁴ There is a rhapsody (*fu* 賦) devoted to the water firefly – the work of the T'ang poet Li Tzu-ch'ing 李子卿 – which characterizes the aquatic insect somewhat more precisely:

How is it that *that* [the firefly] mutates from herbage?

And what determines that *this* [the water firefly] dwells in a spring?¹⁵

In fact, the "water firefly" appears to be a glowworm: "It can propel itself with its feet," he writes, but this does not necessarily imply more than that it passes its larval stage in the water. Other writers – Hsiang

11) Harvey, pp. 559–561.

12) Harvey, pp. 563, 585–586.

13) Hsiang Szu (fl. 836), "Su shan szu" 宿山寺, *CTS, han* 9, *ts'e* 1, p. 11b.

14) Hsü Hun (fl. 844), "Tzu leng-ch'ieh szu ch'en ch'i fan chou tao chung yu huai" 自楞伽寺晨起汎舟道中有懷, *CTS, han* 8, *ts'e* 7, p. 7a.

15) Li Tzu-ch'ing (fl. 770), "Shui ying fu" 水螢賦, *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文 (Taipei, 1972, reprint of 1814 edition) [hereafter *CTW*], *ch.* 454, p. 11a.

Szu was one – show the adult insect flying freely through the trees.
Finally, Li Tzu-ch'ing writes,

Examine them from close by – they are like the *yin*-fire deep in the sea;¹⁶
Gazed at from afar – they may be compared to cold cressets on the
mountain's margin.

Here the aquatic glimmerer is first shown, ontologically, as an instance of bio-luminescence, and then, phenomenally, in a simile drawn from everyday life. Now a complete quatrain on the elusive species by Wen T'ing-yün 温庭筠:¹⁷

By smartweed spikes and caltrop clumps I reflect on the little cicadas;
Water fireflies and bird of the Kiang fill the misted cattails.
One wisp of somber red falls before the wind;
The autumn waves on the pond seem to be those of the Five Lakes.

This is a polite eulogy of the water garden of a retired gentleman. The season is autumn, when any firefly is appropriate. The words for "somber" (*ch'ou* 愁) and autumn (*ch'iu* 秋) are cognate. The somber red is, of course, the red foliage of fall. These set the seasonal mood. Garden pools were often built to simulate mythological seas; here they suggest the five great lakes of the Yangtze watershed.

Everywhere natural displays of luminescence have inspired wonder and fear. The learned Dr. Erasmus Darwin has characterized the most familiar of these in charming couplets. They are addressed to the race of Nymphs, responsible in this domain, under the honorific "Effulgent Maids!":

You with light Gas the lamps nocturnal feed,
Which dance and glimmer o'er the marshy mead;
Shine round Calendula at twilight hours,
And tip with silver all her saffron flowers;
Warm on her mossy couch the radiant Worm,

16) For marine phosphorescence in Chinese literature, see E. H. Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p. 139.

17) Wen T'ing-yün (fl. 859), "Yüan ch'u shih ch'ih shang" 元處士池上, *CTS, han* 9, *ts'e* 5, *ch.* 5, p. 2a.

Guard from cold dews her love-illumin'd form,
 From leaf to leaf conduct the virgin light,
 Star of the earth, and diamond of the night.
You bid in air the tropic Beetle burn,
 And fill with golden flame his winged urn:
 Or gild the surge with insect sparks, that swarm
 Round the bright oar, the kindling prow alarm;
 Or arm in waves, electric in his ire,
 The dread *Gymnotus* with the ethereal fire.¹⁸

These couplets refer respectively to the Will-o'-the-wisp, the calendula (once thought to be luminescent), the glowworm, the firefly, the lantern-fly, marine phosphorescence, and the electric eel [*Gymnotus*]. All of these phenomena share attributes that make them appealing to poets and mythographers. Accordingly, as well as to the firefly, we shall allude briefly to some of these others as they ornament the imaginative creations of T'ang writers. In particular we need to pay attention to the Will-o'-the-wisp, which plays a role in Chinese poetry quite distinct from that of the firefly and its cousins.

This ghostly glimmer has a variety of names in English: Will-o'-the-wisp, ignis fatuus ("foolish fire"), elf fire, Jack-o'-lantern, dead man's candle, corpse candle, elf candle and many others less familiar, such as the Jacky Toad of the Devonshire quagmires.¹⁹ These spectral epithets have counterparts in literary Chinese, in particular "ghost fire" (*kuei huo* 鬼火) and "ghost lamp" (*kuei teng* 鬼燈), the latter reminding us of our corpse candles and elf candles, and the fearful scene conjured up by Robert Burns in his "Tam o' Shanter":

Coffins stood round, like open presses,
 That shaw'd the Dead in their last dresses;
 And (by some devilish cantrip sleight)
 Each in its cauld hand held a light.

These names have no single referent. Some ghost fires seem to have been

18) Erasmus Darwin, *The Botanic Garden*, part I, "The Economy of Vegetation," canto I, lines 189–202.

19) Eden Phillpotts, *Fancy Free* (London, 1901), pp. 253–254.

the flickering of marsh gas, that is, of methane (CH₄) – the same weird glow reported in our oldest literary classic *Beowulf*:

There each night may be seen a baleful wonder,
Fire on the mere.

But these uncanny apparitions have also been identified as phosphorescent wood, electrical discharges, UFOs and many other luminosities.²⁰

The word *lin* [huo] 磷 [火],²¹ was often regarded as a synonym of “ghost fire,” or of “firefly,” or of both. The venerable *Ch’u tz’u*, for instance, suggests a similarity or even an affinity between firefly and Will-o’-the-wisp: “Glimmer, glimmer, ghostly fire,”²² (to which I would add “Over marshes, on the mire!”). Another old source gives *lin* as a word for the firefly.²³ But *lin* was neither Will-o’-the-wisp nor firefly.

In short, although many Chinese names for weird lights are semantically unstable, *lin* can apparently be removed from the shadow of uncertainty, and with it some of the ambiguous ghost fires. The clue is in the modern term for phosphorescence, which is *lin kuang* 磷光. It reminds us of an important source of unearthly lights which is neither firefly nor methane, to wit, phosphorescent fungi.

For access to this fertile area, I shall introduce the magical fungus of Mount Liang-ch’ang 良常山, an outrider of the famous Mao Shan

20) Harvey, pp. 265–266. For more on this phenomenon see Lionello Lanciotti, “I fuochi fatui nella tradizione cinese,” in G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti, eds., *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata* (Rome, 1987), pp. 771–773.

21) A study of some aspects of the firefly in the Chinese and Japanese cultures is provided by Fujino Iwatomo, “On Chinese Soul-inviting and Firefly-catching Songs: A Study on Chinese Folklore,” *Acta Asiatica*, vol. 19 (1970), pp. 40–57. Its arguments are vitiated in part by poor translations and unwarranted interpretations of poetry. The word *lin*, for instance, is consistently translated “phosphorus,” leading to such strange pronouncements as “old blood is regarded as phosphorus” (p. 43).

22) *Ying ying hsi kwei huo* 荧荧兮鬼火. (*Ch’u tz’u* 楚辭, “Chiu szu” 九思, “Ai sui” 哀歲).

23) Ts’ui Pao 崔豹, *Ku chin chu* 古今注 (in *T’ai p’ing yü lan* 太平御覽 [hereafter *TPYL*], ch. 945, p. 6b). Another synonym is *yu ling huo* 幽靈火 “shrouded-soul fire,” in which “shrouded soul” means “dead soul” – but it is rare.

茅山, a place sacred to the medieval Taoists. This is the "Lampyrid Fire Mushroom" (*ying huo chih* 螢火芝) or, if the reader prefers, the "Firefly Mushroom." Its color is purple and it shines by night. It is bright enough to make books readable in the dark – a useful virtue which it shares, as we shall see presently, with the firefly itself. Eaten, it will illuminate the cavities of the heart, and the consumption of forty-seven pieces will guarantee longevity of ten thousand years.²⁴ The poet P'i Jih-hsiu 皮日休 saw this mushroom, or something very similar to it, at the Palace of the Divine Phosphor (*Shen ching kung* 神景宮), a Taoist temple on Pao Shan 包山 island in the Grand Lake (T'ai Hu 太湖). It appeared to him as one of a welter of lights and reflections, and other manifestations of mana:

Suddenly, pine shade faintly lit up;
Alone – I saw a lampyrid fire mushroom.²⁵

A more significant kind of fungus is responsible for apparitions which are easily confused with the antic glowing of the Will-o'-the-wisp. The fungal threads of *Rhizomorpha noctiluca*, which penetrate decaying organic matter, yield a variety of phosphorescent manifestations. Rotten wood, for instance, is often seen gleaming through the trees of a forest; this phenomenon is called "fox fire." Leaf mold, roots, dead fruit and the like, penetrated by this devilish substance, do likewise.²⁶

The lore of ancient China is replete with references to the luminous emanations of corpses left on battlefields. These were explained as the concentrated remnants of the vital energy of the unfortunate soldiers. Wang Ch'ung 王充 refers to this cadaverous light as *lin*, suggesting that the word applied properly to phosphorescence, although it was sometimes thought to be the Will-o'-the-wisp.²⁷ The phenomenon has been studied

24) Chen kao 真誥 (*Tao tsang*, HY 1010), ch. 13, p. 8a; cf. E. H. Schafer, *Mao Shan in T'ang Times*. Society for the Study of Chinese Religions Monograph, no. 1 (1980), p. 28. For remarks on various luminous fungi, see Harvey, pp. 484–485.

25) P'i Jih-hsiu (?–ca. 881), "San su Shen chin kung" 三宿神景宮, *CTS, han* 9, ts'e 9, ch. 3, p. 5a.

26) Harvey, pp. 60, 461, 503.

27) See, *inter alia*, Wang Ch'ung 王充, *Lun Heng* 論衡, "Lun szu" 論死.

by scientists, who have described not only the luminescence of sausages, eggs, and the like, but also of battle wounds, and especially of corpses examined in dissecting rooms: "The luminous material could be scraped off the flesh²⁸ but appeared to penetrate bone rather deeply." In 1853 the responsible fungus was named *Sarcina noctiluca*.²⁹ Possibly the "ghost fires" of Chinese literature were as often the spectral glow of fungus as the elusive fire of marsh gas, but almost certainly, the primary reference of *lin* was to the luminescent fungi that infect cadavers and skeletal remains.

(These spectral matters remind one of the "popular belief" that fireflies are souls of the dead, flying about in the darkness.³⁰ Much as I would like confirmation of this agreeable assertion, no textual examples of such a belief have come to my attention, and I fear that firefly ghosts must remain conjectural.³¹ In T'ang poetry, at any rate, fireflies are uniformly beneficent, friendly, and encouraging, though somewhat tinged with gentle melancholy, appropriate to the season of falling leaves.)

The poet of "ghostly talents," Li Ho 李賀, has left a poem in which both the firefly and some form of Jack-o'-lantern – a phosphorescent fungus in my opinion – participate:

The autumn countryside is luminous,
 The autumn wind is white;
 The lake seems fathomless, insects squeak and shriek.
 The clouds are rooted in moss and lichens on stones up in the mountains;

28) The Chinese records also report that the ghostly fungus can be brushed off the dead body. See M. W. de Visser, "Fire and Ignes Fatui in China and Japan," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, vol. 17 (1914), pp. 97–193.

29) Harvey, pp. 478, 481, 503. P. 503 refers us to D. Cooper and R. Cooper, "On the luminosity of the human subject after death, etc.," *Phil Mag.*, vol. 12 (1838), pp. 420, 426, which I have not seen.

30) De Visser, *op. cit.*, p. 170. Fujino, *op. cit.*, *passim*, gives his support to the belief, but, as far as classical literature is concerned at any rate, does not provide convincing evidence.

31) Harvey, p. 46, notes the comparative rarity of references to fireflies in western literature as compared with Far Eastern. He thinks this may be due to taboos on mentioning the souls of the dead, and cites several examples in support of this belief.

Dew wept from cool red is the color of a belle's crying.³²

In fallow plats in the ninth month the paddy is forked and pronged;
Fireflies, once torpid, fly low, slanting over the tracks on the downs.
Water flows from arteries of rock – springs drip on sand;
Ghost lanterns, like lacquer, tinge the pine flowers.³³

Such, then, are the mysterious lights that haunted the imagination of T'ang writers. Having taken note of them, it is necessary to narrow the focus of this article to its avowed subject – fireflies. We shall begin with the genesis of these attractive asteroids.

The vegetable-to-animal mutation that seemed to produce fireflies is a common motif in T'ang poetry. The belief is supported by the authority of a venerable text, the "Monthly Instructions" (*Yüeh ling* 月令), which tells that "In the moon of latest summer, rotten herbage becomes fireflies."³⁴ In fact the firefly larvae, which are often themselves luminescent, feed on snails and slugs on the moist ground these gastropods prefer – but glowing methane, that is, Will-o'-the-wisp, also emanates from decaying vegetation, another reason for the confusion among fireflies, Will-o'-the-wisp, and fungal phosphorescence. T'ao Hung-ching

32) J. D. Frodsham assumes that Li Ho tells of colored sound here, and comments: "Note the synaesthesia in this remarkable image." (J. D. Frodsham, *Goddesses, Ghosts, and Demons: The Collected Poems of Li Ho* [San Francisco, 1983], p. 245). But the language is the language of metaphor, not of synaesthesia. "Crying" refers to the lady's tears colored by rouge, here compared to the dew dripping from red autumn leaves. Compare the "somber red" of Wen T'ing-yün's poem above.

33) Li Ho, "Nan shan t'ien chung hsing" 南山田中行, *CTS, han 6, ts'e 7, ch. 2*, p. 4b. The word I have translated 'tinge' here is Chinese *tien* 點 "spot, speckle; tinge, touch up, etc." Frodsham has "Ghost-lanterns like lacquer lamps," with the gloss "Will-o'-the-wisps burn as feebly and as sinisterly as the black lacquer lamps placed in tombs." But these sinister lamps are purely imaginary. "Lacquer" is commonly an image of dark, lustrous things, and by extension dull, dimly lit things. *Ch'i teng* 漆燈 "lacquer lamp" is a synecdoche for "dim lamplight."

34) There is a similar passage in *Chi chung Chou shu* 汲冢周書, "Shih hsün chieh" 時訓解, which states "On the day of 'Greatest Heat' rotten herbs are transformed into fireflies ... if the rotten herbs are not transformed into fireflies, cereals and fruits will fall when fresh," that is, before maturity.

陶鴻景 mentions that the larvae have a marked preference for decomposed bamboo roots, and observes that the young creatures show lights in their bellies several days before they first take flight.³⁵

The poets of T'ang touch on this theme with almost deadly regularity. The following couplet is typical:

By deserted fortifications, on roads without people,
Autumn herbage gives flight to chilly fireflies.³⁶

In the following quatrain by Wei Ying-wu 韋應物, noted for his evocations of individual forms of life and artifice, fireflies are associated not only with autumn and decaying herbage, but, as commonly, with the moon (conjoining light with autumn, the best time for both firefly-watching and moon-viewing), and with the bamboos which seem to bestow life and flight on the little creatures.

The season's node converts the decaying herbage;
The color of things shows the new autumn near.
The bright image of the transient moon is just contracting;
Encircling bamboos, the lights glide once more.³⁷

Tu Fu approaches the firefly in a more personal and compassionate way, adding to the motif of their birth in the decomposing duff their death as the cold of late autumn sets in — that is, in the tenth Chinese month, our November.

You were lucky to emerge from a base of rotting herbage,
And presumed to fly close to the Great Yang.
It's not enough that you hang over manuscripts and scrolls,
At times you can touch up the garment of a visitor.

In the wake of the wind, you diminish beyond the curtain;
Girded with rain, you fade by the edge of the forest.
In the tenth month the clear frost grows heavy.
Tumbled and crumpled, where will you find a home?³⁸

35) *Ming i pieh lu* 明醫別錄, quoted in *TPYL*, ch. 41, p. 17.

36) Liu Fu 劉復 (fl. 773), "Ching chin ch'eng" 經禁城, *CTS*, han 5, ts'e 6, p. 3a.

37) Wei Ying-wu (ca. 735–ca. 835), "Wan ying huo" 翫螢火, *CTS*, han 3, ts'e 7, ch. 8, p. 8a.

38) Tu Fu (712–770), "Ying huo" 螢火, *CTS*, han 4, ts'e 3, ch. 10, p. 16b.

To paraphrase:

You were born among dead leaves,
 And found that you could fly up towards the sun.
 Not only do you light the pages of a late-working scholar,
 But you stick to my jacket like a diamond.
 But when the autumn wind blows you outside, your light is reduced.
 And the cold rain almost snuffs it.
 Finally, as the frost grows thick,
 You are too weak to survive without a refuge – and you have none.

There are two new clichés here: the theme of the gem or body ornament, which is the firefly's avatar, as are the moon and stars, and the theme of providing useful light to lucubrating students, a subject that will now be developed further.

An old story tells of a dedicated student named Chü Yin 車胤. His family was poor and seldom had oil for lamps. Chü Yin went out on summer nights, caught fireflies, and imprisoned them in a bag of sheer white silk. With this he was able to illuminate his books.³⁹ Although this edifying tale is often alluded to in poetry, there is no evidence that it is true, nor that it reports a technique commonly resorted to. Nevertheless the anecdote became a kind of article of faith, like a pronouncement from the Confucian "Analects." For instance, a writer of the tenth century observes with astonishment that there are those who "are quite unaware that the men of old made lamps of bagged fireflies."⁴⁰ In support of the truth of the Chinese tradition we have the testimony of the Neapolitan naturalist Fabio Colonna (or Columna) (1567–1647), who wrote this of fireflies: "the fiery radiance of their buttocks shines forth

39) *Chin shu* 晉書, ch. 83, 1299c. (References to the dynastic histories are to the *K'ai ming* edition.) This tale is set in the fourth century. Harvey, pp. 16–17, notes that a painting of this quaint scene has been made by the Japanese artist Kanō Tanyū (1602–1650). It was said of another diligent scholar of the same period that he was able to use light reflected from snow to the same end. Hence the phrase "fireflies and snow" (*ying hsueh* 螢雪) became a literary figure for the cognition of a poor but zealous student.

40) T'an Ch'iao 譚峭 (Southern T'ang), *T'an tzu hua shu* 譚子化書 (*Wen-yüan-ko Szu-k'u ch'üan-shu* 文淵閣四庫全書, Taipei: Commercial Press, 1983), vol. 849, p. 235. This is a book about mutations.

... with such light that a page with very small type can be read at night in a dark place without a torch, provided one moves the animal over it and conducts it slowly along the lines."⁴¹

By T'ang times, at any rate, the tale was transmuted into a moral lesson and even became the pre-set theme of a competition in writing rhapsodies (*fu*) with the title "Rhapsody on 'The Light of Fireflies Illumines the Written Word'" (*Ying kuang chao tzu fu* 螢光照字賦), whose rhymes were restricted to the words of a sentence that may be translated "It is possible to stimulate oneself to the certainty of great achievement," implying "there is no excuse for failing to burn the midnight oil." One such rhapsody is the work of Chiang Fang 蔣防,⁴² among whose poetic analogies to the assigned subject is this: "When I approach my ink pool, then the pearls return to Ho-p'u 合浦." This means that the fireflies do not fail to approach his ink palette just as the shining pearls, once depleted, returned to the fisheries of Ho-p'u when a virtuous gentleman took pains to conserve the marine ecology there.⁴³ In other words, a diligent scholar attracts beneficial things; even small insects will assist to fulfill his obsessive dreams of success. Such confidence was not always the portion of aspiring literati. To Li Hsien-yung 李咸用, for instance, the glow of the firefly and the glare of the snow bank had proved equally useless as aids to success:

The firefly's heart set my heart on fire – my vision is impaired
by the snow;
I have not encountered the delightful dream – seeing the
Three Swords.⁴⁴

41) Harvey, pp. 538–539.

42) Chiang Fang (fl. 813), "Ying kuang chao tzu fu," *CTW*, ch. 719, pp. 2a–2b. Three rhapsodies on the theme survive from the Primal Harmony (*Yüan ho* 元和) period (806–821). They are the work of three contemporaries, Chiang Fang, Yang Hung-chen 楊宏真 and Chao Fan 趙蕃. Probably all were written at the same competition to display the authors' virtuosity. They may be found in *CTW*, ch. 719, pp. 2a–2b; ch. 722, pp. 17a–17b; ch. 722, pp. 7b–8a.

43) For details, see E. H. Schafer, "The Pearl Fisheries of Ho-p'u," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 72 (1952), pp. 155–168.

44) Li Hsien-yung (fl. 873), "Tseng yu ti" 贈右弟, *CTS*, han 10, ts'e 2, ch. 3, p. 6a. "The Three Swords" alludes to another edifying anecdote, the dream of Wang Chün

At any rate, Li Hsien-yung's frustration was not the fault either of snow or firefly, whether metaphorically or in fact: they did their best for him. Indeed, in this poem as in others, the firefly was far from being spectral or demoniac – traits more typical of “ghost fires,” whether of marsh gas or of fungus-invaded bones. It was a companionable creature, especially to deserving youths, and often an inspiring one. Accordingly, the poets of T'ang were enthusiastic about the tradition of these small angelic beings. Consider the words of Li Chia-yu 李嘉祐:

Reflected from the water, your light is hard to hold in place;
Skimming the void, your frame is spontaneously buoyant.
Blown by the night wind, you are not extinguished;
Washed by autumn dew, you remain alight.

Next to a candle, you keep your flame distinct –
Should I send off a letter, it will hold even more affection.
If you propose to float your wayward light-image yet again,
Bring it here, alongside my eaves and posts.⁴⁵

Another poet, Chou Yao 周繇, is more aloof but he takes pleasure in the pyrotechnic effects of a host of fireflies, and their constancy, represented by their immunity from the onslaughts of wind and rain:

Lustrous starshine but also soft moon-white,
At pond and pool, skirting bamboos and trees;
In disorderly flight, all trailing fire,
Forming throngs – yet ever without smoke.

A trace of rain spatters but does not quench them;
A light wind blows them as if to set them afire.
Once long ago, over a writing table,
[A person] grabbed them incessantly – made bags to suspend them.⁴⁶

The diverse forms of light are even more prominent in the following octave by Hsü Yin 徐夤:

王濬 of Chin. Without going into the esoteric sense of the expression, suffice it to say here that it was an omen of preferment in the bureaucracy.

45) Li Chia-yu (fl. 757), “Yung ying” 詠螢, *CTS, han 3, ts'e 9, ch. 1*, p. 5b.

46) Chou Yao (fl. 867), “Yung ying” 詠螢, *CTS, han 10, ts'e 1, p. 2a*.

The moon falls by the west tower, the shadows of the night are empty;
You penetrate the screen, bore through the awning, reach the transenna
of my chamber.

Drifting lights, fit to be placed in the ranks of beads and brilliants;
Made of fire, you were not born amidst the elms and willows.

One by one you send your light through to the graphs on my yellow scrolls;
Light and buoyant you emerge, transformed, from green overgrowth
and thickets.

I should like to know which seasonal node is to be looked for:
The onset of the sixth month, when we welcome the winds of
"Great Heat"!⁴⁷

(Great Heat [*ta shu* 大暑] marks the beginning of the Chinese autumn,
when the season of fireflies begins.)

There are more delightful modes of exploiting firefly light than in reading lamps. The great example is provided by a characteristic extravagance of Yang Kuang 楊光 (Sui Yang Ti 隋煬帝). In A.D. 616, during a visit to his Palace of Phosphor Flowers (*Ching hua kung* 景華宮), he sent his agents about the vicinity to collect fireflies. Then, when "he went out nights to ramble in the hills, he had them released, and their lights went all around the cliffs and valleys."⁴⁸ This rare illumination, drawing the panorama of the stars down into a royal park, was reconstructed from the world-hoards of a number of T'ang poets. Tü Mu 杜牧, for instance, eulogizing the beauties, past and present, of Yang Kuang's capital, included this verse in his "Three Stanzas on Yang-chou": "An autumn wind in the park where fireflies went free."⁴⁹ Such nostalgic allusions might even be reduced to such a bare phrase as "Do not depend on the affair of the House of Sui," in an address to fireflies composed by Lu Kuei-meng 陸龜蒙.⁵⁰ Here is the whole text of another firefly ode, this one by T'ang Yen-ch'ien 唐彥謙:

47) Hsü Yin (fl. 873), "Ying" 螢, *CTS, han* 11, *ts'e* 1, *ch.* 3, pp. 8b-9a.

48) *Sui shu* 隋書, *ch.* 4, p. 2354b.

49) Tü Mu (803-852), "Yang-chou, san chou" 揚州三首, *CTS, han* 8, *ts'e* 7, *ch.* 3, p. 1a. I have translated these in E. H. Schafer, *Notes on T'ang Geisha*, 3: "Yang-chou in T'ang Times." Schafer Sinological Papers, no. 6 (Berkeley, 19 March 1984), p. 9.

50) Lu Kuei-meng (?-ca. 881), "Ying shih" 螢詩, *CTS, han* 4, *ts'e* 10, *ch.* 6, p. 1a.

An overgrown enceinte under the sun, in the midst of blurred
 bluish prairies;
 Damp fireflies, in agitated disorder, rise from decaying thickets.
 [I am reminded of]
 Heirgiver Ch'en in cold mists – but Long Gateway is shut;
 The House of Sui in nocturnal rain – but the old park is empty.
 Star-scattered, you will soon graze the moon at the front railing;
 Your bright images descend, as if to test the wind at the north window.
 A lodger this evening – with reasons for gloom;
 His heart like cold ashes, hair like a tumbleweed.⁵¹

The Long Gateway (Ch'ang Men 長門) was the entrance to one of Han Wu Ti's palaces, which came to be known as "Palace of the Long Gateway." "Heirgiver Ch'en" (Ch'en Hou 陳后) had been elevated to a queenly eminence upon the accession of that monarch. Eventually she lost his favor, and was banished from the court to a lonely life at Long Gate. Hearing of Szu-ma Hsiang-ju's 司馬相如 skill with words, she sent the poet a large sum of money to induce him to move the heart of the Thearch on her behalf. The commission was accepted, and the *Ch'ang men fu* was composed.⁵² The poet imagines her, lonely and faded, nostalgic for the good days:

She watches the host of stars in ranked array, oh!
 Net and Mane emerge in the quarter of the east;
 She looks off to the Middle Court, softly moonlit, oh!
 As if by frost that falls in earliest autumn.

(In our century, the constellation Mane [Pleiades; *mao* 昴] appears low in the eastern sky in September and gains height in October, closely followed by Net [Hyades; *pi* 畢]. The ephemerides of Han astronomy must have been somewhat different from ours.)

The light sources alluded to in this *fu* are the stars, the glowing nebulae, the soft moonlight, the frost of autumn. All are also commonly

51) I.e. tousled, as if wind-blown. T'ang Yen-ch'ien (fl. 880), "Yung ying" 詠螢, *CTS*, *han* 10, *ts'e* 5, *ch.* 2, p. 10b.

52) *Han shu* 漢書, *ch.* 97a, pp. 0612a-b; Preface to "Ch'ang men fu" in *Wen hsüan*, *ch.* 16, pp. 327–330.

associated with fireflies in T'ang poetry. Unfortunately Szu-ma Hsiang-ju does not introduce fireflies. But they show themselves regularly at Long Gateway in the poetry of T'ang. For instance, they decorate the scene there in verses by Shen Ch'üan-ch'i 沈佺期 and Li Po; later they dominate the views of the old palace presented in the verses of T'ang Yen-ch'ien and Liu Yü-hsi 劉禹錫. The "Complaint at the Long Gateway" (*Ch'ang men yüan*) by Shen Ch'üan-ch'i is a typical T'ang example:

The moon is candent – the wind sighs softly;
Long Gateway is next to the Annex Court.
On the jade steps I hear the falling leaves;
Through the net-gauze canopy I see the flying fireflies.

The clear dew congeals into a linkage of pearls;
Drifting dust descends on the halcyon screen.
Your handmaiden's heart – my lord has not scrutinized it;
My despondent sighs trouble the profusion of stars.⁵³

This double quatrain is reminiscent of poems written on the popular theme "Complaint at Jade Steps" (*Yü chieh yüan* 玉階怨), notably the classical examples of Hsieh T'iao 謝朓 (464–499) and Li Po. These in turn constitute a sub-class of *yüan shih* 怨詩 "complaint poems" among which are verses bearing titles such as *Pan chieh yüan* 班婕妤怨, *O-mei yüan* 蛾眉怨, *Kung yüan* 宮怨, and the like.

Hsieh T'iao's verses, like those of Shen Ch'üan-ch'i, exhibit – besides the jade steps of the title – the forsaken court lady, the fireflies, the palace setting, and the direct appeal to her lord. Those of Li Po have dewdrops (offspring of the moon, as commonly), jade steps, a curtain of crystal beads – but no fireflies. Perhaps somewhat less known than these two is the contribution of Tu Mu to the genre – although his bears the title "Autumn Evening":

53) Shen Ch'üan-ch'i (?–ca. 713), "Ch'ang men yüan" 長門怨, *CTS, han 2, ts'e 5, ch. 2*, p. 3a. Twenty-one of these (counting pairs, *erh shou* 二首, as one) from the T'ang period are preserved in Kuo Mao-ch'ien 郭茂倩, *Yüeh fu shih chi* 樂府詩集 (1955 ed.), *ch. 42*, under the rubric *Hsiang ho ch'ü tz'u* 相和曲辭, along with two from the Liang, by Liu Yün 柳惲 and Pi Ch'ang 費昶 respectively. The same twenty-one of T'ang date appear also in *CTS, han 1, ts'e 1, ch. 4*. Most of these, although equipped with moon, stars and other celestial lights, lack fireflies.

The silver candle's autumn light cools the painted screen;
 Her little fan of net-gauze buffets drifting fireflies.
 The night color of the Steps to Heaven is as cool as water;
 She sits and watches the stars "Ox Leader" and "Weaving Woman."⁵⁴

A few notes:

1. The silver candle is the moon (cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, V, 1: "These blessed candles of the night," that is, the stars).
2. "Cools" here is a neutral cool (*leng* 冷), as in "a cool appraisal"; in the fourth verse a different word (*liang* 涼) suggests cool as in "cool breeze" – refreshingly pleasant.
3. The "Steps to Heaven" are also the palace steps, which give access to the Son of Heaven.
4. The two celestial lovers; "Ox Leader" is Altair (α Aquilae) and "Weaving Woman" is Vega (α Lyrae). They are separated by the River of Stars, just as the protagonist of this quatrain is separated from her royal lover by his coolness, here made concrete as a "watery" staircase: the steps are magically transformed into a river of stars.

Now let us inspect a version of "Complaint at Long Gateway" written by Li Po himself:

Turning in the sky the Northern Dipper hangs at the Loft-building
 of the North;
 There is no one in the House of Gold – lampyrid fires float by.⁵⁵
 The moon's light will soon reach the Basilica of the Long Gateway;
 There, deep within the palace, she plays out her sole, somber part.

Long melancholic in the Cinnamon Basilica, she does not
 remember spring,

54) Tu Mu, "Ch'iu hsi" 秋夕, *CTS, han 8, ts'e 7, ch. 5*, p. 13a.

55) Note the echo in the houses of gold in verse 6. Yü Hsin 庾信, "Ch'un fu" 春賦, tells of the Golden House of Yin Hou 陰后 (Yin Li-hua 陰麗華) of Hou Han Kuang Wu Ti 後漢光武帝. The term seems to be associated with royal associates. Po Chü-i appears to have exploited this verse in his "Ch'ang hen ko" (*CTS, han 7, ts'e 3, ch. 12*, p. 13a). Early in her career Yang Kuei-fei ruled the House of Gold with her charms, but after her death the sovereign sat alone and weebegone, watching the fireflies. These two images – the golden days and their bitter aftermath – are here compressed into one seven-word line.

[When] four houses of yellow gold rose from the autumn dust.
 The luminous mirror, hung out for the night, rises in the blue sky –
 Alone it shines on the person inside the Palace of the Long Gateway.⁵⁶

Here, not unsurprisingly in a poem by Li Po, the scene is dominated by the moon. This is plainly indicated in the first couplet. In the third that satellite is represented by a hall of Ch'ang-o's palace, furnished with the lunar cinnamon. Facsimiles of such cinnamon halls, equipped with moon doors and the like, were sometimes designed for terrestrial palaces. The fourth couplet shows the moon as mirror – a boudoir image. The Queen of the Moon and the Queen of Han are identical: they share brooding isolation and the absence of love.

In the quatrain that follows, the fireflies are more than just tokens of the autumn scene; they do not serve simply as study aids, nor any other practical end. The poet, Lo Yeh 羅鄴, converts them, as it were, into Christmas tree lights, to decorate the dismal world of Lady Ch'en:

A clear wind at the basilica on the water – its jade door is open;
 A thousand points of volant light are going and coming.
 There is no wind, there is no moon – it is night at Long Gateway;
 They are disposed to come to the front of the steps and bead
 the green moss.⁵⁷

Is the jade door of the basilica (*tien* 殿) open in anticipation of a propitious herald from the purple throne? On such a dark night will the fairy

56) Li Po, "Ch'ang men yüan," *CTS, han 3, ts'e 6, ch. 24*, p. 8a. The cinnamon tree in her garden is a "moon cinnamon," a name now given to *Cinnamomum pedunculatum*, a thin-barked relative of the aromatic cinnamon of commerce *Cinnamomum cassia*. It was first equated with an earthly tree by Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i 陳藏器, *Pen ts'ao shih i* 本草拾遺 (A.D. 739). (Despite its specific name, evidently based on some resemblance to the "cassia," a genus of trees familiar in the American tropics, this is a true cinnamon, not a cassia. The misnomer has been blessed by generations of Old China Hands, and now seems to be gospel among sinologists.) I can find no evidence to cast, as some do, the fragrant *Osmanthus* (*tan kuei* 丹桂) in the role of moon cinnamon. (These tentative conclusions are based on information provided by Ch'en Jung 陳鱣, *Chung kuo shu mu fen lei hsüeh* 中國樹木分類學 [Shanghai, 1957]).

57) Lo Yeh (fl. 877), "Yung ying" 詠螢 (the first of two), *CTS, han 10, ts'e 3*, p. 15b.

lights illuminate the runway for the approach of such a welcome visitor? Another poem suggests that the mission of the fireflies is not to announce reconciliation – it is to console:

The hangings open at Long Gateway – they come to illuminate
the tears.⁵⁸

In the firefly poems so far translated I have used a number of different English words to translate *ying* 影, a dominant concept in them. It is not easy to translate – indeed no single English word will reflect all, or even nearly all, of its connotative facets. Put most simply, *ying* is a *luminous figure* or *image*. Very often it is generated or projected by *cast light*, hence it is a *heliograph* or *photogram*, or, it may be, a shadow or a silhouette. But it also designates *reflections*, which are also *light-produced replicas*. Other equivalents, for use in a variety of contexts, might be a *bright apparition*, a *glowing phantom*, a *ghostly semblance*, a *radiant likeness* or a *portrait* (so in *ying tien* 影殿 “icon hall”), implying a figure with more than natural brilliance, (like a saint or angel surrounded by a glory or mandorla). *Ying* 影 is a close cognate of *ying* 映 “glint, reflect from,” and is also cognate to *ching* 景, which I have defined elsewhere in this way:

This is a word for sky-lights of exceptional luminosity, suggesting a divine signal of particular intensity, normally with auspicious overtones. . . . Cf. “phosphor” as “lucifer,” the conspicuous star of morning. [In Taoism] phosphors have counterparts. The visible phosphors (such as the sun and moon, called “The Two Phosphors” [*erh ching* 二景]) are the “external phosphors,” counterparts of the material concentrations of spiritual energy in the microcosm, the “internal phosphors” (*nei ching* 內景) of the human body.⁵⁹

Ching also implies a glorious spectacle or pageant – even a paradisiacal garden.

58) Liu Yü-hsi 劉禹錫, “Ch’iu ying yin” 秋螢引, *CTS, han* 6, *ts’e* 2, *ch.* 3, pp. 8b–9a.

59) E. H. Schafer, *Mirages on the Sea of Time* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 20.

Ying 影, in short, is a richly connotative word, as difficult to translate as its cousin *ching*. How is a line like the following, from a poem by Li Hsien-yung 李咸用,⁶⁰ to be treated? It might be rendered:

The sounds of hurrying shuttles are profuse – the *bright apparitions*
[*ying* 影] of fireflies are abundant.

But there are other possibilities. In any case, at least two English words seem to be the minimum necessary to suggest the semantic spread of this *ying*.

Frequently a number of luminosities occur ensemble, as in the following octet by Hsü T'ang 許棠, provided with moon, stars, and fireflies, and, in the first quatrain, four images of the moon:

In the "Later Subjection" – the moon at midnight.
High[-skied] autumn – the fullness of white-soul uniform.
The wheel shifts beyond the Transcendent's Palm.
The *luminous image* descends west of the Jade Cord.

Cicadas and birdies – many mistaken [for each other] in flight.
Stars and fireflies – confused with each other on emergence.
Feverish sultriness pauses surprisingly, and ends:
Chanting and enjoying myself, I dread to hear the cockerel.⁶¹

Here are some notes:

1. "Later Subjection" (*hou fu* 後伏) is the period just after the summer solstice, leading to the onset of autumn: the metallic principle which governs autumn is freeing itself from the fiery principle of summer.
2. This refers to the clear, seemingly high skies of autumn. The "white-soul" (*p'o* 魄) of the moon – that is, its illuminated portion – is full.
3. The wheel, as often, is the moon. The Transcendent's Palm (*hsien chang* 仙掌) is a bowl for catching dew fallen from the moon. The name was transferred to two peaks of Hua Shan and other natural semblances.
4. Jade Cord (*yü sheng* 玉繩) consisted of the stars of the Dipper's handle. When pointing west, it identified the season as autumn. Although

⁶⁰ Li Hsien-yung (fl. 873), "Su yü chia" 宿漁家, *CTS*, *han* 10, *ts'e* 2, *ch.* 3, p. 3b.

⁶¹ Hsü T'ang (fl. 862), "P'ei yu jen hsia yeh tui yüeh" 陪友人夏夜對雪, *CTS*, *han* 9, *ts'e* 8, *ch.* 2, p. 10a.

this correspondence was a fact five thousand years ago, the situation was different in T'ang times, but classical lore always took precedence over observation.⁶²

5. Here "birdies" stands for "dicky birds," as that expression is used by modern birdwatchers to refer to small undistinguished birds collectively.

In this poem *luminous image* (*ying* 影) is the shining disk of the moon. In the following quatrain by Wang Wei 王維, a variation on the theme of the deserted court lady, we see rather the luminous images (*ying* 影) of fireflies; but no serious mayhem is done if I substitute here "phosphors," a word I normally use to render *ying*'s cousin *ching* 景:

By jade window firefly *phosphors* pass;
At gold basilica human sounds have ceased.
Autumn night watches over net-gauze curtains;
A solitary lamp flickers, unsnuffed.⁶³

(The lamp, like a captive firefly, is left burning fitfully through the night, mirroring the forlorn hope of Pan Chieh-yü 班婕妤, displaced in the affection of Han Ch'eng Ti 漢成帝 by Chao Fei-yen 趙飛燕. The *keng* 耿 "flicker" of the last line, especially when reduplicated, suggests restlessness or restless sleep.)

Fireflies are akin to the moon and stars – night lights without fire. In appearance, they are white sparks like the stars. Otherwise their association is with water, revealed by the regular occurrence of words like "rain," "dew," "damp," and others, which ally them with the chilly, humid moon.⁶⁴ The same linkages have been observed in western notions about the moon and stars. The London physician Thomas Muffet (1553–1604) wrote of fireflies that the "parts [of the abdomen] that are white do glitter in the dark with a wonderful splendor, representing terrestrial stars: insomuch that they may seem to contend with candle or moon light."⁶⁵ Indeed the affinity is not restricted to fireflies: *all* luminescent

62) Gustave Schlegel, *Uranographie chinoise* (reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1967), p. 503.

63) Wang Wei, "Pan Chieh-yü" 班婕妤, *CTS, han 2, ts'e 8, ch. 4*, p. 5a.

64) For more on this aspect of the moon, see Schafer, *Pacing the Void* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1977), pp. 188–189.

65) Quoted in John Rowland, *The Theatre of Insects* (1658), quoted in turn in Harvey, p. 79.

phenomena have sometimes been styled “lunar,” since they share attributes of the cold, dim light of the goddess Selene-Luna. For instance, plants that glow at night are known as “lunar plants.”⁶⁶ In T’ang the relationship extended, not unnaturally, to the Star River, our Milky Way, as in the following verses by Han Yü:

The Long Ho is a mist dispersed in the clear sky;
The array of *nakshatras* is fireflies scattered in pale dawn glow.⁶⁷

(The Long Ho is the great Ho 河 River in the sky, also called, “Silver Ho,” “Cloudy Ho,” and so on.)

Among the many comparisons made between fireflies and stars in Six Dynasties poetry, we observe a particular analogy with “falling” stars. Fireflies

Swoop through the void – very like the plummeting of stars.⁶⁸

Here is another cluster of meteoric fireflies:

Shed by the trees – very like racing stars.⁶⁹

So it was also in T’ang times, as in the following couplet:

Flying squirrels at roost hug the cold trees;
Streaming fireflies fly to unseen arrow-bamboos.⁷⁰

The words I have translated “plummeting,” “racing,” and especially “streaming” are all regular epithets of meteors, regarded as shooting stars.⁷¹

66) Harvey, pp. 12–13.

67) Han Yü, “Ho Ts’ui she jen yung yüeh, erh shih yün” 和崔舍人詠月二十韻, *CTS, han 5, ts’e 10, ch. 8*, pp. 6a–6b.

68) Hsiao Kang 蕭綱 [Liang Chien wen ti 梁簡文帝] (503–551), “Yung Hsing” 詠星, *Ch’üan Han San kuo Chin Nan pei ch’ao shih* 全漢三國晉南北朝詩, *Ch’üan Liang shih* 全梁詩 (Taipei, 1969), *ch. 2*, p. 926.

69) Shen Hsüan 沈旋 (Liang), *ibid.*, *ch. 12*, p. 1268.

70) Li Chiao 李嶠, “Tsao fa k’u chu kuan” 早發苦竹館, *CTS, han 2, ts’e 1, ch. 1*, p. 3a.

71) Most flying squirrels live in tropical Asia, but the range of the Orange-footed Flying Squirrel, found only in China, extends northward into Hopei. G. H. H. Tate, *Mammals of East Asia* (New York, 1947), p. 246.

A special case of this usage is an extension of the expression “messenger star” (*shih hsing* 使星) to coursing meteors, interpreted as celestial ambassadors and by analogy as envoys of the Son of Heaven to his vassals. Li Ho, the conjurer of apparitions and spectral lights, in a poem full of luminous images – moon, pearl, frosted birds, and other white things – added fireflies to the roster of messenger stars, to produce astral envoys to Ch'eng-tu:

Firefly [or lampyrid] stars – messengers to the Damask Enceinte.⁷²

Here the fireflies have become doubly metaphoric. The poem refers to actual human envoys, who derive their light from the Throne, and travel, so to speak, with the speed of light.

A parcel of firefly attributes and similes are brought together in the following octet by Tu Fu:

Bamboo cool invades outside and in;
The country moon fills courtyard corners.
Heavy dew becomes trickles and drips;
Sparse stars appear and disappear without notice.

Flying from the dark, fireflies light up spontaneously,
Lodging on the water, birds call to each other.
[But] the myriad affairs are involved with buckler and battle-axe.
And I sorrow in vain as the clear night passes away.⁷³

Here, while the whole world is infected with war (line 7), Tu Fu looks for solace among the cool natural lights: bamboos, their birthplace; moon, their analogue; dew, their essence; stars, their cousins. The real stars of the fourth verse appear and disappear in the misted sky, while the organic stars of the fifth verse switch their batteries on and off in synchronic rhythms, as hosts of them are wont to do in the mating season: like calls to like.

72) Li Ho, “Ch'ang ku shih” 昌谷詩, *CTS, han 6, ts'e 7, ch. 3*, p. 11b. “Damask Enceinte” (Chin Ch'eng 錦城) was the popular name for the physical city whose administrative appellation was Ch'eng-tu.

73) Tu Fu, “Chüan yeh” 倦夜, *CTS, han 4, ts'e 3, ch. 12*, pp. 14b–15a.

Finally, fireflies may show as much affinity to metaphorical stars as to real ones:

Autumn has come to the kiosk over the water;
Some places look like barred doors in the cliff.
Playful birds toss leaves on the Kiang;
Swimming turtles are zoned with green duckweed.

Pipes and strings? My heart is only mournful;
Net-gauzes and white damask? My earlocks are star-scattered.
Performances of music are no concern of mine;
At the West Retreat there are still fireflies.⁷⁴

Here the scattering of stars (*hsing hsing* 星星) is set parallel to the enduring fireflies two verses beyond. But the stars are the frosting of age on the writer's temples. (I have borrowed the image "star-scattered" from the last quatrain of Edward Fitzgerald's first version of "The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam." The context is this: "Among the Guests Star-scatter'd on the Grass," where the happy company of friends are gradually disappearing under the onslaught of age and death.) Here, as in the preceding poem, there is a linkage between two kinds of night-lights. The pseudo-stars of the sixth verse are ominous; the real stars of the eighth, parallel to them in position and rhyming exactly, are a symbol of consolation, tending to alleviate or nullify the unattractive promise of their microcosmic equivalents.

Needless to say, the various tropes and figures extracted from the appearance and habits of the firefly appear more exhaustively, and more intricately patterned in sets of two or three or four, in the rhapsodies (*fu*) devoted to them. These begin to appear soon after the Han. An example is the work of Fu Hsien 傅咸, "Rhapsody on the Lampyrid Fire."⁷⁵ It is a short composition, comprising a few arid reflections on the implications of self-generated light. Comparable trite adages are not absent, of course, from even the most complex and word-oriented T'ang

74) Hsü Hun (fl. 844), "Nan t'ing yü shou kung yen chi" 南亭與首公譙集, *CTS, han* 8, *ts'è* 8, *ch.* 3, p. 1a.

75) Fu Hsien (239–294), "Ying huo fu" 螢火賦, *Li tai fu hui* 歷代賦彙 *ch.* 238, pp. 17a–17b.

rhapsodies – tradition demands them. Often these are only pale tokens of mandarin respectability, overlaid with the splendor of a verbal tapestry that is the real purpose and life of the poem. This may be exemplified briefly by a few fragments from a “Rhapsody on the Lampyrid Fire,” by Lo Pin-wang 駱賓王.⁷⁶ It takes the traditional moral tone in part, but also provides a fine pyrotechnical display. Perhaps some enlightened scholar will finally give us a completely explicated English version.

In Lo Pin-wang's tour de force the firefly itself is smothered in a plethora of allusions to classical texts which frequently lack any clear reference to the creature itself and its lore. It is as if a European poet could not refer to a simple action or emotion without substituting a quotation from the Bible or Shakespeare as a clue to his meaning. Lo Pin-wang has, for example, “My heavy silk caftan is not very old” (from *Shih chi*, 79), which must be understood to mean “We have not been friends very long.” In effect, we have a message encoded so craftily that only a pedant can understand it. Sometimes this device produces sequences of tedious redundancies. Sometimes, of course, the poet contrives neat compressions into apparently simple couplets, as in the following, which is a conflation of four quotations from *Chuang tzu*, “Hsiao-yao yu”:

[Small birds] fly bumping into elms, and are cast to the ground;
[The *p'eng*] rises flapping with the typhoon, and hangs in the sky.⁷⁷

The poet, characteristically, loses no opportunity to sermonize. The following is a typical example:

Just so does the lordly man who possesses the TAO:
He does not cheat, even when out of sight in his room.

Occasionally he compares himself to a firefly – not to a real firefly, but a minimal firefly, which can serve as an unconscious image of the conduct of a literate gentleman:

When I descry here the self-illumination of a drifting firefly,
I lament the difficulty of shedding light in an overturned bowl.

76) Lo Pin-wang (fl. 680), “Ying huo fu,” *CTW*, 197, 2a–4b.

77) 搶榆飛而控地，搏扶起而垂天。

This means only that the poet complains that he is unfairly excommunicate, away from the bright sources of prestige and success. He makes the same point again in different language:

I myself, reckless in an enlightened era,
Have long had encounters with incarceration and shackles.

Such clichés as these blot the pages of many self-confident and ambitious young writers. But this long, dense poem also offers a fine selection of words for light in its many guises, as in this sparkling passage:

A net hung with pearls in a punctuated linkage;
A high house of fallen stars glinting from covert.
Now snuffed out, now flaring up;
Perhaps gathered, perhaps scattered.
They stay in uncertain places;
They rehearse irregular games.
Trailing bright apparitions they stream all around,
A tangled riot of swirling lights.
Spangles drifting over pond and fen;
Aimless meandering at forested banks.
They look like sinking scintillas in a well of fire;⁷⁸
They seem to be luminous pearls extruded from the [Sky] Han.⁷⁹

These poetic exercises do not give the last word on medieval fireflies. As evidence of lampyrid bizarrerie in prose we conclude with the story of a firefly masquerade, a sham firefly, a firefly lure, a seductive but sinister firefly:

Once there was a gentleman of Teng-feng, a traveler who rambled about for over ten years. Then he returned to his villa. This villa was in Teng-feng Township. Late one night, before the gentleman had fallen asleep, he was surprised by a starry fire that shot out from under the fence of his compound.

78) A quotation from *Tso Szu*, "Shu tu fu" 蜀都賦; fire wells lead to deposits of gas and oil trapped in salt domes, often associated with sulfur, from which they extract brine. They may be ignited by dropping embers into them.

79) The Han River in the sky is the Milky Way. Luminous (= luminescent) pearls were believed to come from various bodies of water. E.g., *Po hu t'ung* 白虎通, "Feng shan" 封禪: "the sea puts forth luminous pearls."

First it seemed to be a firefly, but bit by bit rays issued from it, and it became as large as a goolail⁸⁰ pellet. As it flew, it lit up all four sides, then gradually descended, wheeling around, coming and going, until it was just over a foot from the gentleman's face. He inspected it closely. Within the light there was a young female, clad in forked hair ornaments, a pink blouse, and a cyan skirt. She tossed her head and spread her tail — her figure was altogether captivating. The gentleman spread his hand, covered and captured her. When he illumined "her," it was rat dung, the size of a "chicken-roost" pod.⁸¹ He broke it open, looked — and there was an insect whose head was red and whose body was blue. He killed it.⁸²

APPENDIX

Fireflies, like all other creatures, had their role in medicine. This is recorded in the oldest surviving pharmacopoeias. The entry in the venerable *Materia Medica* attributed to Shen Nung puts the virtue of the drug most succinctly: "It brightens the eyes."⁸³ This cure is based on the magic of similarity, sometimes called imitative magic: the firefly generates natural light; accordingly it brings light to eyes that could not perceive it. Later recipes are more specific. The T'ang pharmacologist Chen Ch'üan 甄權, for instance, recommends the medicine for "blue blindness," believed to be a kind of amaurosis, in which the eyeballs seem normal, but the optic nerve fails to function.⁸⁴

Just as the firefly medicine brings light into darkness, its cool luminescence may also be used to cure serious burns and to counteract fevers.⁸⁵ But certain preparations yield much more extensive benefits.

80) Anglo-Indian for pellet-bow or stone-bow. See Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive* (London, 1903), p. 386.

81) Honey locust [*Gleditschia chinensis*], a standard anthelmintic.

82) Tuan Ch'eng-shih 段成式, *Yu yang tsa tsu* 酉陽雜俎 (Shanghai, 1900), *ch.* 2, p. 12a.

83) *Shen Nung pen ts'ao ching* 神農本草經, quoted in *PTKM*, 41, 17. T'ao Hung-ching, a few centuries later, states that the insects are prepared by drowning them in wine, then drying them. *Ming i pieh lu* 明醫別錄, quoted in *PTKM*, 41, 17.

84) *Yao hsing pen ts'ao* 藥性本草, quoted in *PTKM*, 41, 18.

85) T'ao Hung-ching, in *PTKM*, 41, 18.

A formula for "lampyrid fire pills," extant in Taoist lore at the end of the T'ang but attributed to a certain Wu-ch'eng Chao 務成昭 of remote antiquity,⁸⁶ was said to be effective for many kinds of ailments. The pills are reported to have contained – in addition to the remains of fireflies – orpiment, realgar, "devil's arrow" (*kuei chien* 鬼箭, *Euonymus alatus*), and caltrop. These ingredients were pounded and heated, after which a number of other reagents were added and the whole mixture molded into pellets, which were then carried on the person in a scarlet bag. In addition to its efficacy in curing a variety of diseases, this preparation was effective against injuries caused by ghosts, tigers and wolves, and the poisons of vipers, bees, scorpions, and the like. It was also a remedy for wounds caused by weapons, and other injuries inflicted by ruffians and bandits.⁸⁷

86) He was reputed to have been the teacher of Shun, and by Taoists came to be regarded as an avatar of Lord Lao. See *T'ai shang lao chün k'ai t'ien ching* 太上老君開天經 (HY 1425), 2, p. 5b.

87) *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien* 雲笈七籤 (HY 1026), 77, 13b–14a.



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THE YEH CHUNG CHI

BY

EDWARD H. SCHAFER

INTRODUCTION

Chinastan and its Inhabitants

The *Yeh chung chi*¹ describes the fabric and furnishings of a royal city of the fourth century A.D. We might say that it was a Chinese city, meaning that it was in "China," that it was built according to "Chinese" conventions, and that it embodied "Chinese" traditions of propriety and cosmology. But such language is equivocal. The people we call "Chinese" and the land we try to identify as "China" are the creations of the minds of foreigners, whose knowledge of both people and land was sketchy. Moreover, the entity, if such it is, styled "China" by western Europeans has other names. It was and is called "Kitai" by many peoples of Asia and Europe, including the Russians, while the Byzantine Greeks knew it as Taugast (ταυγαστ), representing some Altaic name like *Tabghach, rendered into Chinese as *T'ak-bat and *T'uk-pywāt.² There are still others.

The name of the great state of Ch'in is believed to be the original of "China," and indeed some natives of China-land came to know the name Chinastan (*Cinasthāna*) through Buddhist scriptures, in the phonetic guise **Chin-tan*, "where," as Kipling observed, "the dawn comes up like thunder," and similar transcriptions.³ Here I propose to use the name Chinastan, linguistically an exotic curiosity allied to other such vague, traditional names as

¹ "Record of the Entirety of Ngap." I shall use this unpalatalized form of Yeh (*Ngyap) throughout this paper as the true name of the city. *Yeh-chung* has the sense of "all within Ngap," "throughout Ngap," or "the entirety of Ngap." Cf. *Kuo chung*, *Han-chung*, *Min-chung* etc.

² P.A. Boodberg, "Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 4 (1939), 281-283.

³ Sylvain Lévi, "Notes Chinoises sur l'Inde," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 5 (1905), 304-305. Paul Pelliot has expressed his view that the Chinese rendering is not a transcription from Sanskrit, but from Iranian, possibly a form similar to Sogdian *Čynstn*. See his *Notes on Marco Polo*, I (Paris, 1959), article "Cin" (pp. 264-278), esp. p. 271. The whole article, like such other gems as "Cinghis," "Cotton," "Cowries" and "Facfur," is a model of scholarship which no serious student should miss.

"Hindustan" and "Turkestan," to emphasize that I refer to no specific political entity recognized by the real inhabitants of the protean region we think of as "China."⁴

After the Ch'in nation itself had vanished, we find, in place of "man of Ch'in" such expressions as "man of Han," "man of Chin," and "man of T'ang" used in Chinastan to express national identity. Sometimes several such names were current simultaneously. For instance, in the year 945, inhabitants of Chinastan, depending on their residence or allegiance, referred to themselves severally as "men of Chin," "men of Han," "men of Min," "men of Ching-nan," "men of Ch'u," "men of Shu," or "men of T'ang." But none of these persons called themselves "Chinese," since they lacked a word for "China": the concept simply did not exist, except as an alien fiction. But "China" and "Chinastan" continued in use among foreigners to refer to the turbulent subcontinent on which all of these nations rose and fell.

There was, in Chinastan, a persistent dream, an unachieved ideal of an archaic golden age, a remote era when the "subcelestial" (*t'ien hsia*) world enjoyed the universal sway of a "Son of Heaven." This vision was shared by the nations of Chinastan, and many of them bred ambitious conquerors who justified depredations on their neighbors by claiming to restore that glorious condition. The myth reinforces among western historians the concept of a "China"—actually a non-existent chimaera—which was sometimes "divided," sometimes "reunified." This notion is no more illuminating or fruitful than the idea of a Europe that is either divided (as now) or reunited (as it was to some extent under the Hohenstaufen and Habsburg dynasties of the Holy Roman Empire). "China," like "Europe," is a geographical term, and the world has always been fragmented.

The myth of the Platonic integrity of the "Chinese Empire," founded on a number of metaphysical (i.e. linguistic) assumptions, has also given birth to the idea, popular in the west, that names like Wei, Chao, Han and the like are the names of "dynasties." But any Chinese dictionary will correctly identify them as "names of nations [or countries]" (*kuo ming yeh*). This is a very important difference. A dynasty is a powerful lineage. In the Roman Empire we distinguish such dynasties as the Julian, the Flavian, and the Macedonian. In the world of finance we may contemplate the

⁴ Compare "Feudalism is a categorising concept invented to make discourse easier; it never existed in reality and cannot therefore have risen or declined," G.R. Elton, quoted in *Times Literary Supplement*, 2 March 1984.

Rothschild dynasty, the Rockefeller dynasty, and many others. In the Far East (i.e. Chinastan) one of the several nations named Ch'in was ruled by the Fu dynasty; one of a number of Hsia nations was governed by the Ho-lien dynasty, while the early Tabghach dynasty styled its kingdom Tai. From the same buried assumptions springs the myth of Chinese "emperors," with the attendant dilemma of small rival states each ruled by an "emperor," and the artificial problem of trying to identify the "real" one.

In any case, nationality is a transient quality. More permanent and more highly valued in Chinastan was the attribute of cultural superiority, based on a common literary language, generally accepted beliefs about history and morals, and other shared customs. The people we call "Chinese" are the people who shared this heritage, whatever their nationality. They distinguished themselves as the Hua (**ghwā*) or Hsia (**ghā*)—ablaut forms of the same name. The name even appears as a tautological doublet, Hua-Hsia.⁵ Hua people understood the decencies, unlike the non-Hua—rude, unmannered speakers of animalian tongues. In short, the appellation Hwa/Hya denoted ethnicity, as in such phrases as *hsia i tsa chü* "Hsia [ethnic 'Chinese'] and I [non-Hsia] dwell intermingled."

There was another, narrower epithet which discriminated among the Hua on the basis of historical priority and possibly distinguished lineage. A native of the old Hua homeland in the drainage basin of the Yellow River might proudly style himself "a person of the Central Country" (*chung kuo jen*).⁶ The many Hua unlucky enough to have been born in some remote part of Chinastan, Canton for instance, did not qualify for this distinction. An eminent example was the great eighth century minister, Chang Chiu-ling, who lamented the prejudice against him at court based on the fact that he was not a native of Central Hua (*chung hua*), that is, of the old Hua heartland centered in Honan, but was a kind of creole, like a "Frenchman" born in New Orleans.⁷

⁵ Edict of Wen Tsung in CTS, 17b, 24a. I have expatiated on this matter in *The Vermilion Bird* (University of California Press, 1967), p. 7.

⁶ See E.H. Schafer, review of Achilles Fang, *The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms (220-265), Chapters 69-78 from the Tzu chih t'ung chien of Ssu-ma Kuang (1019-1068)* (Harvard-Yenching Institute Series VI, 1952), in *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 12/1 (November, 1952), 74 (bottom)-75, for the typically fatal error caused by rendering *Chung kuo* as "China".

⁷ For details, see *The Vermilion Bird*, p. 45.

As to language, the fourth century picture is not entirely clear. Suffice it to note that there were many "Chinese" languages—not merely dialects—spoken in Chinastan, as there still are. There were also many non-Chinese languages. Of particular interest here is the language of the new ruling class in the north in the fourth century: the rulers of the state of Chao spoke an Altaic tongue apparently allied both to Turkish and Mongol.⁸

In the matter of race, the nations of Chinastan were populated by a variety of racial types, the majority being varieties of Mongoloid,⁹ some, depending on period and locality, exhibiting specific non-Mongoloid traits, presumably the result of contacts with immigrants of various physical sorts, such as Turks, Iranians, Chams and Tibetans, or with autochthones such as the ancient Thai, long-time residents of the Yangtze valley, and the now almost forgotten Ts'uan, Mak and Nung, overwhelmed by the ruthless inroads of the Hua upon their primordial homelands. But none of these peoples can be adequately described in terms of their racial affinities. Their remnants, if any, are now euphemistically styled "minorities," rather than "conquered peoples" or "victims of genocide."

A racial type very unlike that of most inhabitants of Chinastan seems once to have been fairly common in the northern part of that land. It too has, for the most part, been exterminated, or driven far from its ancient home, or absorbed after centuries of dilution with Hua blood. This type, known as "Caucasoid," or "Europoid," was especially prominent in the post-Han period through the tenth century. Many members of this group participated, it seems, in high affairs in the state of Chao in the fourth century, about to be described.

It comes as a surprise to read in a poem of the T'ang period a partial description of a nomad chieftain: "The supreme commander is masked by a yellow beard."¹⁰ The poet places this stalwart, who seems to belong in an Icelandic saga, in the vicinity of Kucha in Serindia, then a Chinese "protectorate." But no clue to his

⁸ P.A. Boodberg's "turco-mongol," for which see his articles originally published in the ephemeral series *Hu T'ien Han Yüeh Fang Chu*, reproduced in *Selected Works of Peter A. Boodberg* (University of California Press, 1979): "Hsien-pei *yam-yu (?)" (pp. 97-99); "T'o-pa Hsien-pei—T'u-chüeh Parallels" (pp. 103-105); "Hsiung-nu Names" (pp. 110-112), and other articles in the series.

⁹ Anthropologists seem still to disagree about the physical characteristics which distinguish the several Mongoloid somatotypes.

¹⁰ Ts'ao Sung, "Se shang hsing," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 11, ts'e 2, ch. 1, p. 3b (Fu-hsing shu-chü ed., Taipei, 1967; second reprint).

ethnic affiliations is provided.¹¹ But other sources for the T'ang and pre-T'ang eras are more revealing. Stone images of the Huns (Hsiung-nu) carved by their own artists, show them heavily bearded or mustached.¹² The color of the hair is, of course, indeterminate, although a T'ang poet provides the following testimony:

The Huns form the advance spearhead—
Long of nose, their yellow hair in curls.¹³

Liu Yüan, founder of the state of "earlier" Chao and, with Shih Le, co-conqueror of Lo-yang in 311, was a Hun. He was said to have been a descendant of Mo Tu,¹⁴ the great Hunnish chieftain of Han times, and is reported to have had a beard more than three feet long, with three fine red strands at its heart.¹⁵

Shih Hu, whose capital is the subject of this study, belonged to a sub-group of the Huns, known as Chieh (**kyet*) "wether", a sobriquet whose relevance has not been definitely determined. When his former adopted son and later enemy Jan Min took Ngap in 349, his troops massacred all the Chieh they could find in the city, identifying them by their high noses and full beards.¹⁶ The color of their hair is not mentioned.

Jan Min was by birth a Hsien-pei (*Särbi).¹⁷ His compatriots had established the nascent state of Yen in the northeast, and he was destined to be the bane of Chao. Many at least of the Särbi themselves were blonds, as we know from an anecdote about Szu-ma Shao (Chin Ming Ti): he rode incognito through a camp of

¹¹ I have photo-transparencies of (1) a red-bearded blue-eyed man making gifts to the Buddha (mural at Bāzāqliq [Qočo], and (2) a bust of a red-haired and -bearded man or spirit (also from Qočo, now in Musée Guimet). The political and linguistic affiliations of both are, of course, indeterminate.

¹² J. Otto Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns: Studies in Their History and Culture* (University of California Press, 1973), pp. 370-375.

¹³ Jung Yü, "K'u tsai hsing," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 4, ts'e 10, p. 2a.

¹⁴ The graphs should be pronounced Mao Tun in Mandarin; there is a tradition that they should be read M.C. **Mék-tét* in this name.

¹⁵ *Chin shu*, 101, 1348a (*K'ai ming* ed.).

¹⁶ *Chin shu*, 107, 1363c.

¹⁷ The Hsien-pei were ruled by the Mu-jung clan. They were perennial rivals of Chao for the hegemony of the north. Their name is probably Altaic, with an original form like *Särbi "belt-hook in the animal style," a feature of the Hsien-pei costume. P.A. Boodberg, "The Hsien-pei Buckle," in "Sino-Altaica III," *Hu T'ien Han Yüeh Fang Chu*, No. 9 (May, 1935), reproduced in *Selected Works of Peter A. Boodberg*, pp. 136-137. "Siberia" may be cognate to *Särbi.

rebels in 324 and was recognized as a Särbi—his mother was of that race—because of his yellow beard.¹⁸ It is not clear, then, just what physical trait distinguished the Särbi from the Hunnish Chieh.

Finally, a people whose important role in the history of Chinastan was not evident until T'ang times, the Kirghiz,¹⁹ sometimes allies of T'ang against the Uighurs, “. . . were all large and tall, with red hair, pure white faces, and green pupils.”²⁰

The Huns and the Fall of Lo-yang

Some justification of the asserted equivalence of the name (Mandarin) Hsiung-nu (M.C. **hyong-nu*, O.C. **h/l/long-na*)²¹ with the various cognates of “Hun” in western Asia and Europe is now required.

The relationship of the nomadic Hsiung-nu who menaced or seemed to menace the northern border of the Han empire to other so-called “Huns” has long been in dispute. (The situation in the north and northwest of Chinastan bore some resemblance to the precarious balance achieved between the Goths and the Romans before the equipoise was sufficiently disturbed to allow Theodoric to establish his kingdom in Italy.) But there is virtually no doubt about the *linguistic* equivalence of the name Hsiung-nu with the familiar one of Hun or Huna. This was demonstrated

¹⁸ *Shih shuo hsin yü*, c, c, 25a. The notion of blond “barbarians” on the northern frontier of Chinastan seems to embarrass some scholars. For instance, the phrase *huang t'ou* “yellow head” in this passage is rendered “brown-bearded” in Mather’s translation. (R.B. Mather, *Shih-shuo hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World* [University of Minnesota Press, 1978]), p. 443. But to an English-speaker “brown” suggests “dark brown,” which excludes the notions of “straw-colored; sandy; carrot-topped, etc.,” all of which fall vaguely within the semantic range of “blond” here represented by “yellow.” Note that *huang* “yellow” is the color of gold, orpiment, apricots and orioles in Chinese. A possible remnant of this ancient population are the tall “Tibetans” of Kam: “On signale des types ‘blonds’ aux yeux bleus au nord-est.” (R.A. Stein, *La Civilisation Tibétaine* [2nd ed., Paris, 1981], p. 9.)

¹⁹ **Ghât-kât-siê* (from something like *Gharkassi).

²⁰ *T'ang shu*, 217b, 10a (*Szu pu pei yao* ed.).

²¹ The O.C. pronunciation **na* (for *nu* “crossbow”) is demonstrated in Jerry Norman and Tsu-lin Mei, “The Austroasiatics in Ancient South China: Some Lexical Evidence,” *Monumenta Serica*, 32 (1976), 293. The hypothetical *-l-* in **h/l/long-na* is based on E.G. Pulleyblank’s identification of Hsiung-nu with Greek *φροῖνοι*, for which see his “The Consonantal System of Old Chinese,” *Asia Major*, 9 (1962), 139. Greek *χοῖνοι* and *Οῖνα* are also attested.

conclusively by W.B. Henning, whose proof relies on a report of the sack of Lo-yang in 311 written by a Sogdian merchant called Nanai-Vandak (he was named for the goddess Nanai). In his letter, which recounts the disaster to a distant colleague, he refers to Chinastan as *cyn* (*Chün*, ultimately from Ch'in), to Yeh (**Ngäp*) as *ngap*, and to the Hsiung-nu as *xwn* (read *Hün*). The latter is clearly related to Khwarezmian *Hün* 𐰽𐰺𐰍 and to Saka (a kind of Iranian spoken at Khotan and elsewhere in Central Asia) *Huna*.²²

The climax of the tale appears in these words, translated from the Sogdian: "And, Sir, the last Emperor—so they say—fled from Saray [Lo-yang] because of the famine. And his fortified residence (palace) and the town was [destroyed]. So Saray (is) no more, ^aNgap^a no more."²³

The momentous story of the fall of Lo-yang, and the profound affect this event had in effecting the metamorphosis of Chinastan and its culture in the glorious middle ages of its history by means of the removal of its center southward to the lower Yangtze watershed, has been told many times.²⁴ Here my aim is only to dramatize some aspects of the tragedy which initiated this revolution with a translation of three quatrains composed by a distinguished writer of the mid-T'ang, Chang Chi.²⁵ He gave them the title "Cursive on the Eternally Well-favored [Era]."²⁶

The yellow-headed Sārbi enter Lo-yang—
Hunnish boys, clutching guisarmes, ascend to the Hall of Light.²⁷

²² W.B. Henning, "The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 12 (1948), 615.

²³ *Ibid.*, 605. Henning's version is incorporated in Arthur Waley, "Lo-yang and its Fall," *The Secret History of the Mongols* (London, 1964), pp. 47-55 (reprinted from *History Today*, April, 1951), without mentioning Henning (pp. 54-55).

²⁴ Standard accounts in *Tzu chih t'ung chien* (Tokyo, 1892), 87, 23a-23b; *Chin shu*, 5, 1089a; 104, 1355b-c.

²⁵ Chang Chi (fl. 765-830) was a successful office-holder in the capital, befriended by Han Yü, and much admired by Po Chü-i. Despite his captious manner, he was much seen in high society, especially in literary circles, and he exchanged poems with such eminent persons as Wang Chien, Chia Tao and Meng Chiao.

²⁶ "Yung chia hsing." The era corresponds to A.D. 307-312. Lo-yang was sacked in the fifth year of the era, 311. The "Cursive" (*hsing*) style of *yüeh fu* is reported to have been set to briskly paced music: animato, vivace, with verve. This use of the word *hsing* has been compared to that in *hsing shu* "cursive script," which runs along with a free, unimpeded movement, hence my rendering.

²⁷ The scene is reminiscent of a picture which once ornamented text-books

The Son of Heaven of the house of Chin has yielded—is made captive;
 Sires and Stewards²⁸ hurry and scurry away, like cattle or sheep.
 On the Purple Pathways²⁹ ensigns and pennants jostle one another blindly;
 The dogs and chickens of one family after another mount their houses to give the alarm.
 Matrons come out of the gates in the train of unruly men-at-arms,
 As their husbands die before their eyes: they dare not lament them.
 The baronry of the Nine Islands³⁰ take instinctively to their own lands:
 There is no one to direct the men-at-arms to come and guard their Lord.³¹
 So the people of the North who evaded the Huns are mostly in the South:
 The people of the South today are still apt in the speech of Chin.³²

of elementary Latin. It shows a company of blond-headed Gauls entering the Roman Senate House, to stare, uncomprehending, at the reverend elders sitting motionless in their marble chairs. "Hunnish" here represents *hu*, which often stands for Hsiung-nu in writing about the past. "Boys" (here *erh*) is the universal and appropriate name for spirited young warriors; cf. *pueri* in the military annals of Rome. A *guisarme* (or "bill") is a combination of a spear (*mao*) and a pick (*ko*); the latter serves both for hacking blows and to hook horsemen from their saddles. The Hall of Light (*Ming t'ang*) is the sacred, astrological hall of the Son of Heaven, where the cosmic calendar is fabricated. Incredibly, the sacred precincts have been defiled by uncivilized louts. The presence of Hsien-pei soldiers may cause surprise, but this was before Chao and Yen were totally committed to mutual conflict; the barbarous (as they must have appeared to the partly sinicized Huns) Hsien-pei were at this time, it appears, freely employed by combatants of various complexions, like Swiss mercenaries in Europe. For instance, it is recorded that 10,000 Särbi cavalry from Liao-hsi fought for one the Chin commanders defending Lo-yang during its last days. *Chin shu*, 104, 1355b.

²⁸ *Kung ch'ing*, grandees of rank and office respectively. For "Sire" see E.H. Schafer, "Two Taoist Bagatelles," *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Chinese Religions*, 9 (Fall, 1981), 16.

²⁹ Poetic for the streets of the capital.

³⁰ *Chiu chou*. The nine habitable regions raised from the primordial flood by the mythical hero Yü, hence the whole of the known antique world, now all of a mythical Chinastan.

³¹ *Chu*, for *jen chu* "The Lord of Men," one of the attributes of the Son of Heaven.

³² For traces of the old language of Lo-yang extant today in the Yangtze region, see Ch'en Yin-ko, "Tung Chin nan ch'ao chih Wu yü," *Kuo-li chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu so*, 7/1 (1936), 1-4. The article tells about the "chanting in the Lo-yang [style]" (*Lo-yang yung*) in the Wu area.

The real theme of this poem, then, is the continuity of language, which perpetuates civilization. Specifically it demonstrates how the old Hua culture, embodied in the Chin nation, survived near-destruction. Its vital essence was its courtly language, still alive in T'ang times. The quiet ending of the poem represents the serene prospect of the germination of a new literary culture, firmly rooted in the old.

Ch'ang-an, the ancient western capital, shortly met Lo-yang's fate. The fall of Ngap, once Ts'ao Ts'ao's princely residence,³³ was brought about by the ascendant Tiger of the Stone Clan, Shih Hu himself. Pastoral nomads and their descendants grazed their horses on the ancient farmlands which extend from the edge of the western desert to the eastern lands watered by the Huai and its net of canals and tributaries. This was the heart of the state of Chin, whose upper classes had fled into the pleasant Yangtze watershed. But this land was not yet tamed and assimilated. The tranquil Eden pictured in later painting and poetry was, in this time of the movement of peoples, still patched with dark forests and their dangerous denizens. Elephants trampled the fields of Huai-nan well into the sixth century,³⁴ and "... between A.D. 404 and 561, there were more than forty aboriginal insurrections in the Hupei-Shensi-Honan-Anhwei belt, north of the Yangtze."³⁵ But the results of this great displacement of population, which seemed calamitous to the Hua people of the Central Country, ultimately brought unanticipated benefits, especially in enriching the language, literature, plastic arts, gardening and religion of the refugees and their progeny. The character of Hua civilization was totally transformed.

The northern state of Chao was the product of a different ferment. It took its name from that of an ancient feudatory, traditionally founded at the beginning of the first millenium B.C., which became conspicuous early in the 5th century B.C. when the eponymous Chin, once powerful, was partitioned among Han, Wei and Chao. The holdings of this proto-Chao had extended from Shansi into Hopei, and formed the traditional geographical basis for the naming of its latter-day successors, founded by the Liu and Shih clans respectively. The last of these Chao, the Chao of Shih Le and Shih Hu, was ethnically mixed. The Hua were probably in the majority; almost certainly there was much inter-

³³ Ts'ao P'i, however, established his thearchy at Lo-yang.

³⁴ *The Vermilion Bird*, p. 224.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

breeding of Hua and Hun and some admixture of Särbi, along with a sprinkling of unspecifiable Manchurian-Korean types, and, according to one source, a quantity of proto-Tibetans, possibly enslaved war-prisoners.³⁶ The customs of the population at large were doubtless quite diversified. Those of the upper class, while in part derived from old Hunnish practices, drew heavily on the precedents, models and codes of the Later Han aristocracy. It appears, from a brief statement in the *Yeh chung chi*, that Hua and Hun mingled freely in the higher levels of society, although certain distinctions were maintained—for instance, Huns, unlike the Hua, were allowed freedom of religion.³⁷

The Reign of Shih Hu

Shih Hu³⁸, byname Chi-lung³⁹, was the nephew of Shih Le, one of the great condottieri who led the assault on Lo-yang in 311. His cousin Shih Hung, Shih Le's son, enjoyed only a year of rule after his father's death. Hu deposed him and took power in 334.⁴⁰ His lords and advisers urged him to assume the title of Illustrious Thearch (*huang ti*). It is recorded that he modestly declined the distinction as appropriate only to a man of utmost virtue; he himself could presume no higher than "Celestial King, *locum tenens*" of Chao.⁴¹ This state was the so-called "later Chao" of the historians, founded by Shih Le. The kingdom comprised most of Chinastan north of the Yangtze. The new era was named "Ex-

³⁶ See the passage from the *Shih i chi* translated in the *Supplement* below, where reference is made to Ch'iang (**k'yang*) servants of unidentifiable status at the palace in Ngap. Relevant texts consistently describe the Ch'iang as nomadic shepherds in the highlands west of Chinastan, ranging from western Szechwan into Kansu.

³⁷ See article No. 63, n. 303 below.

³⁸ Shih Hu was named "Tiger" for the year of his birth, A.D. 294, a tiger year. See P.A. Boodberg, "Chinese Zoographic Names as Chronograms," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 5 (1940), 138. The name also reflects a lord of Chao in antiquity, also called "Tiger," who led successful attacks against the Huai tribes on behalf of the Chou king. See *Shih ching* (Ta ya, Chiang Han).

³⁹ Called "Senior Dragon" because *hu* "tiger" was officially taboo in T'ang texts, including T'ang editions of earlier texts, that being the revered name of an ancestor of the Li dynasty. He was Li Hu, posthumously styled "Grand Forefather" (T'ai tsu) of T'ang. Shih Hu is often referred to as Shih Chi-lung in the literature that has come down to us.

⁴⁰ *Chin shu*, 106, 1360b gives the year as 335. I follow *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 95, 17b.

⁴¹ *Chü she Chao t'ien wang*. *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 95, 17b-18a.

tended Serenity" (*Yen hsi*), its first year corresponding to the ninth year of the Chin reign "Total Concord" (*Hsien ho*).

On New Year's Day of the following year (10 February 335) Hu declared a general amnesty to inaugurate another era, named "Established Militancy" (*Chien wu*).⁴² This year displayed the persistent features of his character and his reign: devotion to public architecture, rigorous treatment of incompetence, and the constant threat of war. The first two are exemplified in the affair of the collapse of the "Platform of the Stork Fowl"⁴³ (*Kuan ch'üeh t'ai*) at Hsiang-kuo, the Chao capital.⁴⁴ Before rebuilding the estrade on a much larger scale, Hu had the chief architect put to death.⁴⁵ This was the usual punishment for state officers who failed in the adequate performance of assigned chores: each bore total responsibility for success or failure. This year, as every year of Shih Hu's reign, was marked by some degree of military activity. Suffice it to mention one ambiguous adventure. The king-regent made a trip to the bank of the Yangtze. This visit of inspection and, presumably, display of the royal presence in which was nominally Chin territory caused consternation at the Chin court in Chien-k'ang on the south bank of the great river. It responded nervously by sending out an unneeded counter-force to make a stand.⁴⁶ In the autumn of the same year Hu moved the capital southward to Ngap,⁴⁷ formerly the seat of Ts'ao Ts'ao's principality. The year 336 saw a flurry of building and tailoring, as Hu, after forming his government, devoted himself to the construction of appropriate quarters and costumes for his officers and for members of the royal family. The work continued on well into 337. The tale, as told in the *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, is translated here. It begins in December, 336:

Hu, the King of Chao, constructed the Basilica of Grand Militancy (*T'ai wu tien*) in Hsiang-kuo, and constructed East and

⁴² This corresponds to the first year of a new reign in Chin, "Total Equanimity" (*Hsien k'ang*).

⁴³ The Black Stork (*Ciconia nigra*), possibly sometimes referring to the white stork as well.

⁴⁴ Hsiang-kuo was north of Ngap. It had been founded by Hsiang Yü in the then state of Chao, in the 3rd century B.C. Later it became Shih Le's capital.

⁴⁵ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 95, 19b.

⁴⁶ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 95, 21a.

⁴⁷ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 95, 19b. For a brief history of Ngap the reader is referred to Murata Jiro, *Chügoku no teito* (Kyoto, 1981), especially pp. 185, 191 (notes), and 186 (archaeological map).

West Palaces at Ngap.⁴⁸ All was completed in the twelfth month.⁴⁹ The foundation of the Basilica of Grand Militancy was twenty-eight feet high, sixty-five paces deep and seventy-five paces broad. The masonry was patterned stone. Subterranean rooms were bored out below and five hundred gentlemen of the guard were installed there. Lacquer was poured on the tiling, and the golden rafter-tips and silvered pillars, the pearled curtains and the walls of jade showed forth a full range of workmanship and the utmost skill. Couches of white jade with tasseled canopies were set forth in the basilica, with golden lotus flowers to crown the tops of the canopies. Nine basilicas were also constructed in back of the Basilica of Evident Solarity (*Hsien yang tien*). The daughters of both gentles and commons were selected to occupy them. They were costumed in pearls and jade, and draped in white damask and crepe — to the number of more than ten thousand persons.

His Palatines (*kung jen*) were instructed in the unriddling of asterisms and pneumas,⁵⁰ and in shooting, both from horseback and afoot. Female Grand Notaries (*T'ai shih*) were installed. In arts, crafts and skills they were just the same as elsewhere.⁵¹ His Shield Roster (*lu po*)⁵² was made up of a thousand equestriennes, all garbed in kerchiefs of purple net, breeches of treated polychrome

⁴⁸ The East Palace was the residence of the Grand Heir Sui; the West Palace was Hu own's own mansion. "Basilica" represents *tien*, a "great ceremonial hall in the imperial palace, or on the grounds of an important temple; locus of royal epiphanies and sacred images." See E.H. Schafer, "The Last Years of Ch'ang-an," *Oriens Extremus*, 10 (1963), 172: "Standardized Architectural Terms." An adequate English equivalent for *wu* is not obvious. "Warlike" or "martial" have been much used, but give the wrong impression—in royal titles and era names at least—that the connotation is "belligerent" or perhaps "soldierly." But the Chinese word has overtones, surviving from very early times, of magic, as expressed in the efficacy of ritual war dances, contrived to attract spiritual forces in support of righteous combat for the preservation of civilization. The epithet, in such titles, suggests not that the ruler led his troops to victory in person, but that his cause was blessed by divine support. "The Ta Wu, a kind of Master of the Pyrrhic Dance, was a Chou official in the Department of Music (Ta Ssu Yüeh), who gave instruction in ceremonial dancing specifically designed to 'influence supernatural beings.' *Chou li*, Tsung-po, 22.32b." (Quoted from E.H. Schafer, "Ritual Exposure in Ancient China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 14 [1951], p. 154.) Both *wu* "shaman" and *wu* "dance" appear to be cognate to *wu* "militancy." "Militancy" is not quite right either, although the definition "Aggressively active in a cause" (*Webster II*), and such usage as "the Church Militant" seem to point in the right direction.

⁴⁹ 18 January to 16 February 337.

⁵⁰ *I.e.* astrology and pneumatomancy.

⁵¹ Lit. "outside."

⁵² Royal cortege, bearing insignia and distinctions. For the earlier version of this passage see *Chin shu*, 106, 1362a, and cf. *Yeh chung chi*, Nos. 15 and 49.

damask, belts of chased gold and silver, and boots woven into five [-colored] patterns. They carried feathered regalia (*yü i*),⁵³ and sounded drums and wind instruments. They formed his retinue when he went on excursions and to fetes. At this time there was a great drought in Chao. A peck of millet was equated with a catty of metal,⁵⁴ and the Hundred Clans⁵⁵ wailed in distress. Even so, Hu employed his men-at-arms unabating, and the hundred corvees were all augmented. He despatched Chang Mi, an officer of the Dentate Gate (*ya men*),⁵⁶ to transfer the bell-stands, the Nine Dragons, Weng Chung,⁵⁷ the bronze camels and the flying screens from Lo-yang to Ngap. They were loaded on carts with four wheels bound with felloes whose ruts were four feet broad and two feet deep. One bell sank in the Ho. He recruited three hundred "float-and-sink men"⁵⁸ who went into the Ho, tied it up with bamboo hawsers and drew it out, using a hundred head of oxen and a windlass. Boats of ten thousand bushels [capacity] were built to make the transit. When they reached Ngap, Hu rejoiced greatly. In consequence of this he amnestied penalties for two years, compensated the Hundred Officers with produce and silks, and bestowed one upward step in rank on the people. Then, acting on the words of Hsieh Fei, Commander Set Over Formulae (*Shang fang ling*),⁵⁹ he had stones cast into the Ho south of Ngap to make a flying bridge.⁶⁰ Expenditure for the enterprise was several thousand myriads, but in the end the bridge remained unfinished. The conscripted men suffered severe hunger, and so it was terminated. He had Commanders and Elders (*ling chang*)⁶¹ take the folk into the mountains and meres to gather acorns and fish to supplement their food. But these in turn were snatched away by the privileged elite, while the folk got nothing at all.⁶²

This passage exhibits characteristic traits of Hu's reign—traits that the abundantly displayed in the *Yeh chung chi*: the handsome buildings, the corps of female technicians and officials, the great drafts of labor to provide energy for ambitious engineering projects.

⁵³ For instance, *i tao*, ceremonial sabres of gilded wood.

⁵⁴ Gold?

⁵⁵ The peasantry; the commons.

⁵⁶ Military headquarters.

⁵⁷ A giant of Ch'in times. His name was attached to various gigantic statues in later ages, such as the pair alluded to here, comparable to Gog and Magog.

⁵⁸ Professional divers.

⁵⁹ The chief artificer.

⁶⁰ Some sort of suspension bridge.

⁶¹ In charge of larger and smaller villages respectively.

⁶² *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 95, 26b-27b; *Chin shu*, 106 1360c-1360d.

Early in 337, Hu formally acceded to the see of Celestial King of Great Chao in the southern suburb of Ngap, pursuant to the institutes "of Yin and Chou," and bestowed on his queen, sur-named Cheng, the title of Illustrious Heirgiver to the Celestial King (*T'ien wang huang hou*).⁶³ This beautiful and talented woman, with whom Shih Hu was obsessed, replaced two earlier first ladies. These unhappy predecessors met their ends, it is reported, through Miss Cheng's manipulations. She was the mother of the ill-fated heir Sui, and she held her own through the whole of Hu's reign, only to fall victim to Jan Min, the ambitious Särbi hetman.⁶⁴

Her story, somewhat romanticized, survived into T'ang times, and became the subject of a poem by Li Ch'i (fl. 742):

"The Ballad of Cherry Cheng"⁶⁵

Zhek, the Junior Dragon,⁶⁶
Embezzled the fortune of Heaven,
Presumed to heroism and authority.⁶⁷

A handsome person of the Cheng clan, her name was
"Cherry"—
Cherry's comely features were fragrant, and lustrous too.
In fairy guise⁶⁸ she attended his repose, unique in the Palace
Annex.

[COURT LADIES]

Three myriads of persons of the Rear Court in stately vest-
ments,⁶⁹
Halcyon browns in clear mirrors⁷⁰—no intimacy with them
allowed;

⁶³ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 95, 9a. The commentary of Hu San-hsing remarks that this title was unknown in antiquity; properly it should have been only Royal Heirgiver (*Wang hou*).

⁶⁴ *Chin shu*, 06, 1360b.

⁶⁵ Li Ch'i, "Cheng Ying-t'ao ko," *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, han 2, ts'e 9, ch. 2, pp. 9b-10a.

⁶⁶ Shih Chi-lung.

⁶⁷ Each stanza below corresponds to a change in rhyme.

⁶⁸ *E-e*; that is, made up like a fairy with rouge and kohl.

⁶⁹ "Stately gowns" translates *chüan i*, substituting for *kun i* "robes of state."

⁷⁰ Probably an allusion to the image of a beautiful woman admiring her face in a mirror, a stereotype of vanity, narcissism and transience; she is sometimes figured as a mythical simurgh (*luan*), as vain as a peacock. Haughty and self-centered, such beauties shun the company of lower mortals.

Equestriennes of the palatine army—a thousand mounts:⁷¹
 A profusion of flowers, adding light to the celestial lights—
 springtime on the River Chang.⁷²

[ARMY LADIES]

Boots perfectly woven, reflected in kerchiefs of pink net.⁷³
 Pink flags tugging and dragging—the Shield Roster renewed!
 Sounding cavalry drums, running courses—joining the flight
 of birds;⁷⁴
 Souging sighs from the Bronze Camels, in the wake of the
 departing dust!⁷⁵

[THE QUEEN'S CHAMBER]

At the double Gate of Phoenix Solarity is the “As You Like
 It” Hostel:⁷⁶
 A hundred-foot golden ladder leans on the Silver Han.⁷⁷
 She says of herself that her wealth and gentility are beyond
 measure;
 Her girls will be princesses, her boys will be kings!
 Fine double mats red-flowered, couches of coral,⁷⁸
 A cup-canopy with coiled dragons, shining with amber.⁷⁹

⁷¹ Cf. *Chin shu*, 106, 1362a.

⁷² A festive display—the glory of a pageant or parade.

⁷³ Cf. *Chin shu*, 106, 1362a; *Yeh chung chi*, Nos. 15 and 49. The *Ch'üan T'ang shih* text of the poem has *hua* “flowers” glossed as *hua* “boots.” in accordance with the original passage in *Chin shu*; possibly it was so written as a deliberate pun to suggest the flowered design in the weaving of the boots, echoing the flowers of the previous verse.

⁷⁴ See *Yeh chung chi*, No. 15.

⁷⁵ See *Yeh chung chi*, No. 19: this was a pair of bronze camels facing each other across the road outside the Gate of Central Solarity (*Chung yang men*). They seem to sigh at the passage of the beautiful troupe. For a sketch of the history of bronze camels in Lo-yang and other cities, with possible Han antecedents, see. E.H. Schafer, “The Camel in China down to the Mongol Dynasty,” *Sinologica*, 2 (1950), 277-279.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Yeh chung chi*, Nos 2 and 3. The Morohashi *Daikanwajiten* defines this as a place where pictures are displayed. Here it seems to refer to the chambers of the queen.

⁷⁷ Meaning uncertain; apparently an image of a richly decorated staircase leading to the great lady's boudoir, figured as the palace of the goddess (i.e. “weaving woman”) who presides over the Han River in the sky.

⁷⁸ That is, decorated with coral.

⁷⁹ See *Yeh chung chi*, Nos. 11 and 29. The *tou chang*, a small baldachin, may have been decorated with the pattern of the stars of the Dipper. “Amber” is a common metaphor for “wine.” See Li Ho, “Chiang chin chiu,” translated in

[REALITY]

Wanton, benighted—in a counterfeit station, detested by the
spirits;
Unaware to the end that the barrows of Zhek would be
obliterated.⁸⁰

[MORTALITY]

The Enceinte of Ngap is mottled dark—the white dew im-
perceptible;⁸¹
The affairs of this world roll over and turn—the yellow
clouds fly.⁸²

338 was a year of war, partly between Shih Hu and aspiring warlords and dissidents, but above all, a struggle with the king's rival Mu-jung Huang, King of the Särbi nation of Yen. This contest was to last through the rest of the Hunnish ruler's life, ending with the fall of Chao.⁸³ In 339, disgusted with the arrogance and luxury of the Chao nobility, "high-born vassals like ferocious tigers" he called them, Hu appointed a certain Li Chü special prosecutor⁸⁴ to suppress corruption and immorality.⁸⁵ Warfare and court intrigues continued through 340 and into 341. The latter year deserved a few special words. Hu built a navy, an astonishing achievement for the descendant of steppe-lords, and put it in charge of Wang Hua, "Commander of Troops to Range the Seas";⁸⁶ and launched a successful raid on the riverine town of

E.H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (University of California Press, 1963), p. 248. In short, the canopy looks like a dipperful of amber-colored wine.

⁸⁰ In her blind arrogance she did not dream that the spiritual power emanating from the tombs of the Kings of Chao could ever be terminated.

⁸¹ The "white dew" falls with the onset of autumn; it betokens cold steel, pallid ghosts, and death; it is also the insidious swelling of *yin*, manifest in the domination of palace women. "Enceinte" represents *ch'eng*, a city wall or a fortified city. Students of military architecture distinguish between an enceinte and an acropolis. The latter occupies a summit.

⁸² The northeast monsoon carrying the dust of the Ordos to deposit as loess on the Chinese plain. So the things of this world, great and small, will be blown away or buried in featureless dust. Also, the Särbi, deadly enemies of the Huns, will wipe out their kingdom.

⁸³ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 96, 1a ff., 5a ff., and in subsequent chapters.

⁸⁴ "Interior Minister in the Secretariat of the Autocrat" (*Tü shih chung chung ch'eng*).

⁸⁵ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 96, 21a.

⁸⁶ *Heng hai Chiang chün*. This was a revival of the title given by Han Wu Ti to his admiral Han Yüeh.

An-p'ing in Yen territory northeast of Hsiang-kuo.⁸⁷ This year was also distinguished by the reception of visitors from the Szechwanese state of Ch'eng (Han).⁸⁸ They were Li Hung, conceivably a member of the ruling family of Ch'eng, and Wang Ku. Upon their return to Szechwan they gave a circumstantial report to Li Shou, their sovereign, declaring:

"In Ngap there is a profusion of every sort of basilica in the palace, all imposing and ravishing." They said further that Hu, King of Chao, directs the lower classes with the penalty of death, and in this way is able to curb and constrain all within his borders.

That winter, Li Shou, who until then had enjoyed a reputation for frugality and benevolence, inaugurated, in imitation of Shih Hu, an extravagant building program and a severe penal code. But the outcome was the opposite of what he had expected — his people became disaffected.⁸⁹

Meanwhile Shih Hu was not idle. Early in 343⁹⁰ he began a new and intensive program of architectural work, to include more than forty belvederes on high platforms,⁹¹ and he drafted plans for palaces at Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, to employ more than 400,000 workmen. He also projected an elevated road from Ngap to Hsiang-kuo.⁹² He liked to go to the sites of new constructions incognito, to spy out the quality of the new building.⁹³ Meanwhile, augmenting the strain on the treasury and the distress of the people, he ordered great conscriptions of soldiers and sailors to fulfil his ambitious dream of invading the state of Chin in the south.⁹⁴ The plan was dropped when, in February of 344, the court astrologer interpreted Shih Hu's failure to hit any of a large flock of white geese which assembled south of the palace horse-course as a sign that the invasion of Chin would be disastrous.⁹⁵ In the winter of the same year the king embarked on another grand engineering venture. This time he projected a bridge over

⁸⁷ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 96, 32a.

⁸⁸ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 96, 32a.

⁸⁹ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 96, 32a-32b.

⁹⁰ The last month of the eighth year of "Established Militancy," most of which corresponds to A.D. 342.

⁹¹ *T'ai kuan*. Cf. *Yeh chung chi*, No. 10.

⁹² *Ko tao*. See *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 5b; *Chin shu*, 106, 1361c.

⁹³ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 6a.

⁹⁴ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 5b-7a.

⁹⁵ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 10b-11a; *Chin shu*, 106, 1361d.

the River Ho at the Ford a Numinous Glory,⁹⁶ but the strength of the current kept washing the stones away. Characteristically, although he discontinued the project, he had the responsible engineers beheaded.⁹⁷

In the year 345, Shih Hu's dream of rebuilding the palaces of the former northern capitals of the Han empire was partially realized. He began the restoration of the vast "Palace without a Center" (*Wei yang kung*) of the Militant Thearch of Han (*Han Wu ti*).⁹⁸ He also conscripted 260,000 men to restore the Lo-yang palace.⁹⁹ The histories, perhaps arbitrarily, assign the creation of vast hunting preserve south of the Ho to this year. It was shaped like a long scalene triangle with its apex at the Ford of Numinous Glory. Its short side extended southwestward from there to Jung-yang, its long side extended eastward to Yang-tu, close to old Lang-yeh (I-chou), while its base connected Jung-yang with Yang-tu.¹⁰⁰

In the summer of 346 Shih Hu was boldly censured by his general Fu Hung¹⁰¹ for his prodigious building frenzies, his expensive collection of wild animals captured to stock his hunting parks, his seizure of hordes of women to ornament his pleasantries and stock his seraglio, the harshness of his punishments, the costliness and ostentation of his furnishings (even ivory chopsticks and jade winecups!), all contrary to traditional morality, which ordained that sovereigns should govern their lives according to the most austere and puritanical precepts, not only as an example to their subjects but magically to maintain the balance of nature. For example, the swelling of the female *yin* auras at court invited such disasters as destructive rainstorms. He recommended finally that his overlord abandon his hunting parks, desist from his babylonian dreams of architectural grandeur, and expel superfluous

⁹⁶ *Ling ch'ang chin*. The ford was south of the capital, upstream from P'u-yang. This was the western terminus of the royal hunting park, which extended far to the east south of the Ho, and into Shantung.

⁹⁷ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 13b; *Chin shu*, 106, 1360d.

⁹⁸ It has not been determined how many attempts to restore this almost legendary palace were made after Han times. Certainly it was essayed in the ninth century by the Militant Ancestor of T'ang (Wu Tsung). See E.H. Schafer, "The Last Years of Ch'ang-an," *Oriens Extremus*, 10 (1963), 135, 165.

⁹⁹ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 26a; *Chin shu*, 106, 1362a.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* Other and apparently lesser hunting parks are referred to in *Yeh chung chi*, Nos. 9, 16-18, 62.

¹⁰¹ This version of the name follows *Chin shu*. *Tzu chih t'ung chien* has P'u Hung.

women from the palace. Hu is reported to have yielded to these counsels only so far as to interrupt the rebuilding of the great palaces of Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang,¹⁰² but perhaps financial considerations had something to do with this concession. The question of endless warfare seems not to have arisen—but this concerned national security and prestige in a hostile world.

Other than the usual stories of warlike adventures, the history of the year 347 is enlivened by reports of the augmentation of the treasury on the one hand and of disbursements from it on the other. Hu had by now amassed great wealth by levies within his own domain, as well as through rich gifts from foreign nations, including his immediate neighbors in Chinastan. Moreover, he did not disdain to plunder the well-furnished tombs of bygone kings.¹⁰³

Among his extravagances was the embellishment of his stables with seven albino deer and sixteen grizzled *lin*.¹⁰⁴ These he hitched to "mushroom cars," which appear to have been carriages with canopies in the form of sacred mushrooms. He displayed these marvellous conveyances at a great court reception.¹⁰⁵

The Heirs of Shih Hu

As Shih Hu's life visibly approached its end, the troublesome question of the succession became urgent. The dynasty had suffered repeated crises over the selection of an heir. Shih Hu was extravagantly fond of his sons, overindulged his favorites among them, suffered agonies from his own follies, and, when he finally recognized that one of his darlings was a beast or a scoundrel, became himself a raging monster. The effects on the stability of

¹⁰² *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 23b-24a; *Chin shu*, 106, 1362b.

¹⁰³ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 31a-31b; *Chin shu*, 107, 1362b.

¹⁰⁴ *Ts'ang lin*, beasts even more numinous than the white (hence numinous) deer. Although it became customary to describe the *lin* as a "unicorn," the *locus classicus* for that variety is the advent of a "one-horned *ch'i-lin*" during the reign of Han Wu Ti. This means only that that particular *ch'i-lin* was distinguished by its single horn, like the one-horned goats which are not uncommon prodigies in our times. It is impossible to determine the identity of Shih Hu's monoceroses, but they could have been a careful selection, from an infinity of farms, of suitable mutants, deserving the title of unicorn. It has been suggested that the word *ch'i-lin* is cognate to *ch'i-lien* "heaven," and referred originally to a heavenly horse. See E.G. Pulleyblank, "Chinese and Indo-Europeans," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1966, p. 34.

¹⁰⁵ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 31b; *Chin shu*, 107, 1362c.

the dynasty and the security of the nation was considerable. In the short sketch which follows no effort will be made to trace these convulsions in detail. I propose, as seems appropriate to a court-centered study of this kind, to note only personalities, passions and particularities.

The first of the princes designated as Hu's successor was Sui, whose elevation took place on 10 February 335, the day of Hu's assumption of the title "Celestial King *locum tenens*." The prince was immediately given the authority of chief executive of the kingdom—in effect, its prime minister.¹⁰⁶ When, early in 337, Hu declared himself "Celestial King" without reservation, he bestowed the unprecedented title of "Illustrious Grand Heir of the Celestial King"¹⁰⁷ upon Sui. Hu loved Sui without reservation, but the prince was a bloodthirsty savage for whom no enormity was impossible. For example, he is reported to have served up the body of a courtesan to his cronies at dinner. Finally, Hu was forced to acknowledge the truth, and had Sui and his friends put to death.¹⁰⁸

The new Grand Heir was Hsüan, elevated in the autumn of 339. He was awarded the additional title of "Great Khan,"¹⁰⁹ and authorized to display the banners of a Son of Heaven.¹¹⁰ Hsüan's career seems to have gone well; he even distinguished himself in battle against the Särbi in 343.¹¹¹ Shih Hu's confidence in his new heir was demonstrated in the late autumn of 347, when he deputed him to perform ritual pilgrimages to the sacred mountains and rivers, a privilege normally reserved to the Son of Heaven himself. To watch the departure, Hu ascended the Belvedere named "Grazing the Depths of Space" (*Ling hsiao kuan*). A great army marched out, bravely accounted and exhibiting the permitted emblems of the Son of Heaven. Hu watched the pageant in great good humor, and exclaimed how like the son was

¹⁰⁶ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 95, 19b.

¹⁰⁷ *T'ien wang huang t'ai tzu*.

¹⁰⁸ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 95, 29a-31a; *Chin shu*, 106, 1360d-1361a.

¹⁰⁹ *Ta Shan-yü*. See useful notes on this title in P.A. Boodberg, "Dayan, Činggis, and Shan-yü," *Hu T'ien Han Yüeh Fang-chu* (in *Selected Works of Peter A. Boodberg*, pp. 88-89). E.G. Pulleyblank reconstructs *shan-yü* as O.C. **dän-hwāh*, representing Hsiung-nu **dārya* or **darywā*, ancestral to Turkish *tarqan/tarxan* and *gayan/xayan*. See E.G. Pulleyblank, "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese," *Asia Major*, 9 (1962), 91.

¹¹⁰ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 96, 17a.

¹¹¹ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 10a.

to the father, adding, "Unless the sky collapses and earth sinks, there can never be gloom again!"¹¹²

But Hsüan was destined to share Sui's ignoble fate. From the extant evidence, the two princes seem to have had disagreeable character traits in common. Moreover, both of them resembled their father, although they evidently lacked that sovereign's curiosity and imagination. Like Hu, Hsüan loved hunting extravagantly. Descriptions of his nocturnal chases survive: these were scenes of baroque delirium, in which a phalanx of courtiers knelt, cheek by jowl, to intercept the panicked game driven towards them. The whole scene was illuminated by the flare of torches.¹¹³ But this was not the kind of killing that brought Hsüan down. He and his brother T'ao were rivals for preferment and royal favor, and tried to outdo each other in magnificence. Already in 347 Hsüan had begun to plot his rival's death.¹¹⁴ He consummated his scheme in the early summer of 348. The story of the murder is told below in *Yeh chung chi*, No. 66.

The savagery of the punishment meted out to Hsüan would be too easily explained by attributing it an uncivilized barbarian. Although it is true that Hu yielded too completely to his passions, especially where members of his own family were concerned, the kind of torment that Hsüan suffered was a commonplace of Chinese judicial practice in all ages. The whole story follows.

Hu's sorrow and rage were all-pervading. He imprisoned Hsüan in a storehouse for mats, and locked his jaw by pushing an iron ring through it. He took the sabre and arrows which had killed T'ao and licked the blood [from them]. His howls of grief convulsed the palace and shook its basilicas. Fo-tu T'eng¹¹⁵ said, "Hsüan and T'ao were both sons of Your Unapproachable Eminence.¹¹⁶ To kill Hsüan on account of T'ao would be to double misfortune. If Your Unapproachable Eminence would apply compassion and clemency, good fortune and blessing will still endure. But if you are bound to have him put to death, Hsüan will be a broom-star¹¹⁷ to descend and sweep out the Palace of Ngap." Hu did not comply. He made a pile of firewood to the north of Ngap and planted a flagstaff¹¹⁸ on

¹¹² *Yeh ch'eng ku shih*, in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 297, 6b; *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 31b-32a.

¹²³ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 32a; *Chin shu*, 107, 1362c.

¹¹⁴ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 32b.

¹¹⁵ *I.e.* Buddha T'eng. See *Yeh chung chi*, Nos. 63 and 65.

¹¹⁶ Representing, somewhat impressionistically, *pi hsia*.

¹¹⁷ Perihelial comet, with a "tail."

¹¹⁸ *Piao*.

its top. At the tip of the flagstaff he set a pulley, with a cord pushed through it. A ladder was leaned on the pile of firewood, and Hsüan was escorted below it. Ho Chih and Liu Pa, eunuchs favored by Hsüan, were made to root out his hair and pull out his tongue. They made him climb the ladder, guided by a rope. Ho Chih strung the cord through his jaw and hoisted him aloft with the pulley. Liu Pa cut off his hands and feet, hacked out his eyes and ripped out his entrails, just like the mutilation of T'ao. They let the fire burn free on all four sides, and the smoke and flames rose to join the sky. Hu with his suite of several thousand persons ranked as "Radiant of Manners"¹¹⁹ or lower had ascended the central platform¹²⁰ to observe this. When the fire was extinguished, they took the ashes and deposited them separately at the crossroads by all the [city] gates. His wife and children were killed—nine persons [in all]. Hsüan's youngest son was just a few years old, and Hu had always loved him. He wept as he embraced him, and desired to reprieve him, but his great vassals did not heed him. Taking him from his very embrace, they killed him. The child gave a great cry, dragging on Hu's garment, so that he broke the girdle. Hu fell ill because of this. Then he removed the Heirgiver, the clanswoman Tu, who was made a commoner, and executed [Hsüan's] Four Marshalls,¹²¹ with their subordinates, three hundred persons, and fifty eunuchs. All were rent apart by carts, and their limbs disjointed and discarded in Chang Water. The Eastern Palace was made a cesspool for the keeping of swine and cattle. More than 10,000 persons, guardsmen of the Eastern Palace, were all degraded to garrison Liang-chou.¹²² Prior to this, Chao Lan had said to Hu, "There will be a catastrophe in the palace;¹²³ it is right that precautions be taken against it." When Hsüan killed T'ao, Hu suspected that he [Chao Lan], although aware of this [earlier], had not informed him, so he had him too executed.¹²⁴

The epilogue to this grim drama was not much happier. After considerable wrangling at court about the choice of a new heir,

¹¹⁹ Chao i, a court lady's title, of ministerial rank, first used in Han times.

¹²⁰ Commentary of Hu San-hsing: the middle of the Three Platforms, named the Platform of the Bronze Peacock.

¹²¹ *Szu shuo*. Hu San-hsing's commentary defines them as the Marshalls of the Left, Right, Fore and Rear. They commanded the household guards of the Heir Designate. Cf. Kao Ch'eng, *Shih wu chi yüan*, under the rubric *Chu shuo*.

¹²² Established by Chao Lan on its western frontier, at the entrance to the desert road. Liang-chou was actually beyond this point, but Chao gave the administrative name to the old town of Chin-ch'eng as a token garrison.

¹²³ "Catastrophe" (Gk. "overturning") for *pien* "radical alteration of the established order."

¹²⁴ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 98, 2b-3a; *Chin shu*, 107, 1362d.

another son, named Shih, was chosen. His mother, an ambitious woman of the Liu clan, had worked hard to realize this elevation. In 349, Shih Hu, now obese and infirm, finally took the title of Illustrious Thearch (*Huang ti*), but he died on 26 May of that year and Shih Shih acceded in due course.¹²⁵ His reign and the reigns of three other sons were as brief as their lives, and in no great time the hated Särbi of Yen terminated the rule of the Shih dynasty and with it the Kingdom of Chao.

The Yeh chung Chi

The *Yeh chung chi* tells about the palace, the king, and his court. It elaborates especially on rich furnishings, ingenious mechanical devices, and talented women, many of whom held positions of responsibility. The book stands in marked contrast to the official histories, which emphasize, rather obsessively, military maneuvers, political and diplomatic intrigues, and horror stories—these last usually treated as the product of the fierce temper and savage soul of Shih Hu, the Celestial King. I have inserted one such unpleasant anecdote into this introduction as an example of the king's poor luck with his chosen successors, but also to illustrate the most familiar aspect of the man, since the *Yeh chung chi*, unlike the "dynastic" histories (properly the "orthodox histories" [*cheng shih*]), reveals little about the great king's personality, other than what may be deduced from his apparent love of splendid surroundings, exciting displays, and extraordinary mechanisms. All of these are readily taken as tokens of barbaric taste, in which the monarch could indulge only by exploiting a civilized Chinese citizenry. But such a deduction is prejudiced. Innumerable aristocrats, courtiers and autocrats of the purest Hua ancestry and training are known to have indulged comparable addictions with as much apparent intemperance.

The *Yeh chung chi* was included in the great manuscript library called "Complete Texts of the Four Treasuries"¹²⁶ (*Szu k'u ch'üan shu*). The first copy of this prodigious collection was completed in 1782 and housed on the palace grounds in a specially constructed building, the "Gallery of the Gulf of Letters" (*Wen yüan ko*). The chief responsibility of the editors was the collation and recension of the best available texts. Among these the best originals were

¹²⁵ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 98, 5b, 8b; *Chin shu*, 107, 1362d-1363a.

¹²⁶ That is, the four conventional classes of literature.

survivors from the venerable prototype, the *Yung lo ta tien*, which had been finished in 1407 but was no longer entire. To supplement these they sought out other works published under court auspices, or found in court collections, as well as fine editions contributed by provincial officials and private libraries.¹²⁷

The *Szu k'u* version of the *Yeh chung chi* is based on what could be found of that book in the extant *Yung lo ta tien*, collated with quotations from it found in the *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi*, *Shuo fu* and the like. The editors take note that there had formerly been two different versions of the *Yeh chung chi*. One of these was in two scrolls. According to the "Study of Canons and Registers" (*Ching chi chih*) of the *Sui shu*, this version was written by Lu Hui, Assistant Instructor to the Nation's Heir (*Kuo tzu chu chiao*) of Chin. The author of the other version, in one scroll, is unknown.¹²⁸ The editors, after the elimination of a few interpolations, have adequately refuted the allegation that the surviving *Yeh chung chi* is a forgery. The present text was assembled in an arrangement which groups articles according to topic. There are sixty-six articles in all, to which has been added a supplement of eight other articles, adjudged to be of value as genuine pre-T'ang materials, although not originally part of Lu Hui's book. The editors chose to save these from oblivion in view of their intrinsic historical value. Only the opening sentences of one of these (No. 71) seem to have some relevance to the restricted purpose of the present study. This is what they say:

The Palace of the Purple Paths (*Tzu mo kung*)¹²⁹ was five *li* northwest of the enceinte of Ling-chang *hsien*.¹³⁰ Shih Hu erected it beside the Bridge of the Purple Paths.

Accordingly I have translated from the photo-reprint of the manuscript text of *Szu k'u ch'üan shu*, published in 1975 by the Commercial press, Shanghai.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Cheuk-woon Taam, *The Development of Chinese Libraries under the Ch'ing Dynasty, 1644-1911* (Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1935), pp. 33-35.

¹²⁸ According to Ch'en Chen-sun (ca.1190-after 1249), [*Chih chai*] *shu-lu chieh-t'i*; see Etienne Balazs and Yves Hervouet, *A Sung Bibliography* (The Chinese University Press, Hong Kong, 1978), p. 198.

¹²⁹ "Purple Paths" is a metaphor for the boulevards of a capital city. Here it refers to Ngap.

¹³⁰ Lin-chang was the administrative seat of a district on the south bank of the Chang River, east of the capital.

¹³¹ I have also taken account of the 1899 reprint of this version, one of 140 selections from the *Szu k'u ch'üan shu* and set in moveable type. This collection

Conventions of Translation

1. A prominent feature of the style of the *Yeh chung chi* is an abundance of sentences without a subject. These are sentences describing acts done by Shih Hu (as the reader can easily infer), or ordered by him or done on his behalf. Transitive sentences of this kind, especially in large numbers, make for awkward and sometimes ambiguous English. To avoid them I have, in many places, arbitrarily altered the syntax in translation, making them either intransitive or passive. Where the text has simply "Built a house . . ." I have resorted to "A house was built . . ." or some similar device, adding, perhaps, "[for Shih Hu]" where such an expedient seems unavoidable.

2. The subject matter of the *Yeh Chung chi* requires a number of approximate synonyms which share the general notion of "putting or raising in an appropriate place." In my translation I have tried to distinguish among these words by suggesting their distinctive connotations, approximately as follows:

- shih* "lay out, set forth, display"
- an* "secure, fix in place (sometimes in a niche or on a pedestal)"
- chien* "establish, set up"
- she* "prepare, arrange, allocate, dispose"
- chih* "place, put"
- li* "erect"

3. *Chang*, a measure of ten Chinese *ch'ih*, has been rendered throughout as "ten feet".

was published in 1774-1795 with the collective title of *Wu ying tien chü chen pan*. I have also consulted a later moveable type edition in the same lineage, printed in the first volume of the *Ku chin shuo pu ts'ung shu* (Kuo-hsüeh fu-lun-she chi, Shanghai, 1910?-1913?). This convenient edition corrects a few errors that occur both in the *Szu-k'u* and *Wu ying tien* editions. A fair number of other versions of the *Yeh chung chi*, of varying quality, may be found in other collectanea, among them *Jung yüan ts'ung shu*, *Ch'ing fen t'ang ts'ung shu*, *Lung ch'i ching she ts'ung shu* and *Tseng ting Han Wei ts'ung shu*.

[*Translation*]

RECORD OF THE ENTIRETY OF NGAP

[Buildings, Hunting Parks and their Furniture]

1. When Shih Chi-lung, up in a watch-tower with the Illustrious Heirgiver, made a Directive (*chao*),¹³² he wrote it on five-colored paper and applied it to the mouth of a phoenix. Once the phoenix had bitten on the Directive, attendants released several thousand feet of stammel¹³³ cord; a pulley turned round, and the phoenix flew down. They called it "The Phoenix Directive." As for the phoenix, it was constructed out of wood and painted with lacquer in five colors, and gold was used for both feet.

2. The Palace of Ngap had three gates in its south face. The western one was the Gate of Phoenix Solarity (*Feng yang men*), 250 feet high. Above were six storeys with recurved eaves, fronting on solarity [*i.e.* south]. Below is opened two [other] gates. Also there were great bronze phoenixes¹³⁴ fixed on its summit, which raised their heads sixteen feet. The window-ports of the gates . . . vermillion pillars and white walls.¹³⁵ This gate was visible from afar, seven or eight *li* before one reached the Enceinte of Ngap.

3. The five-story¹³⁶ loft-building of the Phoenix Solarity Gate went 300 feet from the ground. Two gilded¹³⁷ phoenixes were set there. When Shih Hu was nearing his decline one of them flew into the Chang River. Should the day chance to be fair, it is visible on the water. The other, having been nailed by the foot with an iron nail, is extant even now.¹³⁸

¹³² This *chao* is cognate to *chao* "beckon" and *chao* "summon" it was a direct order, to be distinguished from an encyclical or a statement of policy.

¹³³ Stammel is a coarse red dyed-fabric; the word is used here to approximate *fei*, defined as a bright red processed silk.

¹³⁴ The plural is required by the language of No. 3.

¹³⁵ The *Szu k'u* editor notes that there seems to be a graph missing from this clause.

¹³⁶ No. 6 has "six-storey."

¹³⁷ Or possibly "metal."

¹³⁸ The cognate passage quoted in *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi* has: "The streets within the enceinte of the metropolis of the Grand Forefather of Wei [Ts'ao Ts'ao] had red watch-towers; the western [gate?] in its south face was called the Gate of Phoenix Solarity. Above it were two phoenixes. One flew into Chang Water, while the other remained with its feet tethered by shackles. And old song of the people of Ngap goes, 'South of the Gate of Phoenix Solarity is one

4. At the former Estrade of the Militant One of Wei,¹³⁹ Shih Hu erected a Basilica of Grand Militancy. The window-ports were painted to make clouds and auras conformable to their contours, in imitation of the Buttressed Chamber (*E fang*) [Palace] of Ch'in and the [Basilica of] Numinous Light (*ling kuang*) in Lu,¹⁴⁰ with tassels of birds' pinions dyed to make them pentachromatic, and mats, both single- and double-plaited, of the hearts of rushes.

5. In Shih Hu's Basilica of Grand Militancy, great ribbons were suspended from the beams and pillars, with holy discs (*pi*) of jade sewn to the ribbons.

6. West of Shih Hu's Basilica of Grand Militancy was the Basilica of Flowers of K'un [-lun] (*K'un hua tien*). When the great windows up in the gallery were opened, all were furnished with awnings of orange¹⁴¹ gauze.

7. Behind Shih Hu's Basilica of the Golden Flower (*Chin hua tien*) was the bath-house of Hu's Illustrious Heirgiver. Its three gates were set in a casual arrangement; it had recurved eaves, a bracketing system (*lu pi*) and [figures] "raised from recesses"¹⁴² painted in many colors, engraving, chasing, and sculptured decorations—resplendent and gorgeous. On the eighth day of the fourth month, water from the jaws of nine dragons bathed a statue of the Grand Heir. Moreover, when water from the aqueduct in front of the Basilica of Grand Militancy gushed into the bath, a grating of bronze grillework was first fixed in the aqueduct; behind it kudzu was used, and behind that sand was employed—six or seven paces apart—to interrupt the water.¹⁴³ Further, jade basins, which received ten *hu*¹⁴⁴, were secured there, and also bronze turtles were fixed there to drink the dirty water. After the latter had emerged, it went on into the mansions of the princesses. The aqueduct then passed out to the east from the

half of heaven; above there is a gold phoenix flying and crying out to it. It desires to leave but does not leave—tethered by the fetters it wears." Evidently Shih Hu copied Ts'ao Ts'ao's gate in Ngap, or restored it.

¹³⁹ Wei Wu Ti = Ts'ao Ts'ao.

¹⁴⁰ So called because built near Ch'ü-fu by a son of Han Ming Ti.

¹⁴¹ *Chiang*, originally a pigment made of rouge and gambodge, hence a yellowish red, scarlet or pyrrhous color.

¹⁴² *Lu* corresponds to the more usual *tou kung*. The sense of *pi* here is obscure; it is said to be interchangeable with *p'ing*, in the sense of plate or plank. "Raised from recesses" (*yin ch'ü*) is a technical term in the decorative arts and architecture; it appears to mean high relief carving, analogous to cameo. Cf. *Supplement* below.

¹⁴³ Evidently a filtering system.

¹⁴⁴ Often translated "bushel."

Gate of Established Spring (*Chien ch'un men*). Moreover, above the Heirgiver's bathing pool behind the Basilica of Manifest Solarity, a stone house was constructed, and water from the aqueduct outside spouted into the house. Overlooking the pool from above there was a stone couch.¹⁴⁵

8. Shih Hu painted the wall [of a building] with a mixture of "western powder" (*hu fen*)¹⁴⁶ and fagara (*chiao*),¹⁴⁷ and called it "Fagara Chamber."

9. In the Hunting Park of Mulberries and Catalpas (*Sang tzu yüan*),¹⁴⁸ three *li* west of the Enceinte of Ngap, was a palace looking out over Chang Water.¹⁴⁹ In all such palaces¹⁵⁰ were Ladies (*fu-jen*)¹⁵¹ and attendant slave-women. Moreover, each of them had hunting preserves and recreational parks, where they kept river-deer (*chang*),¹⁵² pheasants and hares. Hu frequently took his ease and banqueted in them.

10. Within the two hundred *li* between Hsiang-kuo and Ngap there was one palace every forty *li*, with one Lady, several tens of attendant slave-women, and Overnight Guards of the Yellow

¹⁴⁵ The section "Further, above . . . stone couch" is translated, with some slight differences, in E.H. Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs in Ancient and Medieval China and the History of the Floriate Clear Palace," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 76 (1956), 72.

¹⁴⁶ "Western powder" is ceruse—that is, lead carbonate, also called "white lead." The Chinese name indicates its similarity to rice powder, an older ladies' cosmetic which ceruse replaced in fashion because of its higher gloss. Originally it had been imported from Iranian and other western people (*hu*). See E.H. Schafer, "The Early history of Lead Pigments and Cosmetics in China," *T'oung pao*, 44 (1956), 431-432.

¹⁴⁷ Fagara (*Zanthoxylum simulans*) has the popular English name of "Szechwan pepper." It was believed that the condiment magically warmed the air, dispelled evil vapors, and ensured fertility.

¹⁴⁸ "Mulberry and catalpa" symbolized one's mother and father (presumably metonymy for "sericulture and carpentry," the work of women and men respectively), hence one's native place.

¹⁴⁹ The Chang River had two sources in Shansi, the Muddy Chang and the Clear Chang. These joined in Honan, and the Chang then flowed in a more or less northeasterly direction, roughly parallel to the Ho, up through Hopei. The Enceinte of Ngap was built in a loop of the river, which flowed just to the north of it, hence the city's other name "Overlooking the Ngap" (Lin-chang).

¹⁵⁰ The language here suggests that this was one of a series of articles about the various hunting parks of Shih Hu which were grouped together in the original *Yeh chung chi*.

¹⁵¹ Title of a court lady of considerable status.

¹⁵² *Hydropotes inermis*, a tiny deer that lives among the brushes and low brush along fresh water shores.

Gate.¹⁵³ Wherever Shih Hu descended from the royal chaise (*nien*),¹⁵⁴ there they stopped. The basilicas with their estrades and the travelling palaces (*hsing kung*)¹⁵⁵ raised by him both within [Ngap] and without, great and small, numbered forty-four places altogether.

11. The Three Estrades "Bronze Peacock,"¹⁵⁶ "Gold Phoenix," and "Ice Pits" were all situated at the northwest corner of the north wall of the Metropolis of Ngap, so that the city wall formed its foundation and footing. In the fifteenth year of Established Security (*Chien an*) [A.D. 210] the Estrade of the Bronze Peacock was completed. Ts'ao Ts'ao climbed the loft-building with his sons, and had each compose a rhapsody (*fu*).¹⁵⁷ [Ts'ao] Chih, the Prince of Ch'en Szu, plying his brush, brought it off instantly.¹⁵⁸ The Estrade of the Gold Phoenix had previously been named "Gold Tiger,"¹⁵⁹ but when we come to the [rule of the] Shih clan, this was changed to its present name. The Estrade of the Ice Pits was in fact a refrigeration house. Gold Tiger and Ice Pits were both erected in the eighteenth year of Established Security [A.D.

¹⁵³ This elite household troop was styled "overnight" (*su*) because it was privileged to remain within the palace walls after the court and other visitors had withdrawn. The "Yellow Gate" was the private entrance to the palace. The guards were responsible for the safety of the Son of Heaven and other residents of his palace.

¹⁵⁴ A light carriage—a kind of horse-drawn rickshaw—normally used by the Son of Heaven since Han times.

¹⁵⁵ A temporary residence for the use of the sovereign and his entourage when on a journey or excursion.

¹⁵⁶ "Peacock" represents *ch'üeh* of this text, which is interchangeable with *ch'üeh* (apparently once "crested bird," but by medieval time already referring to any small and undistinguished bird); both are M.C. **tsyak*. In this name it has been glossed "phoenix" (*jeng-huang*), but is almost certainly an abbreviation of *k'ung ch'üeh* "peacock."

¹⁵⁷ After Ts'ao Ts'ao's death, his favorite geisha performed memorial services for him at this platform, looking off toward his tomb at Ngap. This celebrated structure became a popular theme among poets in later times, using the *yüeh fu* forms *T'ung ch'üeh t'ai*, *T'ung ch'üeh yüan*, and *T'ung ch'üeh chi*. See E.H. Schafer, "Notes on T'ang Geisha, 2: The Masks and Arts of T'ang Courtesans," *Schafer Sinological Papers*, 4 (3 March 1984), 9-10.

¹⁵⁸ This was his "Rhapsody on Climbing the Platform" (*Teng t'ai fu*), written in his nineteenth year. The magnificence of the building, and the grand view it provided of the River Chang, the prosperous plantations, congenial breezes and the singing of a multitude of birds, all served to illustrate the glory of the Ts'ao dynasty. See Ting Yen, *Ts'ao chi ch'üan p'ing* (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1933), 2, 14.

¹⁵⁹ The name "Golden Tiger" is confirmed as the original one in *San kuo chih* (Wei chih) (*K'ai ming* ed.), 1, 0920c, for A.D. 213.

213]. The Estrade of the Bronze Peacock was a hundred feet high, with 120 units (*chien*)¹⁶⁰ of housing all around, covering the upper part completely. The Estrade of the Gold Tiger had 130 units of housing. The Estrade of the Ice Pits had three ice houses, all of which communicated with the Basilica of Coolth (*Liang tien*) by galleried ways.¹⁶¹ The Three Estrades rose high aloft: it was said of their height that they were like mountains. Coming down to the Three Estrades of Shih Hu of Later Chao, he increased their loftiness and ornamentation even beyond what they had been in Wei. Earlier he had raised a five-storied loft-building upon the Estrade of the Bronze Peacock; its gallery was 370 feet from the ground, with 120 chambers of basilican housing all around. Within the chambers were Female Supervisors (*nü chien*) and Female Artists (*nü chi*).¹⁶² The Three Estrades faced each other, and each had a main basilica, up in¹⁶³ which was secured a Couch of the Autocrat,¹⁶⁴ decked out with the polychrome damasks of Shu, tassels, and a cup-shaped canopy.¹⁶⁵ On its four corners were placed golden dragons, whose heads bit on pentachromatic tassels. They also secured couches with windscreens there, with shackles and clasps of gold.¹⁶⁶ Above the couch were thirty low-born women on [overnight] duty,¹⁶⁷ and below the couch were

¹⁶⁰ A measure of the size of buildings, probably the space between two supports, hence structural units. Cf. the "120 chambers" below.

¹⁶¹ A galleried way (*ko tao*) had a covered walkway raised above the ground. The Basilica of Coolth was a retreat from summer heat. See Murata, *Chügoku no teito*, p. 186, for the location of these three structures.

¹⁶² Usually singers and dancers, but at Shih Hu's eccentric court, their mastery of other arts may be assumed. Cf. n. 182 below.

¹⁶³ Great halls were always elevated above ground level, hence one ascended them, rather than "entering them."

¹⁶⁴ "Autocrat", more exactly "(one who) holds the reins metaphorically The Charioteer of State, is *yü*. The word was still alive in its primary sense through historic times, while simultaneously used to figure the unique powers and attributes of the Son of Heaven, that great aurigator and habenifer. Cf. our "governor" from *κυβερνήτης* "helmsman," referring to the director of the Ship of State.

¹⁶⁵ A small baldachin, literally a "dipper canopy" (*tou chang*). This passage is repeated in No. 29; compare also Li Ch'is poem on "Miss Cherry" above.

¹⁶⁶ *Chin niu ch'ü-hsü*. A *niu* is a fixed loop, staple or shackle, to which the other part of the device (*ch'ü-hsü*), a ring, hook or hasp for instance, may be attached. Cf. No. 33.

¹⁶⁷ Here the text has *hsi chih nü*, which does not permit an unquestionably "correct" translation. I propose an emendation to *chih hsi nü*, assuming metathesis. The word *hsi*, used of people, means "humble, lowly," as in *Chin shu*, 186a, 3564c, which tells of a Turkish chief who had a lowborn (*hsi*) slave-

thirty. All of this population of geisha (*chi*) assumed their places on feast days. Further, two pits were pierced in the Estrade of the Bronze Peacock, and [under-]ground ways (*ti tao*) were constructed with iron beams to provide access to the pits. These were called "Burrows for Lesser Commands [?]" (*ming tzu k'u*). An abundance of valuables, treasures, food and drink was but in the pits for the delectation of visitors from the bulwark [-settlements] (*fan*);¹⁶⁸ they were styled "The Pits of the Paragon" (*sheng ching*).¹⁶⁹ A Loft-building of the Bronze Peacock was also constructed. It stood fifteen feet high at its crown and extended its wings as if to fly. To the south was the Estrade of the Gold Phoenix, with 109 housing units. They placed a golden phoenix on the summit of the estrade, hence the name. To the north was the Estrade of the Ice Pits, with 140 housing units. On it were ice buildings, and the buildings had a number of pits. The pits were 150 feet deep, and they stored ice and "stone carbon."¹⁷⁰ The stone carbon is suitable for writing. Moreover, if you burn it, it is consumed only with difficulty.¹⁷¹ It is also referred to as "stone charcoal." They also stored grain (*su*)¹⁷² and salt in them to prepare against the unforeseen. Inscriptions on stone still survive above the storage pits. The Three Estrades were [built] of brick masonry, each sixty paces

woman, skilled at song and dance." The *chih* of this expression is equivalent to *chih* "on [overnight] duty." (Cf. *Chih wei* as the equivalent of *su wei*.)

¹⁶⁸ Settlements, military colonies or dependencies along the frontier, responsible for watch and ward against nomadic raids.

¹⁶⁹ That is, the treasure stores of the sovereign.

¹⁷⁰ Compare No. 29. "Stone carbon" (*shih mo*) is coal. The only meaning given in *Mathews* for this phrase is "graphite," irrelevant here. A letter written by Lu Yün (A.D. 262-303) to his elder brother confirms that Ts'ao Ts'ao's original Estrade of the Ice pits was also used for storing coal. See his "Yü hsiung P'ing-yüan shu" in *Lu Ch'ing-ho chi* (*Han Wei liu ch'ao po san chia chi* [*Hsin-hsing shu=chü*], 1960), p. 53a. The authoritative medieval source on Chinese ink, the *Mo ching* of Ch'ao Chi-i (11 cent.) states as follows: "In antiquity they used two varieties, 'pine smoke' [i.e. soot] and 'stone carbon.' Stone carbon has not been heard of [used as a black pigment] since Chin and Wei, but the manufacture of pine smoke still goes on." (*Mo ching* ed. of T'ang Sung ts'ung shu, p. 1a.) The long-continued burning of the pine forests of China to supply ink for this paper-using society led to the early deforestation of most of the north, and by the eleventh century the greater part of the pine woods of Kiangnan, south of the Yangtze, had already been felled to maintain the Sung bureaucracy. See E.H. Schafer, "The Conservation of Nature under the T'ang Dynasty," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 5 (1962), 299-300.

¹⁷¹ That is, it lasts longer than wood.

¹⁷² The word is used particularly of Italian millet (*Setaria* sp.).

from the other. Above were constructed galleried ways, connected like floating bridges with golden clasps, and painted with the contours of clouds, auras, dragons and tigers. When these were deployed, the Three Estrades were in communication with each other; when disengaged, they hung down separated.¹⁷³

12. Shih Chi-lung stored ice in the Estrade of the Ice Pits. In the month of the Three Submissions (*san fu*)¹⁷⁴ he bestowed ice from them on his great vassals.

13. The western estrade¹⁷⁵ was 670 feet high. Bronze phoenix windows were constructed high up in it, all with gratings of bronze grillework,¹⁷⁶ and awnings of "cloud mother" (*yün mu*).¹⁷⁷ When the sun made its appearance its streaming light projected asteroidal radiance [through them].

14. The Estrade for Cooling Horses was thirty feet high and five hundred paces around the perimeter. It was built by Shih Hu of Later Chao. In the prime¹⁷⁸ year of Established Militancy [A.D. 335] when Hu made Ngap his chief city, he washed his horses in Huan Water.¹⁷⁹ When he built this estrade for cooling his horses, it is said that he named it for that reason.

15. In the prime¹⁸⁰ year of Established Militancy, Hu, King of Chao, fashioned the Estrade for Cooling Horses. It was located west of the enceinte, and south of Chang Water. Hu regularly selected and dressed his horsemen and footmen in this estrade: the Household Guards of the Tiger Fangs, the Prancing [graph missing] of the Serpent Clouds, and the Cavalry of Black Lances, five thousand persons. On the new moon [first day] of each

¹⁷³ This article was excerpted from the *Ho shuo fang ku chi* of Na Hsin (Yüan period), whose book is based on a northward journey in search of antiquities made in A.D. 1343; it survives only in part.

¹⁷⁴ In *yin-yang* theory these were the three decads, amounting to a month, at the height of the summer heat, when the cosmic phase of Fire had completely subjected the cold phase of Metal. They were marked by the third and fourth *keng*-days after the summer solstice and the first *keng*-day after the onset of autumn.

¹⁷⁵ This "estrade" may have been the platform of a gate tower, specifically the Gate of Phoenix Solarity in the palace wall. Cf. No. 2.

¹⁷⁶ These "gratings" (*shu*) were lattices, but in No. 7 they were filters.

¹⁷⁷ That is, mica. For the name, see E.H. Schafer, "Notes on Mica in Medieval China," *T'oung pao*, 43 (1965), 265-266.

¹⁷⁸ The text has "sixth year," here emended to "prime year" on the basis of the similarity of the graphs for *liu* and *yüan*.

¹⁷⁹ The Huan was south of the Chang, and flowed approximately parallel to it towards the east. An-yang was just south of it.

¹⁸⁰ Again emending *liu* to *yüan*.

month he watched and inspected the horses at this estrade. Then, south of Chang Water, they spread the ensigns, sounded the drums, and paraded the cavalry—a network of stars. Hu then ascended the estrade and shot. At the projection of a single whistle-headed arrow five thousand horsemen dashed away simultaneously, and ran abreast from south of Chang Water all the way to the bottom of the estrade. The troop, from its captain on down, formed ranks for awards. Hu then shot a single arrow, and the five thousand horsemen ran abreast to the north of Chang Water. These five thousand horsemen streamed out in all directions, then pressed together into a cluster, seeming to be several myriads of men. All of them went about their business with lacquered lances, and for this reason took “Black Lances” as their appellation. Moreover, Chi-lung regularly¹⁸¹ employed a thousand female technicians for his Shield Roster.¹⁸² All of them wore kerchiefs of purple netting, breeches of treated polychrome damask, belts of chased gold and silver, and boots woven into patterns of five [colors] in their promenades up on the estrade.

16. In the fifth month Shih Hu sent out a myriad of people from 500 villages to build the Park of [Flower] Forest (*Hua lin yüan*).¹⁸³ Its walls, several tens of *li* in circumference, were located west of the palace.¹⁸⁴ Some of the Congregation of Vassals (*ch'ün ch'en*)¹⁸⁵ remonstrated but Hu did not comply. With the arrival of the eighth month, there was violent precipitation from the skies, with snow to the depth of three feet. Several thousand workmen froze to death. The Grand Notary reported that because the work and required service were unseasonable, Heaven had sent down this calamity. Hu had Chu Kuei, Presiding Bibliognost of the Division of Households,¹⁸⁶ put to death in order to avert the celestial catastrophe.

¹⁸¹ Reading *ch'ang* “once” as *ch'ang* “regular.”

¹⁸² Cf. No. 49, in which there is a female “shield roster,” similarly garbed, which attended on the Illustrious Heirgiver. As elsewhere *chi* “technician; artist” may also imply “geisha”, a specialist in a number of arts.

¹⁸³ The *hua* is missing from the *Szu k'u* edition.

¹⁸⁴ The standard histories record that 160,000 men and women, and 100,000 cars were conscripted for this work, and that the park was a long walled enclosure north of Ngap. This is not a contradiction since the direction depends on the location of the palace. *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 31b; *Chin shu*, 107, 1362c.

¹⁸⁵ The magnates, male and female, assembled at court.

¹⁸⁶ *Hu pu shang shu*, in charge of the census, taxation and other levies. (The *Szu-k'u* edition has *ch'i* “rise,” here emended to *hu* “household.”) Cf. Nos. 17, 44, 45.

17. The Park of Flower Forest was two *li* east of the Enceinte of Ngap.¹⁸⁷ Shih Hu commissioned Chang Ch'ün, Presiding Bibliognost,¹⁸⁸ to remove 160,000 persons, both male and female, from nearby counties,¹⁸⁹ to transport earth for the building of the Park of Flower Forest. The circuit of its perimeter was several tens of *li*. They also built a wall, several tens of *li* long. Chang Ch'ün lit up the night for the work,¹⁹⁰ and raised three belvederes [i.e. watch-towers] and four gateways. He also tunnelled under the north of the Enceinte, and brought the Chang Water into the Garden¹⁹¹ of Flower Forest. Inside the garden he planted a multitude of fruits. As there were renowned fruit-trees among the populace, Hu constructed a "frog cart" with a box ten feet broad and ten feet deep.¹⁹² It dug them up by the roots with a quadruple grapple, the faces ten feet apart, loaded them with the earth still adhering, and so planted them; none failed to grow.

18. Within the Garden of Flower Forest, up on the Embankment of a Thousand Moidores (*Ch'ien chin t'i*) a pair of dragons were constructed, spitting water towards each other. This in turn poured into the Pool of the Celestial Font, to pass on into the Autocrat's Aqueduct. On the third day of the third month¹⁹³ Shih Chi-lung and his Illustrious Heirgiver, with the Hundred Officials, feasted and enjoyed themselves as they looked out over the water.

¹⁸⁷ Note No. 16, which says that the park was west of the palace. If both these statements are true, it would appear that the palace was beyond the park and further to the east of the city.

¹⁸⁸ Presumably of the Division of Households.

¹⁸⁹ Here translating *chün*.

¹⁹⁰ He kept his gangs at work night and day by nocturnal illumination.

¹⁹¹ Here we have *yüan* "garden" instead of *yüan* "hunting park"; evidently the text is now referring to a subdivision of the park.

¹⁹² This is apparently a kind of dredge or excavator used for moving quantities of earth. Frog is *ha-ma*; the "box" was presumably the equivalent of a scoop; "cart" often represents a mobile machine or engine. Compare the "great frog cart" used for military works or to fill moats; see *Nan shih*, 39, 2640c; "it was covered with cowhide, and 300 men propelled it."

¹⁹³ Previously held on the first "snake" (*szu*) day of the third month. Accordingly that day was known as "Upper Ophidian" (*shang szu*), but after the third century this name was transferred to the third of the third. In antiquity, this was the day of the Great Purging, called *ch'i*, *chieh*, or *hsi*, a traditional rite of lustration by the waterside, when the sins of the nation were washed away. This passage from *Yeh chung chi* is paraphrased in E.H. Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs in Ancient and Medieval China and the History of the Floriate Clear Palace," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 76 (1956), 68-69 with accompanying notes and comments. The ancient asperging rite had already taken on the character of a popular holiday. See No. 37 below.

[Historical Monuments and Relics]

19. Two bronze camels, shaped liked horses ten feet long and ten feet high, with legs like cows' tails three feet long and backs like horses' saddles,¹⁹⁴ were located outside the Central Solarity Gate¹⁹⁵ facing each other from opposite sides of the road.

20. [There were] four bronze bells, like tongued signal-balls (*to*), twenty eight feet high, their greater faces twelve feet broad and lesser faces seven feet broad, some made with krakens and dragons, some made with birds and beasts, winding around on top of them.¹⁹⁶

[Furnishings for Audiences, Receptions and Entertainments]

21. When Shih Hu held a formal assembly in his Formal Basilica (*Cheng tien*),¹⁹⁷ he looked down from a balcony, facing south, with a tasseled canopy. In everything he mimicked, usurpation, the Regulations and Proprieties.¹⁹⁸ He was punctilious as to prescribed costume; hatted with a "Passage to Heaven,"¹⁹⁹ a jade signet at his girdle, and a sombre dress with pink (*hsün*)²⁰⁰ skirt and depictions of sun and moon, fire dragons, fretted patterns,²⁰¹ "ornate creatures" (*hua ch'ung*),²⁰² and powdered grain.²⁰³ Then he would change into carriage costume. He donned a "Wandering Afar Hat";²⁰⁴ a Universal Mountain of gold was set

¹⁹⁴ That is, with a hump before and behind; a Bactrian. Presumably these were the famous camels of Lo-yang, which had been transported to Ngap. See "The Reign of Shih Hu" above.

¹⁹⁵ The south wall of the palace was penetrated by three gates, See No. 2 for the western one.

¹⁹⁶ Probably, like the camels, brought from Lo-yang.

¹⁹⁷ Doubtless the Basilica for Formal Assemblies of the immediately following articles.

¹⁹⁸ He adopted the strict ritual appropriate to a Son of Heaven—from the point of view of the author, who recognized the Chin sovereign as true Son of Heaven, this amounted to imposture.

¹⁹⁹ A "Passage to heaven Hat" (*t'ung t'ien kuan*) was worn by a sovereign when riding abroad in a carriage or palanquin.

²⁰⁰ Defined as "pale orange/scarlet"; possibly a light peach color.

²⁰¹ M.C. **pyu-pywēt*, an abstract design of archaic lineage. See *Tso chuan*, Huan 2: "Fire dragons with fretted patterns illuminated its design."

²⁰² Traditionally glossed as "pheasants."

²⁰³ That is, white speckling.

²⁰⁴ Old glosses state that this was worn by sovereign and baronry alike. Both of the two hats are well described in standard sources.

before him,²⁰⁵ and his costume was wrapped in cicada-wing cinabar gauze.²⁰⁶ When day broke in the sky,²⁰⁷ he performed the rite. The lords held their batons, the stewards held their lambs, the grandees held their wild geese, the knights held their pheasants—entirely as in former ritual.²⁰⁸ The cars and their horses that filled the courtyard, [among them] the “Gold Root” (*chin ken*),²⁰⁹ the Jade Car-of-State (*lo*), and the Leather Car-of-State, were several tens in number.

22. Music was performed in front of Hu’s Basilica for Formal Assemblies (*Cheng hui tien*) with “The High Rope,”²¹⁰ “Dragon Fish,” “The Phoenixes,” “Parthia,”²¹¹ “The Five Desks,” and the like—nothing not furnished to completion.²¹² There were also performing boys (*chi erh*),²¹³ who clambered to the top of a pole, and turned to the left and wheeled to the right like birds in flight. They also did the same with a pole fixed in the teeth of [some-one’s] mouth.²¹⁴ A horse carriage was set out; a wooden pole twenty feet long was erected on the carriage, and a horizontal [piece of] wood was secured to it. Each of a pair of performing boys sat at one end of the wood: they would now fly like birds, and then hang upside down. They also dressed performing boys in the likeness of macaques (*mi-hou*).²¹⁵ These raced on horses, sometimes at their ribs, sometimes at the horses’ heads, some-

²⁰⁵ The eastern seamount representing the world mountain. The figure is well known on incense braziers, but also topped other objects.

²⁰⁶ As thin and transparent as a cicada wing.

²⁰⁷ Emending *ta hsiao* to *t’ien hsiao*.

²⁰⁸ These ceremonial gifts, called *chih*, designated according to relative rank in ancient ceremonial protocol, are often referred to in Han and pre-Han texts. See, for instance, *I li*, “Shih hsiang chien li”; *Li chi*, “Ch’ü li shang.”

²⁰⁹ The antecedents of this car were said to go back to Shang times. The prototype was said to have been modelled on a ghostly carriage sometimes encountered in the mountains.

²¹⁰ For funambulists. Cf. *Chiu T’ang shu*, 29, 8a.

²¹¹ Here the Arsacid (*An-hsi*) nation.

²¹² There is a good possibility of lacunae and garbles in this passage. Compare the version in *Wen hsien t’ung k’ao* (*K’ai ming* ed.), 147, 1287, based on *Yeh chung chi*, which lists, among “Miscellaneous Performances, under “Unclassified (i.e. non-classical) Music” with antecedents in Ch’in and Han, a different set of names, e.g. “Phoenixes on the High Wire,” and “The Five Desks of the Arsacids.”

²¹³ “Performing boys” replaces the *ko shang* of the *Szu-k’u* edition, following the versions of *Ku chin hsiao shuo* and *Wu ying tien*.

²¹⁴ The syntax demands some such meaning. Evidently, while one acrobat gripped the pole in his teeth, the rest of the team clambered up and did their flying act above.

²¹⁵ “Macaque” is the common modern sense of *mi-hou*. Whether this was always so is open to question.

times on the horses' tails, while the horses raced on as before. They named them the "Monkey Horsemen" (*yüan ch'i*).²¹⁶

23. In front of Shih Hu's Basilica for Formal Assemblies was the Beaker of the White Dragon. A dragon of gold was constructed at the eastern annex.²¹⁷ The dragon's mouth faced west to a beaker of gold which contained fifty *hu* [of wine].²¹⁸

24. Shih Hu had 120 lamps¹²⁹ arranged in front of the Basilica for Formal Assemblies. They were made of iron.

25. Shih Hu set courtyard beacons in the courtyard of the Basilica for Formal Assemblies, outside its Paramount Gate (*Tuan men*)²²⁰ and in front of the Ch'ang-ngap Gate,²²¹ two for each, [thus] joining the Six Places.²²² All were sixteen feet [tall].²²³

²¹⁶ *Yüan*, in early medieval times at any rate, referred to the langurs and left-mokeys generally, that is, to the agile, long-limbed tree-dwellers. This evidently included the similar but much larger gibbons, now restricted to the southernmost border regions of China, and well known in early modern painting. Here the author seems to take *yüan* in the general sense of "ape; monkey." An editorial note on this article quotes *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi*, with the added attraction of performers who could stand on one leg on the horse's back, while writing excellent characters with the other foot.

²¹⁷ The text has *hsiang* "box," which I emend to *hsiang* "flanking hall; wing."

²¹⁸ The word order of *Szu-k'u* is changed here in favor of the reading of *Ku chin shuo pu*. The editorial note quotes the version of *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi* as follows: "They constructed a dragon of gold, which vomited wine in front of the basilica. The beaker of gold could hold fifty *hu*. It supplied the Formal Basilica."

²¹⁹ I follow *Ku chin shuo pu*, which has *mei* (counter for small, round objects) for the *chih* "branch" of *Szu-k'u*. The latter might be retained to give the sense of "a lamp of 120 branches," referring to the lamp-trees erected at New Year's illuminations in early medieval times. But these were introduced to China from Serindia only in the sixth century, or perhaps a little earlier. In any case, clarity would require the full expression "lamp tree," not merely "lamp." See Schafer, *the Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, pp. 259-260.

²²⁰ An old name for the chief gate to the compound of a basilica, set in the south.

²²¹ Primarily the main entrance to heaven, in particular to the Palace of Purple Subtlety (*tsu wei kung*), the residence of the High God. It is visible as the gap between the stars Thuban (α Draconis) and Ed Asich (ι Draconis), north of the constellation Bootes, opening towards the north celestial pole. It provides access for the most exalted spirits. (Schafer, *Pacing the Void*, p. 47.) The name was transferred to the chief gate of the palace. In Shih Hu's case, we must imagine that it was placed south of the Paramount Gate, and that the two, along with the inner court, were set along the north-south axis of the palace.

²²² I take "Six Places" to refer to the Six Conjunctions (*liu ho*), i.e. zenith, nadir, and the four cardinal directions, symbolically represented by these great lights.

²²³ In this connection the reader is referred to the disaster attending the

26. Shih Hu stationed thirty corps of drum and blast at this formal assemblies,²²⁴ putting one corps at each thirty paces. There were twelve persons in each corps, and all were located on flat [double-tiered] galleries (*p'ing ko*),²²⁵ more than ten feet from the ground. There were also female drummers and blowers.

27. When the ritual music of Hu's great assemblies was finished,²²⁶ Hu had the window awnings in the galleries hitched up. Several thousand palace women set there to watch in conjoint array. All wore costumes ornamented with gold and silver, radiating a luminous glow. Then several hundred female artists [geisha] were stationed²²⁷ up in the galleries, their dresses all looped with strings of beads, and they danced and drummed in joint array,²²⁸ with lowborn geisha,²²⁹ at zithers great and small, supplied in full.

[Domestic Furnishings]

28. Shih Hu's Couch of the Autocrat (*yü ch'uang*) measured thirty feet square (*p'i fang*).²³⁰ His other couches all had curvili-

construction of a courtyard beacon. The incident is reported in *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 95, 28b, for the years 336-337. It is not known, however, that the ill-fated beacon was one of those referred to in *Yeh chung chi*: "Ch'eng-kung Hsia, Camp Commander of the Left in Chao, constructed a courtyard beacon on the end of a beam. It was more than ten *chang* high; the beacon was put in an upper basin, and men were put in a lower basin. When Hu, King of Chao, tested it he rejoiced. Third year, spring, justified month, *keng-ch'en* [A.D. 337, February; day sign apparently garbled]. . . . Oil from the beacon poured down into the lower basin, and more than twenty persons died. Hu, King of Chao, took this ill, and had Ch'eng-kung Hsia detruncated at the waist." (The archaic symbols of divine kingship in its astral aspect in this passage will not be lost on the reader.) The "beam" (*kung*) of this device was a horizontal timber supported at both ends. Chin shu, 106, 1360d, adds that the beacon was wound up and down on a cable. It appears that this was a kind of windlass, possibly with a drum fixed on the end of the beam. A "courtyard beacon" was a beacon set inside the palace gate. It is said that in early times it was used to provide visibility beyond the walls for the king in the early hours of the morning.

²²⁴ Or, supposing a missing "basilica": "at his Basilica of Formal Assemblies."

²²⁵ Presumably a "gallery" (*ko*), a kind of two-storeyed pavilion, with a flat roof, i.e. without a gabled roof over the upper floor.

²²⁶ Following the *Kuchin shuo pu* edition.

²²⁷ Following the *Kuchin shuo pu* edition.

²²⁸ The editor suspects a corrupt graph in this clause.

²²⁹ For "lowborn geisha" see No. 11, n. 167.

²³⁰ The Couch of the Autocrat was presumably a bed of state. The phrase *p'i fang* occurs in *Shih chi*, 6, 0026a, in the sense of "wickedness let loose"—

near legs, six inches from top to bottom. In the Heirgiver's Palace (*hou kung*)²³¹ and separate compounds there were jade couches of small form.

29. Shih Hu's Couch of the Autocrat measured thirty feet square.²³² In the winter months, he displayed polychrome damasks of Shu, tassels, and a cup-shaped canopy on it.²³³ Dragons of pure gold were fixed at the four corners, their heads biting on five-colored tassels.²³⁴ Sometimes shining polychrome damask of heavy blue silk was employed;²³⁵ sometimes polychrome damask of heavy stammel,²³⁶ figured with "Climbing the Heights," was employed; sometimes it was "Great and Small" polychrome damask of heavy purple silk. For the yarns they used 120 catties of Fang-tzu²³⁷ silk floss. They were lined with white two-ply silk (*ch'ien*).²³⁸ This was named a "double canopy." On the four corners of the canopy were incense braziers, pierced and chased, of pure gold and silver, in which renowned aromatics, collected and blended, were burned with stone carbon.²³⁹ On the very top of the canopy was fixed a golden lotus flower. Within the flower was suspended a *yüan*²⁴⁰ bag with gold foil woven into it. The bag took three pints, and was filled with aromatics. On the four faces of the

clearly not intended here. The proper analogy appears to be with *Shih ching*, "Ta ya, Chiang Han": *shih p'i szu fang*, where *p'i* has a meaning later represented more specifically by *p'i* "extend in all [four] directions" (as in *p'i szu men*). Accordingly I take *p'i fang* to mean "extended quadrilaterally" and translate it "measured . . . square." For other occurrences of *p'i fang* see Nos. 29 and 35.

²³¹ I.e. *hou kung* with the *hou* commonly mistranslated "empress." One graph emphasizes the sense of "set far back in the royal compound" the other emphasizes "posterity." In fact, they are interchangeable.

²³² This sentence is identical with the one which opens No. 28. Probably Nos. 28 and 29 originally formed parts of the same article.

²³³ This sentence also occurs in No. 11. The text has *shu* "cooked; mature" here, for which I substitute Shu (**zhok*) as in No. 11; the polychrome damasks (*chin*) of Shu (Szechwan) were famous.

²³⁴ This sentence virtually duplicates one in No. 11, although "pure" does not appear in No. 11.

²³⁵ "Heavy . . . silk" translates *t'i*, a heavy, glossy fabric probably made of ply yarns, but possibly a double weave.

²³⁶ "Stammel" represents *fei*, a red-dyed cloth or the dye that colored it. Cf. No. 1.

²³⁷ A town in Hopei, north of Hsiang-kuo.

²³⁸ Woven with two-ply yarns.

²³⁹ Coal. Cf. No. 11.

²⁴⁰ For this word, standard dictionaries give a choice among 1. cords of a crown; 2. red dress; 3. net; and the doublet *yüan-no*, a cloth made by foreigners. These are bare lexical items; no textual examples are provided. The context

canopy were twelve incense bags of the same kind, in variegated colors.²⁴¹ In spring and autumn there was only a canopy of polychrome damask, with five-colored two-ply silk inside as a canopy liner. In summer, gauze or net-gauze was used, sometimes vermilion net-gauze with pale green figures, sometimes purple-figured crepe, as an unlined canopy.

30. Shih Hu's Seat[s] and Table[s] of the Autocrat were all lacquered, carved and painted to make five-colored flowers on each.

31. Cushions²⁴² made for Shih Hu were three feet long; gold was used to border them.

32. Mats (*hsi*)²⁴³ of polychrome damask were made for Shih Hu. They were diffused with the Five Aromatics (*wu hsiang*),²⁴⁴ with the Five Colors applied. The under-mat (*yen*)²⁴⁵ was plaited of the skins of rushes, boarded with polychrome damask.

33. Wind screens with shackles and clasps of gold and silver were made for Shih Hu. They were clothed in white two-ply silk, painted with the figures of civic-minded gentlemen, transcendent persons, and birds and beasts, with [calligraphic] eulogies of them, each with thirty-two words. The extensibility of the high ones was eight feet; the extensibility of the low ones was four feet or of six feet, as required for one's purposes.²⁴⁶

34. Among the mirrors in the Inner Palace and the Three

demands a word for a fabric or color, and some such emendation as "a silk cloth" or "green."

²⁴¹ The editor comments that the section "The bag too . . . variegated colors" is omitted from the *T'ai p'ing yü lan* version of this article. Presumably, then, the section was preserved in the *Szu k'u ch'üan shu*.

²⁴² For chairs and the like.

²⁴³ Mats of single thickness.

²⁴⁴ Said to be synonymous with an aromatic drug named *ch'ing mu hsiang*. (*San tung chu nang*, quoted by Li Shih-chen, *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, 14, 18 [Commercial Press, Hong Kong, 1972 reprint of 1930 ed.]) Usually it is identified with genus *Aristolochia* of the birth wort family. In early medieval times, the name was also applied to putchuk, a drug imported from South Asia. Nevertheless I am inclined here to regard the expression as a collective, in the sense of "the five most desirable scents," typified by a standard but not unknown set, analogous to the "Five Pigments," that is red, blue, yellow, white and black, specifically as represented by cinnabar, azurite, orpiment, ceruse and carbon black.

²⁴⁵ A ground cover normally placed beneath a *hsi*. Here I take it to be the unembellished rush mat itself.

²⁴⁶ "Extensibility" here renders *shih*, which I take to refer to the maximum possible extension of the screens along the floor. The clasp and shackles suggest that these were folding screens, which could be stretched out or collapsed at will.

Estrades of Shih Hu were some with a diameter of two to three feet, decorated in relief with coiled dragons of pure gold.

35. A Mo-nan²⁴⁷ Fan [made] of gold leaf,²⁴⁸ the “five luminosities” (*wu ming*)²⁴⁹ and “cloud mother”²⁵⁰ was fabricated for Shih Hu. This is the name of a particular fan,²⁵¹ with pure gold beaten as thin as a cicada’s wing, and its two faces painted in colored lacquers with arrays of the Transcendents, and odd birds and beasts. The “five luminosities” was right in the center. It measured three inches square²⁵² or sometimes five inches, according to the largeness or smallness of the fan. The “cloud mother” was affixed to its center. Its hems were sewn with the finest filaments. Even though it was reticulated with figures, the painted colors were luminous and diaphanous: looking at them, one might say that they could be taken in the hand, hence the name *mo-nan*.²⁵³ On

²⁴⁷ **Mak-nan*, also written *mu-nan* (**muk-nan*) in some texts, is a gemmy material frequently alluded to in books of the Han-T’ang period. For instance, Shen Huai-yüan, *Nan Yüeh chih* states that it is a cyan (*pi*) gem formed from the saliva of the Bird with Golden Pinions, and is much valued in Mahācīna (Ta Ch’in). Some authorities give Hrom (Fu-lin = Rūm, Rome) as its source; for instance, *T’ang shu*, 221b, 10a, states “*Mu-nan* is abundant in Hrom.” Comparable statements may be found in *Hsüan chung chi*, in Ts’ui Pao, *Ku chin chu* and elsewhere. Ts’ao Chih, “Mei jen p’ien” (*Ts’ao Tzu-chien chi* [*Szu pu ts’ung k’an*], 6, 6a-6b) groups it with coral and jade in a precious description of the female body. Most courses give its color as dark blue/green, but Kuo I-kung, *Kuang chih* (quoted in *I wen lei chü*, 84, 6a) states that it is yellow, and is produced among the “barbarians of the East” (*Tung i*). Chang Hung-chao cites most of this evidence, and proposes that the name is synonymous with *liu-li* (*vaidūrya*), which for the Chinese was opaque colored glass; he thinks that it may refer to the “murrhine” glass of Rome. See Chang Hung-chao, “Shih ya (Lapidarium Sinicum),” *Ti-chih chuang-pao*, ser. B, no. 2 (Peking, 1921), pp. 65-66. See also *Pen ts’ao kang-mu*, 8, 32 (listed under “precious stones”), and B.E. Read and C. Pak, *Chinese Materia Medica: A Compendium of Minerals and Precious Stones used in Chinese Medicine from the Pen ts’ao kang mu* (Southern Materials Center, Taipei, 1977), p. 21. I have formed no definite opinion about its identity. A gem-mineral such as opal (e.g. in opalized fossils) is not excluded.

²⁴⁸ *Chin po*.

²⁴⁹ The name of a fan said to have been constructed as a symbol of royal authority by Shun and imitated by early historical sovereigns; by Han times also a prerogative of great lords.

²⁵⁰ I.e. mica, for which see E.H. Schafer, “Notes on Mica in Medieval China,” *T’oung pao*, 43 (1965), 278.

²⁵¹ See below, where *mo-nan* is used as a proper name for a translucent, gemlike artifact.

²⁵² *P’i fang*. Cf. No. 28.

²⁵³ Although this appears to be a loan word, the transcription suggests an etymology, no doubt imaginary, of “not difficult.”

the occasions when Hu went forth, the palanquin in which he rode was enclosed by these fans on both sides.²⁵⁴ He also used the Ivory Peach Branch Fan (*ya t'ao chih shan*).²⁵⁵ The bamboo on it was sometimes a deep green color, sometimes a "tree orchid"²⁵⁶ color; sometimes they made it a purple-blue (*tzu kan*)²⁵⁷ color, and sometimes they made it a *yü*-gold (*yü chin*)²⁵⁸ color.

36. At Shih Hu's great assemblies, His Highness directed the eating. His "travelling tray" in two layers was all zoned with gold and silver interlace,²⁵⁹ and its 120 goblets all had identically carved ornaments. Through the zones of interlace were painted evodias (*shu-yü*),²⁶⁰ as fine as split hairs. Only on close inspection could they be seen. The travelling tray itself went round in a circle.

37. On the third day of the third month Shih Hu held an "Assembly Overlooking the Water (*Lin shui hui*).²⁶¹" The princesses [his sisters], consorts and ladies-in-waiting, and women and girls of renowned households all without exception turned out for it.²⁶¹ Canopies and curtains were set out overlooking the water. Carriages and costumes scintillated splendidly. Horses were run, with archery on foot, and drinking and feasting to the end of the day.

38. At the great assemblies when Shih Hu disclosed himself up in a balcony, he wore a caftan of cyan gauze.²⁶²

39. Shih Hu had his tiger-headed girdle-wallet changed to a dragon-headed girdle-wallet.²⁶³

²⁵⁴ *Ku chin chu* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), a, 5, says of the *mo-nan* fan: "In Wei and Chin they were only used when riding in a palanquin."

²⁵⁵ "Ivory" interprets "tusk."

²⁵⁶ *Magnolia obovata*.

²⁵⁷ *Kan* is a deep purplish blue.

²⁵⁸ I.e. saffron. The sense of *yü* in this standard term is problematic; possibly "fuming." See *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, p. 125.

²⁵⁹ "Interlace" is *ts'an*, here virtually synonymous with *ts'o* "imbricated" Cf. the expression *ts'an-ts'o*, possibly to be taken as an alliterative binom in the sense of "mingled, interspersed, interlaced," as of inlaid metal decorations in the form of interlace work. Note also the use of *ts'an tai* "zoned with interlace" also used in No. 50.

²⁶⁰ *Evodia rutaecarpa*. The Evodia Festival (*shu-yü hui*) was celebrated even at court; it was associated with the ritual gathering of the dark purplish fruits of the evodia and the drinking of chrysanthemum wine on the ninth day of the ninth month. Both fruits and feast had significant apotropaic aspects.

²⁶¹ See No. 18 and especially n. 193.

²⁶² *T'ai p'ing yü lan* has "caftan of cinnabar gauze."

²⁶³ A change of name to avoid the taboo on his personal name.

40. In Ngap, because of Shih Hu's tabooed name, they called the White Tiger Pennon "Celestial Deer Pennon."

41. The ten thousand men of Shih Chi-lung's [night-] duty guards of left and right all wore fine cuirasses, so radiantly bright that they deprived one of sight.

42. When Chi-lung was hunting he wore a "joined for joy" (*ho huan*)²⁶⁴ hat, made by weaving gold strands.

43. Sometimes Shih Hu wore "joined for joy" trousers with gold strands.²⁶⁵

[Women in Royal Service]

44. In Shih Hu's retinue when he went out on a journey were female drummers and blowers.²⁶⁶ They were attached to the office of Preeminent Writs (*Shang shu*). They all wore polychrome damask trousers, and were belted with jade.

45. More than a myriad of attractive women whom Shih Hu obtained on expeditions of subjugation and chastisement²⁶⁷ were made Palatines (*kung jen*), and from these he selected those who were talented in the arts and made them female Presiding Bibliognosts (*nü shang shu*).²⁶⁸

46. The younger sister of Ch'en K'uei, Sire of Kuang-ling, was most admirable both in talent and outward show. Her hair was seven feet long. Hu made her a [Court] Lady.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ The expression is used of many devices and occasions in the sense of "convivial companionship," frequently of sexual conjunction.

²⁶⁵ *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi* adds that he wore these when hunting.

²⁶⁶ Pipers and trumpeters, as in No. 26.

²⁶⁷ I have translated the same title elsewhere as "Presiding Bibliognost of . . .," for which see Nos. 16 and 17. The same phrase is also the traditional name of the so-called "Classic of History," having the sense of "Preeminent Writs."

²⁶⁸ The editor notes that a few clauses in *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi* extend the titles of dignities made available to these beauties, and also adds that they stood the night watch clad in "sable and ear-bangles." Evidently Shih Hu did not depend entirely on war booty to provide women for his extraordinary establishment (see articles No. 46, 47, 49 and 51 below); the standard histories report levies upon the womenfolk of ordinary citizens, like the seizure of fine livestock. Many were married, and resistance brought the death of their husbands by execution or suicide. These women, chosen for their beauty, filled positions in the palace hierarchy. They were collectively called female functionaries (*nü kuan*). A considerable number of them was allotted to the households of the Grand Heir and to other male relatives of the king. (*Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 16a; *Chin shu*, 106, 1362a.)

²⁶⁹ I am still unable to make a good translation of the title *fu-jen*.

47. Shih Hu installed female Attendants on the Penetralia (*shih chung*),²⁷⁰ all in sable and cicada.²⁷¹ They attended the Resplendent Heirgiver on [round-the-clock] duty.

48. Shih Hu made female officials of his Palatines. As Communicators of Affairs (*t'ung shih*)²⁷² in the [Office] "Under the Gate" (*men hsia*),²⁷³ they executed civil writs at tables of jade.

49. The Resplendent Heirgiver sent forth a thousand equestriennes as her Shield Roster. In the winter months all wore purple dresses and bonnets, with riding coats and breeches of the polychrome damask of Shu.²⁷⁴

50. The equestriennes of Shih Hu's Resplendent Heirgiver wore hoops of gold with interlace of metal inlays²⁷⁵ belted about their waists.

51. The several tens of Shih Chi-lung's palatine slave-women wore ink-black (*tsao*)²⁷⁶ blouses (*kou*)²⁷⁷ they wore "divine bonnets" (*shen pien*) on their heads, similar to today's pre-ceremony crowns.

[Mechanical Devices, Textiles, Plant Husbandry]

52. Shih Hu had both a South-pointing Car (*Chih nan ch'e*)²⁷⁸ and a Mileage Inspecting Car (*Szu li ch'e*).²⁷⁹ Moreover he had a Hulling Car with a Wooden Man (*Ch'ung ch'e mu jen*).²⁸⁰ When

²⁷⁰ *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 95, 26b.

²⁷¹ Sable tails and cicada wings, traditional insignia which decorated the hats of attendant officials in the inner palace, a custom going back at least until the Han.

²⁷² Private secretaries or pursuivants.

²⁷³ The grand secretariat, concerned with all affairs pertinent to the palace and the person of the Son of Heaven.

²⁷⁴ Cf. No. 15. The *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi* states that the ladies wore boots of woven fabric and carried bows decorated with orpiment.

²⁷⁵ Compare "interlace of metal inlays belted . . ." in this passage with "zoned with gold and silver interlace" in No. 36. In the former *tai* is "belted," in the latter it is "zoned." The former describes an article of costume, the latter an article of household furniture.

²⁷⁶ Black pigment made from oak galls.

²⁷⁷ A thin, unlined garment, often with narrow sleeves.

²⁷⁸ See Joseph Needham and Wang Ling, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol.4, Pt. 2 (Cambridge, 1965), p. pp. 286-303, with reference to Shih Hu's device on p. 287. This and another south-pointer are described in *Sung shu*, 18, 1468d.

²⁷⁹ Needham and Wang, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-286, describes such odometers.

²⁸⁰ Needham and Wang, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-258, treats this and the Milling Car under the rubric of "camp-mills." The hulling was done by pounding the grain in a mortar.

put to work, a pestle (*tui*)²⁸¹ was activated up on the car; as the car moved, the wooden man hulled by treading on the pestle [-mechanism]. For ten *li* of travel, it produced one bushel of hulled cereal (*mi*). He also had a Milling Car (*mo ch'e*); a stone mill was sept up on the car, and for every ten *li* it travelled it milled one bushel of wheat. All of these cars were decorated with vermilion paint. Just one Army Commander (*chiang chün*) was employed: when his car moved the whole group came forth abreast. When his car stopped, they stopped.²⁸² These were built by Hsieh Fei, Notary to the Autocrat for the Center (*Chung yü shih*), and Wei Meng-pien, Commander²⁸³ presiding over Techniques.²⁸⁴

53. It was in Shih Hu's nature to take pleasure in fawning upon the Buddha, and the [resultant] lavish expenditures on a multitude of arts cannot be reckoned. Once a rosewood²⁸⁵ car was made for him. It was more than ten feet wide, twenty feet long, and had four wheels. A golden image of the Buddha was made, seated up in the car. This was asperged by nine dragons spewing water. Wooden "Men of the Way (*tao jen*)"²⁸⁶ were also made; they continuously rubbed the region of the heart and belly of the Buddha with their hands. More than ten wooden Men of the Way, over two feet tall, all cloaked in *kasāya*,²⁸⁷ circumambulated the Buddha. Each time one came in front of the Buddha, it

²⁸¹ It was operated by a treadle; Needham calls it a "trip-hammer."

²⁸² Both A. Pfizmaier, "Kunstfertigkeiten und Künste der alten Chinesen," *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe* (Wien, 1871), p. 151, translating passages from *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 752, and Needham and Wang, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-257, misunderstand this passage (corresponding to my last three sentences).

²⁸³ The *jen* "person" of this text is amended to read *ling* "command[er]," following *Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 95, 27b.

²⁸⁴ The *Shuo fu* version of this section states that Hsieh Fei built a sandalwood (**chen-dan* for Skt. *candana*) car with a pestle set over the left nave (*ku*) [into which the axle fits], and a mill over the right nave. That is, the two devices were mounted on the same chassis, and activated from the opposite ends of the same axle.

²⁸⁵ *Dalbergia* sp. Chinese rosewood was commonly used for such work, but possibly this is an abbreviation of *chan-t'an* "sandalwood."

²⁸⁶ The "Way" is the law of the Buddha, and these figures represented worshipping devotees. Needham and Wang, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-160, translates the passage "Taoists . . . dressed in monastic robes," evidently assuming that the display was merely a ludicrous scene meant to humiliate Taoist believers. But the language of this whole section, including the "monastic robes" and the very ordinary use of the expression *tao jen* in this era, indicates otherwise.

²⁸⁷ **kā-srā*, from Sanskrit: the patch-robe of a Buddhist monk.

bowed and revered the Buddha. Moreover, they took pinches of incense in their hands and cast them into a brazier, in no way different from human beings. When the car moved, the wooden men moved and the dragons spewed water. When the car stopped, they stopped. This too was constructed by Hsieh Fei.

54. When Shih Hu was young he took pleasure in hunting excursions, but later his frame stoutened and enlarged, and there was no more mounting of horses for him. He had a hunting chaise (*lieh nien*) made; twenty men carried it on their shoulders, like a modern "pacing chaise" (*pu nien*).²⁸⁸ They secured a curved free-turning canopy to it, and a couch with a smoothly rotating attachment as a seat. If he was shooting birds or beasts, in turned directly the way he faced, the attachment going with his body. Hu was an excellent shot, and his arrows never went forth in vain.²⁸⁹

55. The Office for Damask Weaving was in the Central [Commandery] Presiding over Techniques. Among the polychrome damasks were the "Greater Climbing the Heights" and the "Lesser Climbing the Heights" (*teng kao*),²⁹⁰ the "Greater Shining Light" and the "Lesser Shining Light" (*ming kuang*),²⁹¹ the "Greater Universal Mountain" and the "Lesser Universal Mountain" (*po shan*),²⁹² the "Greater Evodia" and the Lesser Evodia",²⁹³ the "Greater Kraken-dragon" and the "Lesser Kraken-dragon" (*chiao*

²⁸⁸ This passage has been translated in Pfizmaier, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

²⁸⁹ A "pacing chaise" is a kind of palanquin or wheelless carriage. A translation of this article may be found in Needham and Wang, *op. cit.*, p. 552. A similar car, with a rotating shooting platform, was also used by Shih Hu's contemporary Huan Hsüan, another corpulent hunter. (*Chin shu*, 99, 1343a.) The contraption, otherwise called a *ling*, was already in use for the same purpose in the 1st century A.D. (*Han shu*, 8, 0309b.) The histories describe Shih Hu's hunting carriages under date of 345. They report that he had a thousand carts, each engraved with the dates for "fencing the hunts" (*chiao lieh*), i.e. the dates prescribed for setting up the corrals into which the wild animals were funneled so that the royal party could shoot them most conveniently. (*Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 97, 16a; *Chin shu*, 106, 1362a.)

²⁹⁰ These terms refer to the apotropaic festival celebrated on the ninth day of the ninth month, characterized by carrying a scarlet bag filled with evodia up to a high place, and drinking chrysanthemum wine to dispel malign influences, as in No. 36. Presumably the design element in the damask symbolized the mountainous aspect of the rite.

²⁹¹ This damask pattern is referred to in *Shih shuo hsin yü*, "Wen hsüeh," a, 35b (*Szu pu ts'ung k'an* ed.).

²⁹² The well-known magic mountain, familiar on incense braziers, was the motif.

²⁹³ See No. 36. Evidently a botanical motif here as there.

lung),²⁹⁴ the "Grape Pattern Damask" and the "Spot Pattern Damask," the "Phoenix [and] Vermilion Bird Damask," the "Scabbard Pattern Damask,"²⁹⁵ the Peach-pit Pattern Damask"; sometimes they were in blue ply-yarn (*t'i*), sometimes in white ply-yarn, sometimes in yellow ply-yarn, sometimes in green ply-yarn, sometimes in ply-yarn of Shu—the arts and crafts [employed to make them] numbered in the hundreds and their names are inexhaustible.

56. In Shih Hu's Central Repository (*fu*)²⁹⁶ of the Autocrat, presiding over Techniques, where the artisans and artists made polychrome damasks, there were several hundred persons in the office where the weaving was done.

57. Among the mohairs²⁹⁷ in the Autocrat's Repository of Shih hu were "Mohair with Chicken Heads [pattern]" (*chi t'ou chi*),²⁹⁸ "Deer Child Mohair" (*lu tzu chi*), and "Flowered Mohair."

58. Shih Hu planted a pair of "Long Life Trees." Its roots grew under a house, and its branches and leaves intertwined over its ridgepole. This was done by first planting the trees and later erecting the house. He fixed a jade pan,²⁹⁹ with a capacity of two bushels, between the trees.

59. In the Garden of Flower Forest were spring plums (*li*),³⁰⁰ which flowered in the winter and ripened in the spring.

60. In Shih Hu's garden was a "Jujube of the Royal Mother of the West." It had leaves both winter and summer. It put forth flowers in the ninth month, and ripened in the twelfth month

²⁹⁴ The earliest sense of this expression appears to have been "intertwined dragons," as a kind of heraldic emblem (*Chou li*, Ch'un kuan, Szu ch'ang). Here it evidently represents *chiao lung* "kraken dragon." Cf. *San kuo chih*, Wei chih (Wo kuo chuan), 30, 1006b, which reports how the Chinese nation sent a gift of this damask to the Japanese queen in recognition of her submission of tribute; it showed kraken figures on a red ground.

²⁹⁵ The names of the three preceding designs seem to describe them adequately. The design of the "scabbard pattern" is a mystery.

²⁹⁶ The headquarters or main office of a dignitary, conceived as a valuable library of authoritative books.

²⁹⁷ A fine woolen fabric, whose quality may be approximated, even if not accurately identified, by "mohair."

²⁹⁸ A floral design. "Chicken head" is the name of the flower of the prickly water-lily (*ch'ien shih*), i.e. *Euryale ferox*. The generic name is also that of the gorgon Euryale.

²⁹⁹ Undoubtedly to catch the magical dew that falls from the moon; indeed, "jade pan" is also a metaphor for "moon."

³⁰⁰ *Prunus salicina*.

with three one-foot fruits. There was also a "Goat's Horn Jujube" with three one-foot fruits.

61. There were hook-nosed peaches, weighing two catties, in Shih Hu's hunting park.

62. There were *liu*-fruit of Antioch³⁰¹ in Shih Hu's hunting park. In size the fruits were comparable to a bowl or cup. Their flavor was not sour.

[Forebodings]

63. Shih Chi-lung held a great banquet for his Congregation of Vassals (*ch'ün ch'en*)³⁰² in the Basilica of Grand Militancy. Fo-t'u Teng said, "The basilica! The basilica! Bramblings form a forest—they will damage people's clothes!" They looked to the right of the basilica and there were brambles growing there.³⁰³

64. The Meng-chin Ho is five *li* east of the Enceinte of Ngap. [By it] is the Township of the Enceinte of Cereals (*Ku-ch'eng*) in

³⁰¹ That is, the pomegranate. "Antioch" (An-shih) is not the Syrian Antioch, but the city of Margiana, founded by the Seleucid Antiochus I; it was later styled Merv, corresponding roughly to the Soviet Mary in Turkmenistan, south of the Oxus. Here I rely on Donald Harper, "Flowers in T'ang Poetry: Pomegranate, Sea Pomegranate, and Mountain Pomegranate," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 106 (1986), 142. This identification controverts the traditional one which takes An-shih (*An-zhek) to represent Arsac[id], but if fits the location better: for instance, in T'ang times An-shih corresponded to the state of Bukhara.

³⁰² In effect, the whole court. Cf. No. 16, n. 185.

³⁰³ Fo-t'u [Buddha] Teng was a celebrated Buddhist monk, noted among the laity as a soothsayer and wonderworker. He had been attached to the court of Shih Le, who honored him as a prophet, as did Shih Hu in his turn. During Hu's reign, Fo-t'u Teng ordained a great many new monks, despite the objections of some of his sovereign's courtiers, who argued that this was permissible only to foreigners, not to Chinese. Hu, however, ruled that his own tribesmen were certainly free to elect their own religion. (*Tzu chih t'ung chien*, 95, 21b-22a) A biography of the prelate may be found in *Chin shu*, 95, 1331b, and another in *Kao seng chuan* (Taisho Tripitaka, 50), 9, 385b. Arthur F. Wright, "Fo-t'u Teng: A Biography," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 11 (1948), 322-370 provides a modern account of his career. A dangerous "brambling" (the diminutive implies that it was not yet mature) among Shih Hu's magnates was his adopted grandson, Jan Min, familiarly known as Chi-nu "Bramble Slave." See commentary on Ts'ui Hung (fl. 513-524), *Shih liu kuo ch'un ch'in* (1781 ed.), 17, 11b; there the story differs a little from that in *Teh chung chi*. After Shih Hu's death in 349, an internecine struggle among his heirs brought about the deaths of all of them, the last at the orders of Jan Min, who founded a state of Wei in 350. He and his nation were terminated in 352 by the Mu-jung clan, founders of the state of Yen.

the County of Chi-peï. The Mountain of the Enceinte of Cereals is the place where the Lord of the Yellow Stone (*Huang shih kung*) is buried.³⁰⁴ A certain person climbed this mountain and saw some patterned stone in the soil of a landslide. The patterns in the stone were fresh and bright. Shih Hu sent to have the stone collected and brought to renovate (*chih*)³⁰⁵ the basilicas of his palace. He also removed the Commander of the Enceinte of Cereals [from office] because of his failure to make a report bringing this to his attention.

65. After Fo-t'u Teng's death someone saw him up on the Downs (*lung*).³⁰⁶ Shih Hu ordered that his grave be opened for inspection. There was only a stone. Shih said, "This Stone is Myself!"³⁰⁷ He departed after burying me, and now I am going to die." And so it turned out.

66. Hsüan, the Grand Heir of Shih Hu, took turns with his maternal younger brother (*mu ti*)³⁰⁸ T'ao in governing administrative affairs. Hsüan took it amiss that in the end [T'ao] had the potential to replace him. On the Day of the Earth Altar (*she jih*),³⁰⁹ T'ao ascended the Belvedere of Light in the East (*Tung ming kuan*)³¹⁰ to recreate himself. He returned at sunset, and set about carousing and feasting. Once the female artists [geisha] had finished, Hsüan sent more than ten ruffians in the night—Chü Lu and Yang Ts'ai [among them]—to enter T'ao's mansion by climbing ladders. [There] they hacked him to death.

Supplement

(The following piece, congruent in content and style with the *Yeh chung chi*, now forms part of the *Shih i chi*.)³¹¹

³⁰⁴ This "lord" was an elemental spirit, an emanation of a yellow stone, who hand, in Ch'in times, out of gratitude to Chang Liang, advanced the latter's career as a military theorist. Chang Liang eventually became an adviser to Han Kao Ti. The "lord" remained his familiar and in the end was buried with him. See Chang Liang's biographies in *Shih chi*, 55, 0171a and *Han Shu*, 40, 0458b.

³⁰⁵ The phrase *chih shih* means "to dress stone."

³⁰⁶ Lung, the series of ridges extending from western Shensi into Kansu.

³⁰⁷ Since "Stone" is his surname.

³⁰⁸ Both were sons of Shih Hu, but since they also shared the same mother it was to be expected that they would be closer to each other than most royal princes, who had different mothers in the seraglio.

³⁰⁹ A festival in honor of the earth spirits.

³¹⁰ "Light in the East" was the name of Various mountains and towns, among which I am unable to choose as the site of this belvedere.

³¹¹ *Shih i chi*, 9, 9a (ed. of *Ku chin i shih*).

Shih Hu raised a loft-building 400 feet high in front of the Basilica of the Grand Culmen (*T'ai chi tien*).³¹² Pearls [or precious beads] were knotted together to make its curtains, and jade pendants in five colors were hung there. When the wind came they rang out in harmony, tinkling and clinking, clear and classical. In the season of summer's fullness he would climb the high loft-building so that he could gaze far off to the Four Culmens.³¹³ Music for metal, stone, strings and bamboo was performed continuously day and night below the loft-building. Horse paddocks and shooting yards four hundred paces in circumference were opened, all [decorated] with patterned stone and granular cinnabar, along with colored pictures. Alongside of the paddocks were collected treasures in precious metals and stones, and coins and currency, for rewarding persons [performers in] the Hundred Shows. Curtains of colored damask, and house posts with the figures, raised from recesses,³¹⁴ of dragons, phoenixes and the hundred beasts were placed at the four annex halls. A multitude of jewels were carved and sliced to decorate columns and pillars. Now and again the night was brightly illuminated, and Tibetans³¹⁵ were assembled in good order up in the loft-building. If it was a season of oppressive drought, assorted gems and exotic aromatics were ground into powder and the several hundred persons up in the loft-building were made to disperse this by blowing on it. They named it the "Fragrant Dust."³¹⁶ There were bronze dragons upon the platform whose bellies held several thousand buckets of wine: Huns (*hu jen*) up in the loft-building spat out the wine: watched from afar with the coming of the wind it looked like dew.³¹⁷ They named it the "Platform of the Drenching"³¹⁸ Rain." They did this to [settle] the dust by sprinkling it. Up in the loft-building the plangent sounds of jocund laughter reverberated to the middle of space.

³¹² Possibly an error for *T'ai wu tien*, but from what follows it may have been named for the sacred peak of the Center, from which the other four could be mystically discerned.

³¹³ To the "four ends of the earth" as we would say.

³¹⁴ *Yin ch'i*: a kind of cameo relief. Cf. No. 7 n. 142.

³¹⁵ The *chu Ch'iang* seem to have been some sort of corps of attendants or guards. All early references to the Ch'iang say that they were shepherd peoples of the west from Kansu to western Szechwan. Possibly these were war captives in Shih Hu's service.

³¹⁶ Evidently this was an elegant imitation of a dust storm during a drought.

³¹⁷ Dew falls from the moon, and affords blessed relief.

³¹⁸ Emending *nien* "adhere" to *chan* "drench."

(The remainder of this passage, which describes Shih Hu's bathing pools at Ngap, is translated in my article "The Development of Bathing Customs in Ancient and Medieval China and the History of the Floriate Clear Palace," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 76 [1956], 72, as is a related passage from *Yeh chung chi*. See No. 7 and note 144.)

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 Kao seng chuan 高僧傳
 Ku chin chu 古今注
 Ku chin i shih 古今逸史
 Ku chin shuo pu ts'ung shu 古今說部叢書
 Kuang chih 廣志
 Lu Ch'ing-ho chi 陸清河集
 Lung ch'i ching she ts'ung shu 龍溪精舍叢書
 Mo ching 墨經
 Nan Yüeh chih 南越志
 Pen ts'ao kang mu 本草綱目
 Shih i chi 拾遺記
 Shih liu kuo ch'un ch'iu 十六國春秋
 Shih shuo hsin yü 世說新語
 Shih wu chi yüan 事物紀原
 [Chih chai] shu lu chieh t'i [直齋] 書錄解題
 Shuo fu 說郛
 Sui shu 隋書
 T'ai p'ing huan yü chi 太平寰宇記
 T'ai p'ing yü lan 太平御覽
 T'ang shu 唐書
 T'ang Sung ts'ung shu 唐宋叢書
 Teng t'ai fu 登臺賦
 Ts'ao chi ch'üan p'ing 曹集詮評
 Ts'ao Tzu-chien chi 曹子建集
 Tseng ting Han Wei ts'ung shu 增訂漢魏叢書
 Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng 叢書集成
 T'ung ch'üeh chi 銅雀妓
 T'ung ch'üeh t'ai 銅雀臺
 T'ung ch'üeh yüan 銅雀怨
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 Yung lo ta tien 永樂大殿

TITLES

Chao i 昭一
 Chiang chün 將軍
 Chien an 建安
 Chien wu 建武
 Chin Ming Ti 晉明帝
 Chü she Chao T'ien Wang 居攝趙天王
 Chung yü shih 中御史
 Fu-jen 夫人
 Han Wu Ti 漢武帝
 Heng hai Chiang chün 橫海將軍
 Hsien ho 咸和
 Hsien k'ang 咸康
 Huang Hou 皇后
 Huang Ti 皇帝
 Kung jen 宮人
 Kuo tzu chu chiao 國子助教
 Men hsia 門下
 Nü shang shu 女尚書
 Shang fang ling 尚方令
 Shang shu 尚書
 Shih chung 侍中
 Szu shuo 四率
 Ta Shan-yü 大單于
 Ta su yüeh 大司樂
 Ta wu 大武
 T'ai shih 太史
 T'ai Tsu 太祖
 T'ien Wang Huang Hou 天王皇后
 T'ien Wang Huang T'ai Tzu 天王皇太子
 Tsung po 宗伯
 T'ung shih 通事
 Wang Hou 王后
 Wu Tsung 武宗
 Yen hsi 延熙
 Yü shih chung ch'eng 御史中丞

PEOPLES AND PLACES

An-hsi 安息
 An-p'ing 安平
 An-shih 安石
 Chang (River) 漳
 Chao 趙
 Ch'en Szu 陳思

Ch'eng (Han) 成 (漢)
 Ch'iang 羌
 Chieh (**kyet*) 羯
 Chi-pei 濟北
 Chin 晉
 Chin-ch'eng 金城
 *Chin-tan 震旦
 Ch'in 秦
 Ching-nan 荊南
 Chiu chou 九州
 Chu Ch'iang 諸羌
 Ch'ü-fu 曲阜
 Fang-tzu 房子
 *Ghät-kät-sië (Kirghiz) 黠戛斯
 Fu-lin (Hrom) 拂菻
 Han (feudatory) 韓
 Han (nation) 漢
 Han-chung 漢中
 Hsiang-kuo 襄國
 Hsien-pei 鮮卑
 Hsia (**ghä*) 夏
 Hsiung-nu 匈奴
 Hu jen 胡人
 Hua (**ghwä*) 華
 Huai-nan 淮南
 Huan (River) 洹
 I (non-Hsia) 夷
 I-chou 沂州
 Jung-yang 滎陽
 Ku-ch'eng 穀城
 Kuang-ling 廣陵
 Lang-yeh 瑯琊
 Liang-chou 涼州
 Liao-hsi 遼
 Lin-chang 臨漳
 Ling-ch'ang chin 靈昌津
 Lung 隴
 Mak 莫
 Meng-chin Ho 孟津河
 Min-chung 閩中
 Ngap 業
 Nung 農
 P'u-yang 濮陽
 Sārbi (see Hsien-pei)
 Ta Ch'in 大秦
 Tai 代
 *T'ak-bat 拓跋
 Ts'uan 鬲
 *T'uk-pywat 秃髮
 Tung I 東夷
 Wei 魏

Wu 吳
 Yang-tu 陽都
 Yeh (see Ngap)
 Yeh-chung 業中
 Yen 燕

BUILDINGS AND PARKS

Ch'ang-ngap men 闕闕門
 Cheng hui tien 正會殿
 Cheng tien 正殿
 Chien ch'un men 建春門
 Ch'ien chin t'i 千金堤
 Chin hua tien 金華殿
 Chung yang men 中陽門
 E fang 阿房
 Feng yang men 鳳陽門
 Hou kung 後〔后〕宮
 Hsien yang tien 顯陽殿
 Huan lin yüan [park] 華林苑
 Hua lin yüan [garden] 華林園
 Kuan ch'üeh t'ai 鵲雀嘉
 K'un hua tien 昆華殿
 Liang tien 涼殿
 Ling hsiao kuan 陵霄觀
 Ling kuang 靈光
 Ming t'ang 明堂
 Sang tzu yüan 桑梓苑
 T'ai chi tien 太極殿
 T'ai wu tien 太武殿
 Tuan men 端門
 Tung ming kuan 東明觀
 Tzu mo kung 紫陌宮
 Tzu wei kung 紫微宮
 Wei yang kung 未央宮

PERSONAL NAMES

Chang Chi 張籍
 Chang Chiu-ling 張九齡
 Chang Ch'ün 張羣
 Chang Liang 張良
 Chang Mi 張彌
 Chao Lan 趙覽
 Ch'ao Chi-i 晁季一
 Ch'en Chen-sun 陳振孫
 Ch'en K'uei 陳遼
 Ch'en Yin-k'o 陳寅恪
 Cheng 鄭

Ch'eng-kung Hsia 成公夏
 Chi-nu 棘奴
 Chia Tao 賈島
 Chu Kuei 朱軌
 Chü Lu 鉅鹿
 Fo-t'u Teng 佛圖澄
 Fu 符
 Fu Hung 符洪
 Han Yü 韓愈
 Han Yüeh 韓說
 Ho Chih 郝稚
 Ho-lien 赫連
 Hsiang Yü 項羽
 Hsieh Fei 解飛
 Hu San-hsing 胡三省
 Huan Hsüan 桓玄
 Huang Shih Kung 黃石公
 Jan Min 冉閔
 Jung Yü 戎昱
 Kao Ch'eng 高承
 Kuo I-kung 郭義恭
 Li Ch'i 李頎
 Li Chü 李巨
 Li Ho 李賀
 Li Hu 李虎
 Li Hung 李閔
 Li Shih-chen 李時珍
 Li Shou 李壽
 Liu 劉
 Liu Pa 劉霸
 Liu Yüan 劉淵
 Lu Hui 陸翹
 Lu Yün 陸雲
 Meng Chiao 孟
 Mo Tu (Mao Tun) 冒頓
 Mu-jung Huang 慕容皝
 Na Hsin 納新
 Po Chü-i 白居易
 P'u Hung 蒲洪
 Shen Huai-yüan 沈懷遠
 Shih Chi-lung 石季龍
 Shih Hsüan 石宣
 Shih Hu 石虎
 Shih Hung 石弘
 Shih Le 石勒
 Shih Shih 石世
 Shih Sui 石邃
 Shih T'ao 石韜
 Szu-ma Shao 司馬紹
 Ting Yen 丁晏
 Ts'ao Chih 曹植

Ts'ao P'i 曹丕
 Ts'ao Sung 曹松
 Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操
 Ts'ui Hung 崔鴻
 Ts'ui Pao 崔豹
 Tu 杜
 Wang Chien 王建
 Wang Hua 王華
 Wang Ku 王綬
 Wei Meng-pien 魏孟變
 Yang Ts'ai 楊材

WORDS AND PHRASES

an "secure" 安
chan "drench" 沾
chan-t'an 旃檀
chang "ten feet" 丈
chang "river deer" 獐
ch'ang "once" 嘗
ch'ang "regular" 常
chao "beckon" 招
chao "summon" 召
chao "directive" 詔
cheng shih 正史
ch'eng "enceinte" 城
chi "geisha" 伎
chi erh 伎兒
chi t'ou chi 雞頭鬬
ch'i "rise" 起
ch'i "purging" 契
ch'i-lien 祁連
ch'i-lin 麒麟
chiang "orange" 絳
chiao "fagara" 椒
chiao lieh 校獵
chiao lung 蛟龍
chieh "purging" 洩
chien "establish" 建
chih "on duty" 值
chih "gift" 贄
chih "repair" 治
chih "branch" 枝
chih "place" 置
chih hsi nü 直細女
chih shih 治石
chih wei 值衛
ch'ih "foot" 尺
chin "damask" 錦
chin ken 金根

chih nan ch'e 指南車
chin niu ch'ü-hsü 金鈕屈戌
chin po 金箔
ch'ing mu hsiang 青木香
chu "lord" 主
chu shuo 諸率
ch'un ch'e mu jen 春車木人
chung hua 中華
chung kuo jen 中國人
ch'ü-hsü 屈戌
chüan i 卷衣
chüeh "peacock" 節
ch'üeh "peacock" 雀
chün "county" 郡
e-e 娥娥
erh "boy" 兒
fei "stammel" 緋
fu "rhapsody" 賦
fu "repository" 府
ha-ma 蝦蟆
heng "in good order" 互
ho huan 合歡
hsi "mat" 席
hsi "lowborn" 細
hsi "purging" 禊
hsi chih nü 細直女
hsia i tsa chü 夏夷雜居
hsiang "box" 箱
hsiang "flanking hall" 廂
hsing "cursive" 行
hsün "pink" 纁
hu "alternate" 互
hu "bushel" 斛
hu "western; Hunnish" 胡
hu fen 胡粉
hu jen 胡人
hua "flower" 花
hua "boot" 鞞
hua ch'ung 華蟲
huang t'ou 黃頭
i tao 儀刀
jen chu 人主
**kã-srã* 袈裟
ko "pick" 戈
ko "gallery" 閣
ko shang 額上
ko tao 閣道
kou "blouse" 構
ku "nave" 轂
kun i 袞衣
kung "beam" 杠

kung ch'ing 公卿
k'ung ch'üeh 孔雀
kuo chung 國中
kuo ming yeh 國名也
li "plum" 李
lieh nien 獵輦
lin shui (hui) 臨水 (會)
ling "palanquin" 轎
li "erect" 立
ling chang 令長
liu "six" 六
liu "pomegranate" 榴
lo "car-of-state" 輅
Lo-yang yung 洛陽詠
lu pi 櫺櫓
luan "simurgh" 鸞
lu tzu chi 鹿子闕
mao "spear" 矛
mei "counter" 枚
mi "grain" 米
ming tzu k'u 命子窟
ming kuang 明光
mo ch'e 磨車
mo-nan 莫難
mu-nan 木難
mu ti 母弟
nien "adhere" 粘
nien "chaise" 輦
niu "shackle" 鈕
*nu (*na)* "crossbow" 弩
nü chi 女伎
nü chien 女監
pi "cyan" 碧
pi "holy disc" 璧
pi hsia 陛下
p'i "extend" 辟, 關
p'i fang 辟方
p'i szu men 關四門
piao "flagstaff" 標
pien "catastrophe" 變
p'ing "plate" 枰
p'ing ko 平閣
po shan 博山
pu nien 步輦
**pyu-pywët* 鼃鼃
san fu 三伏
shang szu 上巳
she "prepare" 設
she jih 社日
shen pien 神弁

shih "lay out; extensibility" 施

shih mo 石墨

shih p'i szu fang 式辟四方

shu "grating" 疏

shu "mature" 熟

shu-yü (hui) 茱萸 (會)

su "grain" 粟

su "overnight" 宿

su wei 宿衛

szu "snake" 巳

szu li ch'e 司里車

ta hsiao 大曉

tai "zone" 帶

t'ai kuan 臺觀

teng kao 登高

ti tao 地道

t'i "ply yarn; heavy silk" 綈

tien "basilica" 殿

t'ien hsia 天下

t'ien hsiao 天曉

to "bell" 鐸

tou chang 斗帳

tou kung 斗拱

ts'an "interlace" 參

ts'an tai 參帶

ts'ang lin 蒼麟

tsao "ink-black" 皂

ts'o "imbricate" 錯

tui "pestle" 碓

t'ung t'ien kuan 通天冠

tzu kan 紫紺

wu "dance" 舞

wu "shaman" 巫

wu "militancy" 武

wu hsiang 五香

wu ming 五明

ya men 牙門

ya t'ao chih shan 牙桃枝扇

yen "undermat" 氈, 筵

yin "recessive mode" 陰

yin ch'i 陰起

yü "autocrat" 御

yü chin 鬱金

yü ch'uang 御牀

yü i 羽儀

yüan "prime" 元

yüan "garden" 園

yüan "park" 苑

yüan-no 統緒

yüeh fu 樂府

NATIONAL CAPITALS

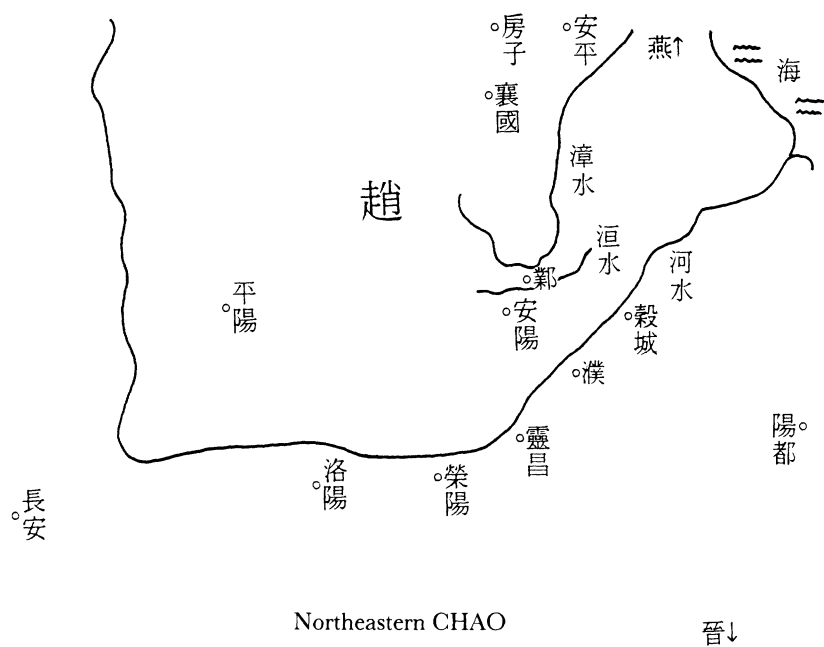
<i>Nation</i>	<i>Year of Foundation</i>	<i>Capital</i>
(Earlier) Han	206 B.C.	Ch'ang-an
(Later) Han	A.D. 23	Lo-yang
Ts'ao Ts'ao	216	Yeh [Ngap]
Wei	220	Lo-yang
Wu	222	Chien-yeh
Chin	265	Lo-yang
(Earlier) Chao	304	P'ing-yang
Ch'eng (Han)	304	Ch'eng-tu
(Later) Chao		
Shih Le	328	Hsiang-kuo
Shih Hu	334	Yeh [Ngap]
(Earlier) Yen		
Mu-jung Huang	337	Lung-ch'eng
Wei		
Jan Min	350	Yeh [Ngap]

Note: This chronology is not internally consistent, the dates being based on different criteria of "foundation." There were other nations in Chinastan during this period, but their names have been omitted here as only of marginal relevance.

ROYAL ERAS

Inaugurated

<i>Anno Domini</i>	<i>CHIN</i>	<i>CHAO</i>
20 Feb 334	Total Concord (<i>Hsien ho</i>) 9	Extended Serenity (<i>Yen hsi</i>) 1
10 Feb 335	Total Equanimity (<i>Chien k'ang</i>) 1	Established Militancy (<i>Chien wu</i>) 1
30 Jan 336	" 2	" 2
17 Feb 337	" 3	" 3
6 Feb 338	" 4	" 4
27 Jan 339	" 5	" 5
14 Feb 340	" 6	" 6
3 Feb 341	" 7	" 7
22 Feb 342	" 8	" 8
11 Feb 343	Established Prime (<i>Chien yüan</i>) 1	" 9
31 Jan 344	" 2	" 10
18 Feb 345	Eternal concord (<i>Yung ho</i>) 1	" 11
8 Feb 346	" 2	" 12
28 Jan 347	" 3	" 13
16 Feb 348	" 4	" 14
4 Feb 349	" 5	Grand Peace (<i>T'ai ning</i>) 1



Northeastern CHAO

Brief Note: The Chinese Dhole

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EDWARD H. SCHAFER

Brief Note

The Chinese Dhole



The animal called *ch'ai* 豺 (*Cuon alpinus*) has suffered much from the neglect, ignorance, and indifference of western interpreters of Chinese literature. There is some excuse for this in the texts themselves: he is not a familiar, well-defined creature there. Although he turns up often enough, his indistinct personality defers constantly to the fearful and almost heroic

On Saturday, 9 February 1991, Edward Hetzel Schafer, Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature at the University of California, Berkeley, died of liver cancer at his home in Berkeley. He was seventy-seven. Although he had not been feeling well for some months, his final sickness was very short: he taught his last class ten days before his death. Known for his pioneering work in the study of medieval China — its language, literature and culture — Professor Schafer used the poetry and prose of the T'ang dynasty (from the seventh to tenth centuries) to reconstruct the ways that these people of long ago thought, dreamed, and regarded the world around them.

The editors of *Asia Major* feel the loss of his passing deeply. He had contributed much to the revival of this journal. We thank Phyllis Brooks Schafer for her help in publishing the following article.

To perpetuate his memory, a fund has been set up for purchase of books on Classical Chinese for the University of California Library. Contributions may be made to the Schafer Book Fund, the East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley, 94720.

figures of the lion and the wolf, with whom he is frequently paired. He does not even appear in the wonder tales that present foxes and raccoon-dogs (*li* 狸; *Nyctereutes procyonides*), however depraved, as vivid protagonists. He is a stock image, a shadowy cliché, a crude metaphor, handed down through the ages without modification — since there are few distinct traits to be modified — hardly different in the verses of Tu Fu than he is in the vivid narratives of the *Tso chuan*.

Worst of all, western translators, old and new, have treated him with undeserved contempt. First of all, they have scorned the small effort needed to determine his identity, so that his name persists as an empty vocable. Or else they have assimilated his identity to that of some completely different beast, which may not even exist in the Far East. For Waley, he evaporates, and the whole Chinese phrase *lang yü ch'ai* 狼與豺 is reduced to “wolves.”¹ For Legge, he is coupled with the tiger, but becomes a wolf himself (*ch'ai hu* 豺虎), rendered “wolves and tigers.”² But elsewhere Legge makes him half a wolf, or an ingredient in wolfness: *ch'ai lang* 豺狼, properly “*ch'ai* and wolves,” becomes merely a bisyllabic wolf.³

Some more modern translators update the error and confusion by depriving the dhole of his nationality or ethnicity. For Hawkes, he is a displaced jackal, a wanderer from a dream of the Serengeti.⁴ Lois Fusek not only adopts this fancy, but in the same clause converts the bovine gaur (*ssu* 兕; *Bibos gaurus*) into a rhinoceros — but this error is so old as to have acquired an aura of classic dignity.⁵

For a credible definition of *ch'ai*, we look first for clues among the paronomastic etymologies supplied by old Chinese writers, following a respectable tradition. Tuan Ch'eng-shih 段成式, the T'ang bibliophile, has suggested one in the guise of a folk-taboo: “Hunters will not kill a *ch'ai* (**drai*) since it has the same sound as **dzai* 財, wealth.”⁶ Wang An-shih 王安石 prefers to connect the name with **dzai* 才 “talent,” on the grounds that the *ch'ai* is dominant among its kind, and also performs ritual offerings to higher beings.⁷ Another Sung source offers *ch'ai* (**drai* 柴 “kindling wood;

¹ Li Po 李白, “Shu tao nan” 蜀道難, trans. A. Waley, *The Poetry and Career of Li Po* (701–762 A.D.) (London: Allen and Unwin, 1950), p. 40.

² Shih ching, “Hsiao ya” 小雅, “Hsiang po 巷伯.” See James Legge, *The She King*, vol. 4 of *The Chinese Classics* (rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong U.P., 1960), part 2, book 5, p. 348.

³ Meng tzu, “Li lou 離婁” A. See Legge, *The Works of Mencius*, vol. 2 of *The Chinese Classics*, book 4, part 1, p. 307.

⁴ David Hawkes, *Ch'u tz'u: The Songs of the South* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 111.

⁵ Fusek, “The Kao-t'ang fu,” *MS* 30 (1972–1973), pp. 392–425.

⁶ Tuan Ch'eng-shih, *Yu yang tsa tsu* 酉陽雜俎, *hsü chi* 續集 (Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng edn.) 8, p. 239.

⁷ Wang An-shih (1021–1086), *Tzu shuo* 字說, quoted in Li Shih-chen 李時珍, *Pen ts'ao*

stick) as etymon, because the animal *ch'ai* is as skinny as a stick, and emaciated or lean people are for this reason called *ch'ai*.⁸ The last is the only persuasive proposal among these, but may not be provable. Traditional glosses on the word *ch'ai* add very little to our understanding: *Erh ya* 爾雅 observes that *ch'ai* are “dog-legged.” *Shuo wen* 說文 states that the *ch'ai* is related to the wolf, and has the cry of a dog. In short, *ch'ai* appears to be a canid, but neither dog nor wolf. It is rather a dhole—sometimes called “red dog,” “whistling dog,” “wild dog,” and other such descriptive names. The etymology of this word is not known, although Canarese *tôla* “wolf” has been proposed.⁹ The earliest record of the word is dated 1827. Several early occurrences note the similarity of the dhole to the dingo, and a source of 1866 reports the alternate name—source not stated—of “khol sun.”¹⁰

Dholes are distinguished from wolves, jackals, and the like by their dentition. For the casual observer the difference lies rather in its rounded ears and reddish color, although a yellowish brown color is reported in some individuals. It lives in burrows and hunts its prey in packs. It does not lack authority, as Chinese sources note, and has been seen to drive even a leopard from its kill.¹¹ Li Shih-chen 李時珍, writing in the sixteenth century, affirms that when traveling in packs even tigers fear it.¹² A modern observer styles it “highly intelligent, wary of man, and an elusive predator . . . a rare and beautiful creature.”¹³

Human contact with dholes is necessarily slight, as both prefer. The physical dhole—as distinguished from the legendary and literary dhole—played only a small part in Chinese pharmacology. Meng Shen 孟詵 (seventh century) reports that, although eating its flesh damages spirit and sperm and causes emaciation in humans, it can be given to horses and cattle in a potion to make them docile.¹⁴

The dhole occurred in China during the Pleistocene, and reached Europe in the Last Interglacial, but it is now an endangered species in a shrink-

kang mu 本草綱目 (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1972), ch. 51, p. 51. Cf. [T'ang] Chung Tsung 中宗, “Pai nan chiao chih” 拜南郊制, *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文 16, p. 8b, which recognizes the affinity between the offerings of the dholes and the court sacrifices to celestial divinities.

⁸ Lu Tien 陸佃 (1042–1102), *P'i ya* 埤雅 (Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng edn.) 3, p. 64.

⁹ *Oxford English Dictionary*. ¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ G. H. H. Tate, *Mammals of Eastern Asia* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), p. 161. See this source for data on the distribution of subspecies.

¹² Li, *Pen ts'ao*, 51, p. 52.

¹³ This appraisal comes from Michael W. Fox, *The Whistling Hunters: Field Studies of the Asiatic Wild Dog (Cuon alpinus)* (Albany: State U. of New York P., 1984), p. vii. Fox did field research in the Nilgiri Hills of India.

¹⁴ Quoted in Li, *Pen ts'ao*, 51, p. 52.

ing habitat. Races of the animal now occur throughout southeast and south Asia as well as in Central Asia and Siberia. It seems to have been extinguished in northeast China.¹⁵

In early literature and classical lore the personality of the dhole is shadowy at best, and it is most always displayed as a kind of parasite on other carnivorous animals — especially the largest and most stalwart of them. At the head of the list is the tiger, and the pages of literature are abundantly populated with the fearful pairing of “dholes and tigers” (*ch'ai hu*). The dhole's nature, it seems, is invigorated and fleshed out by the propinquity of the tiger. Both are fierce creatures, but the dhole's natural reticence does not allow that its savagery be fully revealed except when reinforced by the commanding presence of the tiger. So it is also with the association “dholes and wolves” (*ch'ai lang*), probably the most common of these doublets.¹⁶

In all occurrences, the two predatory carnivores typify cruelty and brutishness, and often represent malignant men. Both are at variance with such numinous beasts of good omen as the *ch'i lin* 麒麟.¹⁷ *Pao p'u tzu* 抱朴子 tells that “when dholes and wolves are on the road the *ch'i-lin* goes far away,”¹⁸ and again: “[*ch'i*]-*lin* and [*tsou*]-*yü* 騶虞 do not join the bands of dholes and wolves.”¹⁹

Less commonly, dholes are associated with otters — both were thought to make offerings of their kills (see below).²⁰ They are also linked with ferret-badgers (*Helictis moschata*: *ho*, **ghak* 貉), small omnivores with long pointed

¹⁵ Fox, *Whistling Hunters*, pp. 40–41; F. E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals* (London: Hutchinson, 1963), p. 106.

¹⁶ For many years I used the expression “pleonasm” in my classes in Literary Chinese to represent pairs of monosyllabic words of the type *wan k'uang* 元礦 “crude and coarse” (of rough-textured rock), *jung chieh* 融結 “fused and knotted” (for any sort of melting together), or *ying hu* 鷹鵠 “goshawk and falcon” (for hunting hawks collectively). Long dissatisfied with the use of “pleonasm,” with its implication of redundancy, for this purpose, I recently suggested the use of “synonym pair,” as used in Laurence C. Thompson, *A Vietnamese Grammar* (Seattle: U. of Washington P., 1965), p. 131, as follows: “A special kind of correlative pair, sometimes called ‘synonym pair,’ consists of two monosyllabic words which, although not true synonyms, are members of a semantic class. The class is represented by the pair (cf. English ‘pots and pans’ for the class of cooking containers). An example is 豺狼 ‘dholes and wolves’ for the whole class of wild canids.” See E. H. Schafer, “Notes on Translating T'ang Poetry. Part One: Words,” *Schafer Sinological Papers* 29 (Berkeley, 6 August 1985), p. 5. This seemed just as unsatisfactory as “pleonasm,” and I finally proposed to abandon it for the term “synecdochic pair,” which implies that each element of the pair is a member of the class which they jointly denote.

¹⁷ In late literature stereotyped as “unicorn” — but a horn was not originally typical of this divine horse: the horned creature which appeared in the garden of Han Wu Ti was a prodigy, unique among its kind. Later lore froze this mutation into a prototype.

¹⁸ *Pao p'u tzu* (*Tao tsang*, HY 1177), *wai p'ien*, “Shen chü 審舉.”

¹⁹ *Pao p'u tzu*, “Chiao chi 交際.”

²⁰ *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (K'ai ming edn.) 17, p. 0678c.

noses, resident in the south;²¹ with wild pigs; and, apparently, with giant pandas.²² All of these doublets apparently have metaphoric applications. All point to wild animals of which one should be wary. "Dholes and tigers" regularly represent cruel and heartless men; so do "dholes and wolves," with the added image of working in packs; "dholes and otters," though fierce, know the rudiments of civilized behavior: "dholes and boars" are vicious and dangerous; "dholes and ferret-badgers" and "dholes and giant pandas" seem only to symbolize social disorder and insensate behavior. But some subtle mind may yet discover more precise referents for these clusters of images.

Most often the dhole represents a type, not an individual. It is common in old maxims: for instance, "When dholes and wolves are at the pen, goats are not abundant there."²³ The allusion is general not specific, and all sorts of oppressive officials will fill the bill. Another example: "When dholes and wolves are on the road, who cares about foxes and raccoon-dogs?"²⁴ That is, one can ignore petty scoundrels when powerful men threaten harm. The metaphor applies also to persons who, even if not actually injurious, are able and well-informed, but are not governed by honor and decency: "... if he is neither trustworthy nor prudent, he is comparable to a dhole or a wolf."²⁵

Among the dhole-like enemies of civilized men were the tribes along the northern frontier. Here are the words of the late-T'ang poet Ch'en T'ao 陳陶:

Looking over the lake at a battle below the frontier barrier —
The several caitiff peoples have lost their whole host.
Birds peck at commanders of dholes and wolves,
Sand buries the banners of sun and moon;
Their oxen and sheep run off to the Red Ti,
Their settlements are distributed among the veterans of Yen,
The Convoker-Guardian comes out, skimming the dawn;
He makes the epitaphs for their exploits; he inhumes the corpses of the dead.²⁶

²¹ Li Po, "Ta lieh fu" 大獵賦, *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 347, p. 9a.

²² *Ch'ai mo* (*māk) 豺貘. The doublet can be found in Tso Ssu 左思, "Wu tu fu" 吳都賦; see his *T'ai-ch'ung chi* 左太沖集 in *Han Wei Liu ch'ao ming chia chi* 漢魏六朝名家集 (Shanghai, 1911), p. 6b. The identification of *mo as "giant panda" is owed to the work of Donald Harper, whose findings should appear in print soon.

²³ *Han Fei tzu* 韓非子, "Yang ch'üan 揚權."

²⁴ *Hou Han shu* 86, p. 0820d. ²⁵ *Hsün tzu*, "Ai kung p'ien 哀公篇."

²⁶ Ch'en T'ao, "Sai hsia ch'ü" 塞下曲, *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩, *han* 11, *ts'e* 4, *ch.* 1, p. 1a. The "caitiffs" of l. 2 are *lo* 虜 "[potential] captives," said of the northern nomads. The birds of l. 3 are probably ravens; the wolves and dholes are the foreign warriors. In l. 4 the

Occasionally, however, we encounter a particular person who is described as a dhole. The founder of the great Ch'in nation, Ying Cheng 嬴政, displayed his character in his physical attributes. He was endowed with a "bee's nose" (that is, a high-bridged nose), long narrow eyes, and the breast bone of a bird of prey; he had "the cry of a dhole and the heart of a tiger or wolf—with little mercy."²⁷

The most commented on bit of dhole lore inherited from antiquity concerns their supposed sacrifice of animals as offerings to obscure divinities. In its pristine form the tradition is that the wild dogs lay out part of their kill in the late autumn, and that this was regarded as a signal for the great royal hunting season to begin.²⁸ The origin of this belief may lie in the fact that dholes rarely take uneaten portions of their prey back to their dens. They leave it at the site of the kill, where it can be scavenged by other carnivores.²⁹

Dholes are equipped with a rich variety of calls and cries. Some have been described as "whine," "whimper," "growl," "bark," "scream," "chatter," "whistle," "cackle," and "yapping howls." The whistling, for which the dhole is sometimes named, is a way of arranging contacts or assemblies.³⁰ Parts of this rich vocabulary, at least, seemed unpleasant or threatening to men. One T'ang authority says that southerners take it to be ill-omened when a dhole "makes a sound at them,"³¹ but whether this evil sound was a whine or a whistle is not specified.

Li Shih-chen writes, "Its cry is like a dog's; men dislike it, saying that it summons goblins (*mei* 魅)." On top of that it emits a foul odor.³² It was said in ancient times that human beings with a dhole's voice were as murderous as dholes, and such persons should be killed before they themselves kill.³³ There were, in addition to men with the attributes of dholes, men who were transformed into real dholes. *Pao p'u tzu* tells of such were-dholes—dholes, which like foxes, raccoon-dogs, and wolves, could assume the human form when they attained the age of 500 years.³⁴

banners are royal banners. The Red Ti (I. 5) hold the uplands on the Shansi border. Finally (I. 7), the "Convoker-Guardian" (*tu-hu* 都護) is the regional military inspector, and "skimming the dawn" (*ling ch'en* 凌晨) means "with the first flush of dawn."

²⁷ *Shih chi* 史記 (K'ai ming edn.), 6, p. 0023d.

²⁸ *Li chi* 禮記, "Yüeh ling 月令," and "Wang chih 王制"; and *Chi chung Chou shu* 汲冢周書, "Shih hsün chieh 時訓解." Later (Sung) attempts to explain this persistent bit of the *ju*-ist tradition may be perused in Lu, *P'i ya* 3, pp. 64–65, and Lo Yüan 羅願 (1136–1184), *Erh ya* 爾雅翼 (Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng edn.) 19, pp. 210–11.

²⁹ Fox, *Whistling Hunters*, pp. 73–74.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

³¹ Tuan, *Yu yang tsa tsu*, *hsü chi* 8, p. 239.

³² Li, *Pen ts'ao* 51, p. 52.

³³ *Tso chuan* (Hsüan 4). Legge, as was customary, omits the dhole in his translations: "the voice of a wolf" suffices for *ch'ai lang chih sheng* 豺狼之聲. See Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen*, vol 5, of *The Chinese Classics*, book 7, p. 296.

³⁴ *Pao p'u tzu*, *nei p'ien* 3, p. 3a.